

THE
MODERN PART
OF AN
Universal History,
FROM THE
Earliest ACCOUNT of TIME.

Compiled from
ORIGINAL WRITERS.

By the AUTHORS of the ANTIENT PART.

VOL. XI.



L O N D O N :

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Modern History :

BEING A

CONTINUATION

OF THE

Universal History.

BOOK XIV.

CHAP. VIII.

The Commerce, Colonies, and Companies, which the Danes have heretofore maintained, or still support, in the East Indies.

SECT. I.

Character of the Danish Nation ; their antient Turn to Navigation and naval Expeditions ; their Share in the holy War ; the Time when an ardent Desire of making Discoveries, and opening new Branches of Trade, revived amongst them. Account of the famous Empire of Bisnagar in Indostan, and the Circumstances which facilitated their settling at Tanjour.

AS far as we can penetrate through that mist of fabulous *The genius* inventions in which the antient history of the northern *of the an-* nations is enveloped, the Danes have been from the *tiest* most early times equally distinguished by their martial temper, Danes, and being strongly addicted to maritime expeditions ^a. The *and their* conquests they gained over their neighbours served only to *maritime* excite in them an ambition of undertaking greater things, and *expeditions* carrying the terror of their arms into countries more remote. *and con-* The *British* isles, after being long harassed by their incursions, *quests*.

^a STRABONIS Geograph. lib. vii. HERTZHOLMIIUS Præcellent. Regn. Dan & Norv. p. 95.

Conquests, Settlements, and Discoveries, of B.XIV.

became at length for a time a part of their dominions ^b. They erected in *France* the noble duchy of *Normandy*; and, from thence extending their naval incursions, fixed themselves in *Naples*, which they subdued, and from thence sent their vessels to cruise upon the coast of *Asia* ^c. These are facts that may be proved from history; but whether before these exploits, they, or any colony of theirs, had found a passage, which is now lost, from *Iceland* to *Japan*, as some have imagined, is a point that we cannot take upon us to decide (A).

IN

^b CLAUDIUS LYSCANDER in *Genealog. Reg. Dan.* p. 323. *chron.* SAX. ALFRED BEVERL, &c. ^c EGINHARDIUS in *vita Caroli Magni.* ALBERTUS STADENSIS in *Annal. Dan.* OLAUS WORMIUS ad calcem lib. vi. *Monument. Danicorum.*

(A) Some learned persons have observed, that there is a great conformity between the language spoken in *Iceland*, and that of the *Japoneze*, from whence it is inferred, that there must have been, in the earlier ages of the world, some kind of intercourse between these nations (1). If we allow the fact to be true, that there is a conformity between the languages, then this inference of a commerce between them will be very just; but, notwithstanding this, the judicious reader will certainly think it no very easy thing to give an account of this commerce, or how it could be carried on. That the north-east passage was frequented to such a degree as this notion suggests, is not very credible (2); or that attempts were made to sail from one country to the other, thro' the open sea, directly under the pole, will hardly gain credit (3); though if in good authorities might be produced to shew, that many ages are past since great

discoveries were made on that side (4). We might perhaps solve the difficulty better by saying, that those who peopled the northern part of *Asia* sent off colonies to the east and west; and thus by degrees peopled both islands; which, though not a very probable, is yet a possible thing. However, let us return to matters of fact, and we shall find another route assigned by a late author (5), who, speaking of certain priests in *Japan*, proceeds thus: "These priests were descended from the *Goths*, who, coming first out of *Scania*, which antiently comprehended the countries of *Sweden*, *Norway*, and *Schonen*, were led by their general, whose name was *Taanafis*, quite into *Egypt*, where they vanquished King *Mesops*. From thence they marched against the *Persians*, and committed strange devastations in their countries during the reigns of *Cyrus*, *Darius*, and *Xerxes*. From thence they made an

(1) *Essai sur l'Histoire des Langues de cet Univers*, par M. Claude Duret, p. 922.

(2) See the disputes relating to a north-east passage in Hakluyt's Collection.

(3) See Hakluyt's *Discoveries*, in that which is cited in Churchill's Collection.

(4) Hakluyt's Voyages, vol. 1, p. 121, 222. (5) *Amusemens remarquables de la Cosmographie des Indes Orientales des Provinces-unies, vers les Empereurs du Japon*, par L. de la Haye, des mathes.

"irruption

IN the wars that were carried on by the Christian princes *Their ex-* for the recovery of *Jerusalem* out of the hands of the *Mos-* *hammedans*, the *Danes* had a large share ; and their private *memoirs*, as well as public histories, have preserved many particulars which do honour to the memories of those generous heroes, who, from perhaps a mistaken principle of piety, *signalized* their courage in these distant countries, and spread the fame of their nation to the utmost limits of the east ^{*the holy wars, which are supposed to have given rise to the order of the eleph.*}. It was with a view to perpetuate the renown of these great and gallant actions, as some of their ablest anti-quaries assert, that the order of the elephant was erected, which is still the most distinguished mark of royal favour the kings of *Denmark* bestow upon their subjects ^(B). We may from these circumstances,

^d PONTANUS Hist. Dan. lib. vii. p. 475. Saxo-Grammat. lib. xii. p. 223. SNORRO STURLESONIUS in Chron. Norv. p. 436.

^e HERTZHOLMIVS in Breviario Equestri, cap. ix. § 1.

irruption into the *Indies*, *China*, and *Japan*, blending their religious notions with those of the *Brachmans* and "the *Bonzes* : so that it is no great wonder there is such a conformity between their opinions." It would perhaps be no easy task to produce authentic vouchers for this extraordinary piece of history ; but if any author should endeavour to render it probable, he might very easily shew, that the genius, manners, and temper, of the *Japanese* (6), resemble the northern nations much more than the *Chinese*, from whom others believe them to be derived ; and might also produce, from the fabulous stories of the northern nations, a traditionary account of their intercourse with the east.

(B) The *Danish* historians are not very well agreed as to the time, the founder, or the occasion of this order, being erected ; some say it was instituted by *Canutus* the sixth, *Anno Dom.*

1135 ; others ascribe it to *Christiern I.* king of *Denmark*, *Sweden*, and *Norway*, *Anno Domini* 1478 ; others to *Frederick* the first, *Anno Dom.* 1525 ; but all agree, that it was revived by *Christiern IV.* *Anno Dom.* 1590 (7). It is certain that in former times this was likewise styled the order of the Blessed Virgin, the figures of elephants being represented only on the collar, to which the image of the Virgin was pendant (8). But, since the revival of it by *Christiern IV.* the knights, who are thirty-four in number, wear a jewel of gold, with an elephant enamelled white on a field Or charged with a tower, Argent and Sable (9). A very learned writer upon this subject asserts expressly, that the origin of this order was from the exploits of the *Danes* in the holy war. Another writer acquaints us, that a *Danish* hero having slain a white elephant in *Palestine*, this order was institu-

(6) *Histoire de Japon*, par Charlevoix, tom. i. p. 40.

(7) *Dictionnaire de Trévoux*. (8) *Mém. de l'Ac. Equest.* p. 150. (9) *Vigilius*

in Erasmus generosa mentis. *Ajlmute's Order of the Garter*, p. 120, 121.

stances, with a reasonable degree of certainty, collect, that whatever lesser alterations might be made in the policy, or in the dispositions of the *Danes*, they still continued to cherish, through a long course of ages, that noble ardour which had been so conspicuous in their ancestors, and which had spread the trophies of their victories into regions so far removed from their own ^f.

By this martial spirit, and the losses which attended it, the crown of Denmark declined in power.

BUT this conduct, and these expeditions, how much soever they might serve to raise the glory, contributed not a little to weaken the strength, of this nation; so that in succeeding times we find her struggling hard to preserve those antient prerogatives which she challenged as being the first of the northern crowns, and of which she was gradually deprived thro' the long wars that were brought upon her by the ill conduct of some of her monarchs ^g. Amongst these, *Christiern II.* was the most remarkable, who, from being possessed of the three crowns of *Denmark*, *Sweden*, and *Norway*, fell first into the condition of a private man, fled next into the *Low Countries* as an exile; and at length, finding all endeavours to recover his former dignity vain, yielded himself a prisoner, in which sad state he continued to his death ^h. By his deposition, the crowns of *Denmark* and *Norway* came to *Frederick* duke of *Holftein*, whose great-grandson *Christiern IV.* being a prince of singular abilities, and having a strong desire to promote the welfare of his subjects, willingly listened to whatever proposals were made for promoting industry, erecting manufactures, and extending commerce; which laudable spirit, to speak impartially, seemed to prevail in an extraordinary degree about the beginning of the seventeenth century throughout all *Europe* ⁱ (C).

OF

^f SNORRO STURIAUS in Chron. Norveg. p. 125, ^g PONTANUS, MEURSIUS, BEERING, DES ROCHES, Lord MOLESWORTH.

^h JOHANNIS MAGNI Gothorum Suecorumque Hist. lib. xxiv. THUAN. Hist. sui temporis, lib. i. xxii.

ⁱ Essai sur la Marine et sur le Commerce, 159, 160, 161.

tuted to preserve the memory of so glorious an action (10). Notwithstanding this, a more modern author inclines to refer this institution to the feats of arms performed by the *Danes* in *Africa* (11).

(C) It is not a little wonderful that the *Portuguese* and *Spa-*

niards should enjoy, for almost a whole century, their empires in the *East* and *West Indies*, from whence they drew such immense treasures, and which besides brought them almost all the wealth of *Europe* without interruption; but perhaps it will appear still more strange, that,

(10) *Vigélius* in *Encomio generosæ mentis*. *Hetzelsolmus* in *Breviario Equestri*, cap. ix. sect. 1.

(11) *James Meursius* in his *Dedication of Dapper's Description of Africa*, translated into the *Danish* language,

when

OF all the schemes that were offered to this intelligent Christian prince, he was most pleased with that for opening a trade between his own dominions and the *Indies*, from which tho' some endeavoured to dissuade him, by suggesting that the passage was long and hazardous; that the *Portuguese* were already in possession; and that, though the *English* and *Dutch* had made some voyages into those parts, yet the returns they had hitherto received were rather of honour than profit^k. That prudent prince easily discerned, that the first of these fallacious arguments might be urged against any other branch of trade as well as this; and that to accustom his subjects to long voyages was the most effectual method of rendering them less hazardous, since, without skill, men will be always in danger at sea, and the knowledge of the mariner can only be acquired by practice. He knew that the *Portuguese* had overstrained their power in the east, and that strangers were never more welcome than at this juncture. As to the *English* and *Dutch*, he was well acquainted with their exploits; and thought that it was high time his subjects should distinguish themselves in the like manner. Upon these motives, therefore, which were equally solid and honourable, he took a resolution to countenance those who were inclined to hazard their private fortunes in an undertaking, that, if it succeeded, must necessarily tend to the public benefit. He rightly foresaw the consequences that must follow on the establishment of such a trade, which, if it failed, would occasion but a small loss; and that, by being divided amongst many, would fall the lighter; but, if it had a favourable issue, would employ a multitude of hands, increase their shipping, and encourage a commercial spirit amongst his subjects. The loss, therefore, seeming to be but a trifle in comparison of the gain, and probability being on the side of the former rather than the latter,

^k Commerce des Danois aux Indes, p. 19.

Ibid. op. 21.

when once an opening was made, so many nations should in a manner at once endeavour to acquire an intercourse with the people of the *Indies*. Yet the fact is indisputable; for our glorious Queen *Elizabeth* granted her charter to the first *English East India* company December 31, 1600; the states of *Holland* incorporated theirs by an act dated March 20th, 1602. The *French* king, *Henry* the fourth,

by his arrest, dated June 1st, 1604, erected a like society; and, as we have shewn in the text, *Christian IV.* king of *Denmark*, granted his charter for the like purpose in 1612. We thought it, however, just to give the rank to the *Danes*, because they actually established themselves in the *Indies* before the *French* sent any ships thither, as the reader will see in the next section.

he vigorously supported, on reflection, a proposal, which, from inclination, he had first encouraged.

An account of
the Danish
East India
company,
and of
their first
expedition.

ABOUT the year 1612 those who had associated themselves at *Copenhagen* for carrying on the trade of the *East Indies* received the sanction of royal authority; and, having divided their capital into two hundred and fifty shares, of a thousand rixdollars each, began to make the necessary preparations for equipping and sending a squadron to the *East Indies*^m. As the success of their project depended in a great measure upon the issue of their first adventure, they were more solicitous to have every thing in good order, though this was attended with some delay, than to run any considerable hazard for the sake of haste. There were at that time seamen, who had visited the *Indies* in some service or other, easy to be met with in the northern ports, and of these they collected as many as they could. They likewise took care to study thoroughly whatever had been published in *Italy*, *Spain*, *Portugal*, *England*, or the *Low Countries*, in reference to this subject; and, having from thence formed the best plan they could of the commerce of the *Indies*, they gave ample instructions to those who were intrusted with the management of their affairs; and particularly recommended to them obtaining a settlement by fair means, and for a reasonable consideration; keeping always on good terms with the natives, and avoiding as far as possible any disputes with the subjects of those *European* powers, that they might find engaged in projects of a like kind. With these injunctions, fortified by the king's commission, the officers intrusted with the company's ships departed from the island of *Zeland*, and reached the *East Indies* in 1616ⁿ. But, before we come to speak of their proceedings, it will be expedient to give the reader a short account of the state the country was in where they first traded, and where they afterwards settled, at the time of their arrival; that it may appear how far they complied with their orders, and on what terms they established their colony where it still remains, and of which they have been ever since in possession, though not without disturbance and danger, or without their having their full share of those difficulties with which all the *Europeans*, who have visited these distant climates, have sooner or later been oppressed. We do not find that any umbrage was taken at this step of the *Danish* court; for in those days none of those refinements on the rights of distant navigation, which have so much perplexed the moderns, and are become a distinct

^m *Dictionnaire de Commerce*, tom. iv. col. 754.
Commerces des Danois aux Indes, p. 31.

ⁿ *Com-*

branch of politics, were so much as known; for, all starting together, as it were, for this prize, they were more intent upon obtaining it, than on finding arguments to give the colour of an exclusive title, when it should be obtained.

AT the time the *Europeans* first opened a passage to the *Indies* by sea, the great peninsula without the *Ganges* was most of it subject to the emperor of *Bisnegar*, whose dominions extended from the frontiers of the kingdom of *Oriza*, to *Cape Commorin*^o. The reason that we find so little mention made of this most potent monarch in the relations of the *Portuguese*, that is, the more early relations, arises from hence, that his territories were limited by the mountains which run parallel in a manner to the sea-coasts of *Malabar*, where they first established themselves, and where the principal potentate was the Samorin or King of *Calicut*^p. While the *Portuguese* were extending their power, the vast empire of *Bisnegar* was crumbling to pieces through its own weight. The first monarchs of that mighty state had acquired their power by the exercise of their virtues: in time of war they were at the head of their own armies; in times of peace they directed their own councils, visited their dominions annually, and rendered justice to all their subjects with the utmost punctuality^q; but prosperity, dangerous to all human establishments, proved fatal to this empire. From delighting in great actions, the emperors of *Bisnegar* became fond of swelling titles: *King of kings*, and *The Husband of a thousand wives*, were the first of a long catalogue of whimsical epithets, at once very pompous and very insignificant^r. By degrees their vanity rose to such a height, and their flatterers prevailed so far, that they conceited themselves to be more than men, appeared rarely in public, affected divine honours; and, leaving the care of their dominions to the great officers of state, and to the governors of provinces, thereby paved the way to their own destruction^s (D).

THE

^o TAVERNIER *Voyages des Indes*, tom. iii. l. i. c. 18.
^p MAFFÆI *Hist. Indic* l. iv. c. vii. l. vii. c. ix. ^q Du Bois
Geographie Moderne, p. 646. ^r PURCHAS'S *Pilgrims*,
 tom. ii. p. 1746. ^s TAVERNIER *Voyages des Indes*, tom. iii.
 l. i. c. 18.

(D) It is a point of very great consequence, in order to a clear and accurate idea of the historical facts contained in this and the succeeding sections, to be well informed with respect to this antient empire, the extent of its power, the times in which it flourished, began to decline, and was at length rent to pieces,

What sovereign-

THE Pattanneers, a Tartar nation, invaded the north-east provinces of the empire; the generals of the Mogul attacked

as also the present condition of those countries which were once provinces of the *Bisnegar* empire, because in these are seated the capital establishments of the *English*, *Danish*, and *French East India* companies. As to the bounds of this empire in its flourishing condition, it reached from eight to twenty-one degrees of north latitude; and comprehended, where it was widest, not less than fifteen degrees of longitude (12). The ruler of this potent monarchy was possessed of a great part of the *Malabar* coast, from the river *Aliga* to that of *Cangereccra*; so that he was lord of the west as well as the east sea, and of the pearl fishery. This must have been in the fifteenth century (13); and in all probability it is this monarch which the *Danish* missionaries intend to point out, in their accounts, by the title of the emperor of *Malabar* (14). The first *Portuguese* historians call him the king of *Narsinga*, or *Narsingue*, and give us the detail of his wars with *Idakan* (15). It is believed that this was either a title of honour, or the proper name of that prince; for though some writers mention the city of *Narsinga*, yet the best geographers have been at a loss to find it; and agree, that *Charledegy*, or *Bisnegar*, about one hundred and forty *English*

miles from *Fort St. George*, was the capital of this empire (16). It must however be allowed, that in different books of voyages this monarch has very different titles given him; in some he is stiled king of *Carnate*; in others the king of *Velour*, and his consort the queen of *Paliacat*; because, when these accounts were written, they happened to reside in those places (17). When this emperor took the field in time of war, his army consisted usually of one hundred thousand foot, thirty thousand horse, and seven hundred elephants; in time of peace his revenues were prodigious, and the commerce of his subjects as rich as any in the *Indies* (18). In the beginning of the sixteenth century his neighbours began to encroach upon him on all sides; and in a short time he was deprived of all his territories west of the mountains of *Balegate*, and the northern provinces also conquered. In 1565, when the emperor was a mere cypher, and his great officers governed all, *Bisnegar* was taken and sacked by four *Moorish* kings; and thenceforward affairs continued in great confusion (19), till towards the end of the century, when the empire was totally subverted, of which we shall speak in the next note.

(12) *Leyts Introduit. ad Geographiam novam et veterem*, p. 544, 545.
 (13) *Barros, Dec. 1. lib. ix. cap. 1.* (14) *An Account of the Religion and Government, Learning and Oeconomy, of the Malabarians sent by the Danish Missionaries to their Correspondents in Europe*, p. 2. (15) *Maffei Hist. Ind. l. iv. c. vii. l. vii. c. ix.* (16) *Dictionnaire Geographique et Critique, par M. Bruzen la Martiniere, tom. i. p. 675.* (17) *Purchas's Pilgrims*, p. 599. (18) *Tavernier F. voyages des Indes, tom. iii. l. i. c. 13.* (19) *Histoire des Indes Orientales, tom. ii. p. 123, 124.*

the north-west^t. The governors, being necessarily at the head of armies, laid hold of this opportunity to render themselves independent, and some assumed the title of kings; as for instance, those of *Visapour* and *Golconda*^u; but those in the southern provinces, tho' they also rendered themselves independent sovereigns, contented their ambition that way, and retained their old title of *Naïck*. Amongst these the three most considerable were those of *Madura*, *Tanjour*, and *Gingi*^w. *Madura* is of great extent, reaching from *Cape Commorin* along the coast of *Coromandel*, opposite to the island of *Ceylon*, and very far within land. *Tanjour*, is of smaller compass; and is bounded on the south and on the west by *Madura*, on the east by the sea, and on the north by the province of *Gingi*, from which it is separated by the river of *Coloran*^x. *Tanjour*, which is the capital of this principality, lies in the north-west corner of the country, and is a city of considerable extent, tolerably well built, and has a good inland trade. As for maritime places, the *Naïck* had two that were pretty considerable on the coast of *Malabar*, which were *Negapatan* and *Tranquebar*^y. In 1597 the *Portuguese* were settled at the former; which gave so much satisfaction to the *Naïck*, that he was desirous they should likewise erect a church at the latter; which about that time they did, and the Jesuits took possession of it, made a considerable number of converts among the natives, and brought several of their countrymen to settle there likewise on the score of commerce; and this was the condition in which the *Danes* found that country when they came first to trade upon the coast of *Coromandel*^z (E).

THE

^t Voyages de THEVENOT aux Indes Orientales, tom. v. p. 290. Lettres edifiantes et curieuses, tom. xv. ^u TAVERNIER Voyages des Indes, tom. iii. l. i. c. 18. ^w PURCHAS's Pilgrims, vol. ii. p. 1745. ^x TAVERNIER Voyages des Indes, tom. iii. l. i. c. 18. ^y THEVENOT Voyages aux Indes Orientales, tom. v. p. 274, 275. ^z PURCHAS's Pilgrims, vol. ii. p. 1745.

(E) The clearest account we have of the ruin of this empire is that written by our countryman Mr. *William Methold*, who was in these parts in the first quarter of the last century. He assures us, that, at the demise of the last monarch of *Bisnegar*, which must have been some years later than 1600, the whole country had been so distracted by civil wars, that, all agriculture being neglected, such a famine ensued, that thousands of children were driven to the seaside, and there sold by their own parents for the value of half crown sterling each of rice.

In what
manner,
and at
what time,
the Danes
first settled
in the do-
minions of
Tanjour.

THE Danes, at their first coming, seem to have been very well received by the natives; and, finding the place more commodious for traffick than any other, where they could with any probability expect a settlement, they began to make propositions to the Naick, for his permission to seat themselves in his dominions; which were favourably accepted; and in all probability they were rather assisted than opposed therein by the Portuguese, who were desirous of having some fortresses in this neighbourhood, that might in a time of danger afford them protection*. In the space of five years, when the

* Commerce des Danois aux Indes, p. 25.

rice (20). We have spoken in the text of the three sovereigns that seized on the provinces lying on the coast of *Coromandel*, as far as *Sahespatan*. The interior part of the country on the east side was distinguished by the name of the kingdom of *Carnate*; to the north-east of that lay the kingdom of *Golconde*; to the north-west the kingdom of *Vijapour*; to the west the territories of some *Indian* rajahs, as far as the mountains of *Gate*; to the south-west a small inland country, belonging to the Naick of *Chila*; and, to the west and south-west of that, the kingdom of *Mysour* (21). As to the little kingdoms on the *Malabar* coast, which were taken out of this empire, they were erected long before, and therefore we need say nothing of them more. But it is very requisite to observe, that the famous emperor *Aurangzebe* reduced *Golconda* in 1668, as he likewise did *Vijapour*, and afterwards *Carnate*, and the country of *Gingee*, all of which are now no more than provinces of the

Mughal empire; but the sovereigns of *Tanjour* and *Madura*, who have long since assumed the titles of Rajahs, are tributaries only (22). But there is still a potent monarchy of native *Indians*, or *Gentoo*s, stiled *Marattas*, the king of which people is very formidable, and whose capital is the city of *Sutara*, near the mountains, who seems to be independent, and is now the greatest prince of the *Gentoo*s (23). Whether he is descended from the emperors of *Bisnagar*, part of whose country he certainly possesses, is more than we have any authority to assert. The reader will from hence discern how, at different times, the *Europeans* settled upon the coast, have had different landlords; excepting only the *Danes*, who still are, what they always were, tributaries to the sovereign of *Tanjour*, whether he be stiled Naick, Rajah, Prince, or King, by all which titles he is called by different writers, according to the times in which they have had occasion to mention him.

(20) *Text* of the Kingdom of *Golconda*, and other neighbouring nations, with an account of the *transmigration* in the 17th century, p. 2, 3.

(21) See the Map of the coasts of *Malabar* and *Coromandel*, placed before the first volume of *P. Norford's* work.

(22) *Histoire des Indes Orientales*, par *Guyon*, tom. 1. p. 327.

(23) *Histoire de l'Asie de l'Est*, vol. 1. p. 301. *Histoire des Indes* de *Voltaire*, t. 7. p. 279.

disposition and customs of these *Europeans* were better known, the *Naick* of *Tanjour* entered into an agreement with them for this port, and a certain district round it, which he sold, or rather farmed to them, at the annual rent of two thousand pardoes, or perdous, which is still regularly paid; and in 1621 they built a fortress after the *European* manner, for the defence of the port, and of the town that was erected under it ^b. This is the best account that we are able to give of the first establishment of the *Danes* upon this coast, which was suitable enough to the views of the company, and became gradually of much greater importance (F). It might have been much sooner improved, if their thoughts had not been drawn

^b *Gesta et Vestigia Danorum in Oriente*, p. 67, ^c *Histoire des Indes Orientales*, par GUYON, tom. ii. p. 101.

(F) The term *Naick* implies both governor and commander in chief, so that it seems to be equivalent to the *Turkish* title of *bashaw* (24). In all probability this title was kept up as long as there was any apprehension of the monarchs of *Bijagar* recovering their former power. But when this dread was removed, they made no scruple of styling themselves *Rajahs*. As they were desirous of commerce, and saw that it naturally followed wherever the *Europeans* had any establishment, it will appear a point of good policy in the *Naick* of *Tanjour* to engage the *Portuguese* Jesuits to build a church at *Tranquebar*; for this invited Christians of different sorts to settle round it, made the place known, and brought thither ships of different nations (25). There are few places the name of which admits of greater variety in spelling. The *Danish* missionaries, transcribing the *Malabar* word, write it *Tranque-*

bar; the *Dutch*, *Tranckbar*; our old *English* writers, *Tranquebay*, and sometimes we find it written *Trincombar*; which observations, how frivolous soever they may seem to others, will be found very useful to those who have occasion to consult indexes. It is by a comparison of facts, and dates occasionally mentioned, that we traced the time of the *Danes* establishing themselves, here; for on that head the best writers are able to speak only from conjecture. The Protestant missionaries, sent over thither in the reign of *Ferdinand* the fourth, say in their letters, dated in 1706, that their colony had been seated at *Tranquebar*, about fourscore years (26); which corresponds very well with the dates we have given the reader from other writers, as well as what is said by Mr *William Metbold* who was actually upon the coast of *Coromandel* when the *Danish* settlement was made.

(24) Mr *William Metbold's* Relation, as before cited. *Pilgrimage*, p. 559.

(25) *Purchas's* *Propagation of the Gospel in the East*, p. 51.

away by an object of much greater consequence ; and of which though they never availed themselves in any degree, yet it may be both useful and entertaining to the reader to meet with a short account of it here, because it is rarely mentioned in descriptions of the *Indies*.

S E C T. II.

A Negotiation between the Monarch of Ceylon and the Court of Copenhagen ; the Fortress of Tranquebar erected, and the favourable Aspect of Things in regard to the Affairs of the First Danish Company. Change of Circumstances in the Indies, and unfavourable Events in Europe, exhaust the Funds, and wound the Credit, of the Company, abroad and at home.

Marcellus
van
Boëch-
hower is
sent by the
Dutch to
negotiate
with the
monarch of
Ceylon.

WE have in the foregoing sections given a large and copious detail of the conquest of the island of *Ceylon* from the *Portuguese* by the *Dutch*, but have barely touched on a certain negotiation which preceded that war, as having it in our intention to explain that matter more fully here, as it gave an opening for the *Danes* to have possessed themselves of that island (G), and which they were not backward in em-

(G) This chance which the *Danes* had of establishing themselves in the island of *Ceylon*, tho' very slightly treated by their own and other authors soon after it happened, and almost forgotten since ; was in reality a thing of prodigious consequence, and a disappointment they had the greatest reason to regret. In the situation things were then in, as well in *Europe* as in the *Indies*, we may with great probability conjecture, that if the *Danes* had once got footing on that island, they would have supported themselves therein ; and the prodigious advantage to which their first voyages must have turned, could hardly have failed of convincing so clear-sighted a prince as *Christian IV.* was, that supporting his interest there was of

infinitely more consequence than any success he could have against the *Swedes*. As he reigned many years after, if this project had at all taken effect, he would have had an opportunity of improving it to a degree that would have set it above the reach of accidents ; which must have had a surprising effect upon the affairs of *Denmark*, and indeed of all *Europe*. That these are not idle chimeras, but well grounded conjectures, will appear from the spirit and force with which the single attempt was made, from the progress made by the *Danes* in their commerce with the *Indies* during his reign, and their reviving with success a correspondence with *China* in our own times.

bracing,

bracing, though, by the premature death of the author of this project, it proved altogether abortive^d. When the *Dutch* concluded, in 1609, a truce with the crown of *Spain*, after a long war, by which both parties were almost exhausted, the States and the Prince of *Orange* both thought proper to write to the king or emperor of *Ceylon*, in order to give him notice of this temporary peace, by which they were left at full liberty to prosecute their commerce in the *Indies*^e. These letters were sent by the squadron that carried over *Peter Both*, in quality of governor-general; and, upon their arrival at *Bantam*, a vessel called the *Black Lion* was prepared for *Marcellus van Boshuwer*, who was in no higher post than that of an under-merchant, to proceed with these letters, and full powers, to *Ceylon*. When he arrived in that island, he was received with much respect and esteem by *Genrwaeraat Adaf-cyn*, who, by the marriage of the widow empress, was in to whom he presented his letters, and with whom he concluded a treaty, which was confirmed by the *Dutch* governor and his council. He would then have quitted the island: but both the emperor and the empress were so well pleased with him, and entertained to high an opinion of his abilities, and zeal for their service, that they laboured to detain him by the offer of very great preferments^f (11).

IT

^d Gellæet Vestigia Danorum in Oriente, p. 66. ^e BALD. Hist. Ceylon, cap. viii. ix.
^f Histoire de l'Isle de Ceylon, par l'Abbe DE GRAND, p. 56, 57. ^g BALD. Hist. Ceylon, cap. xi.

(11) The *Spaniards* and the *Dutch* were equally disposed to chicanery about the truce with respect to the affairs in *Ceylon*, as is very evident from the actions of the former, and from the letters of the States General and Prince *Maurice*, which are yet extant. The emperor, upon his first intercourse with the *Dutch*, had granted them leave to settle themselves in the kingdom of *Cotiahy*, on the north-east side of the island, with the consent of the king of that country, and upon condition that his cu-

stoms were paid; which they accordingly did upon the bay of *Trinquemale* (27). The *Portuguese* (then subjects to the crown of *Spain*), without any respect had to the truce, resolved to attack them; and accordingly *Simon Carrier* marched against the island with one thousand whites and three thousand *Chingulays*, surrounded the *Dutch*, and cut them all off to a man, with very little loss; but in his retreat he was attacked by one of the emperor's generals, who killed six hundred men, and took a

(27) BALD. Hist. Ceylon, cap. ix.

great

He is created by that potentate prince of Mignonne, and sent to negotiate for him in Europe

It is seldom that foreigners continue long in favour, more especially in absolute governments, and therefore the fortune of *Marcellus* was the more singular. The monarch of *Ceylon* bestowed upon him the principality of *Mignonne*, by which, saving his homage, he became a sovereign, having espoused a lady of the first quality; and having with her in dowry a fair country, with a considerable revenue, and some thousands of subjects^b. He was also promoted to the highest commands, being sometimes at the head of armies, having at others the direction of fleets, with the title of admiral; neither did he ever lose, but on the contrary increased his credit, so long as he remained in the island. At length, finding the *Dutch* administration in the *Indies* either unable or unwilling to perform the treaty they had made, though the *Portuguese* had cut off all the *Dutchmen* he had brought with him to *Ceylon*, in violation of the truce, he prevailed upon the emperor, to send him, with the title of his ambassador, into *Europe*^c. His credentials were directed to the States General; but, besides these, he had, in case his applications to them should fail, full power to treat with any other *European* potentate who should be disposed to assist the emperor of *Ceylon* in recovering his dominions from the *Portuguese*, upon such terms as he should think just and equitable. He sailed from *Ceylon* May the 9th, 1615, for the port of *Masulipatan*, where he addressed himself to the *Dutch* director, and at his request went from thence to *Bantam*; where, finding the governor-general *Gerard Reynst* dead, and affairs in some confusion, he obtained leave from the council to pursue his instructions, and to return to *Holland*, that he might represent to their High Mightinesses, and the Prince of *Orange*, the true state of affairs in the island of *Ceylon*, and what assistance might be necessary to procure them a free commerce^d; a commission which it was supposed would be highly acceptable in a country where the importance of the cinnamon trade was well understood, and the government consequently perfectly well disposed^e (1).

BUT

^b Histoire de l'Isle de Ceylon, par l'Abbé LE GRAND, p. 57.
^c BAUDOUIN Hist. Ceylon, cap. xvii. ^d Histoire de l'Isle de Ceylon, par l'Abbé LE GRAND, p. 61, ^e BALD. Hist. Ceylon, cap. xvii.

great number of prisoners (28); *Ion* an opportunity of changing, and thus that war was opened, matters (29): which gave the emperor of Cey-

(1) By the treaty of peace

(28) Hist. de l'Isle de Ceylon, par l'Abbé le Grand.
 Inact. Orientales, tom. II. p. 201.

(29) Histoire des

which

BUT these hopes proved altogether fallacious ; for, when *His negotiator Marcellus van Boschhewer* came to *Holland* with his lady, they

which *Mr. Boschhewer* concluded with the monarch of *Ceylon* in 1610, the latter consented that two *Dutchmen* should have a seat in his privy-council ; and in consequence, or at least under colour, of this treaty, that prince gave him in marriage a woman of high quality, declared him Prince of *Mignonne*, which is an inland province on the west side of the island, made him governor of another province, and then introduced him into his privy-council (30). In 1612 he put him at the head of an army, against some of his rebellious subjects that had joined with the *Portuguese*, in which post he behaved with all the fidelity and bravery imaginable. The same year died the empress *Catherine*, who in her last moments recommended her children to the care of the princes of *Mignonne* and *Uva*, with all the circumstances possible of favour

of his consort, in whose right he held the crown, afflicted the emperor extremely ; and his grief brought on a disease that the physicians judged to be mortal. In order to guard against the inconveniences that naturally attend a minority, the emperor called an assembly of the states, in which he not only declared the Prince of *Mignonne* and the Prince of *Uva* regents, but intrusted him likewise with the education of his children, whom, with the most moving

expressions of tendernefs, he put into their hands. These princes were sent, by order of the state, to a fortress, for their greater security ; but the governor entered into a conspiracy to take away their lives. His forces were dispersed by the Prince of *Mign* and himself arrested on his coming to court, where, on the evidence of his letters, and some accomplices, he, with twenty-six noblemen, and fifty soldiers, were put to death for treason (32). In 1614 the emperor gained a glorious victory over the *Portuguese*, and the rebels that had joined them, the princes of *Mignonne* and *Uva* commanding the van. His affairs being now in a flourishing condition, that monarch, on the twenty-ninth of *August*, proposed in his privy-council to marry the deceased empress's daughter by a former husband, whom he acknowledged, in the life-time of her mother, to have debauched. The Prince of *Mignonne* opposed this steadily ; and made so pathetic a speech on the occasion, that the emperor burst into tears, desisted from his design, and promised to live with her as became him for the time to come (33). Such were the actions by which this *Dutch* under-copeman acquired the confidence of an emperor, and added lustre to those dignities which he derived from his favour.

(30) *Bald. Hist. Ceylon, cap. x. xi.*
par l'Abbé de Grèville, p.

(31) *Histoire de l'Île de Ceylon,*
(32) *Bald. Hist. Ceylon, cap. xiv. xv.*
(33) *Hist. l'Île de Ceylon, par l'Abbé de Grèville, p. vi.* *Bald. Hist. Ceyl.*
cap. xxi.

Holland
proving
unsuccess-
ful, he re-
solves to
have re-
course to
some other
power.

expected to be treated as the Prince and Princess of *Mignonne*, living in a manner suitable to their title, and disdaining to be considered in any other light^m. The directors of the *East India* company, who had sent out Mr. *Boschhower* as an under-copeman, could not be brought to comprehend any thing of his being a prince; which quickly occasioned a breach in the negotiation, and induced the emperor of *Ceylon*'s plenipotentiary to think of carrying his credentials somewhere else. After mature reflection on the state of things in other countries, he determined to proceed to *Denmark* which was very probably occasioned by his receiving intelligence of the king's attention to the commerce of his subjects in general, and to that of the *East Indies* in particular. Some have thought that this was incompatible with his allegiance to their High Mightinesses; but it is very apparent that he considered himself as the subject and privy-counsellor of the monarch of *Ceylon*; and, if he was received and treated as such in *Holland*, he was certainly at liberty, when his proposals were rejected, to pursue the other points in his instructionsⁿ. To say the truth, it looks as if things had been considered in that light by the States General, who might, if they had thought it proper, have hindered his leaving their territories, or have obliged him to return in one of the company's ships to the *East Indies*^o.

In this
disposition
he proceeds
to Copen-
hagen, and
concludes a
treaty
there.

He arrived at *Copenhagen* July 16th, 1617, and it seems was received there in a manner suitable to his pretensions. While he resided in this capital the Princess of *Mignonne* was brought to bed of a son, to whom his *Danish* Majesty was godfather. His propositions were favourably accepted by the company, who entered into a negotiation with him; and, a treaty being concluded between them, it was ratified and confirmed in the succeeding year by King *Christian IV.* He granted him also a man of war, called the *Elephant*, to carry him, his family and retinue, back to *Ceylon*. The company likewise added some ships of theirs; and the whole squadron was under the command of a *Danish* nobleman, whose name was *Owen Giedde de Tommerup*^p. He sailed with this squadron from *Copenhagen* March 30th, 1691, and anchored at the *Cape of Good Hope* July 19th the same year, from whence he proceeded for *Ceylon*; but, meeting with very bad weather, numbers died in the passage, and, amongst the rest, the Prince

^m Commerce des Danois aux Indes, p. 33. ⁿ Mémoires touchant les Ambassadeurs et les Ministres publics, p. 47, 48, 49. ^o BALD. Hist. Ceylon, cap. xvii. ^p Gesta et Veltigia Danorum in Oriente, p. 66.

of *Mignonne*¹. On the arrival of the *Danish* commodore in the harbour of *Trinquemale*, he sent advice to the emperor, who, the *Dutch* writers say, disavowed the treaty, because perhaps he thought the succours insufficient, and too hasty a demand was made for the expences of the fleet. However this might be, the *Danish* commodore is said to have seized all the prince's effects, and to have set his widow on shore in a very distressed condition²; which may notwithstanding admit of some doubt, since, after remaining seven years at the emperor's court, she thought fit to go to *Tranquebar*, and there ended her days. As soon as the princess was landed, the *Danish* commodore proceeded for the coast of *Coromandel*, where he made a treaty with the *Niick* of *Tanjour*, and left the forces that should have been debarked at *Ceylon*, to garrison the fort that was erecting at *Tranquebar*, and on which he bestowed the name of *Danebourg*. In his ~~return~~ he anchored again in *Table Bay*, under the *Cape of Good Hope*, August 30th, 1621³, and returned safe in the beginning of the succeeding year to *Copenhagen* (K).

WHEN the fortress was in a state of defence, and the *Indians* began to erect houses, or rather huts, under its protection, *Tranquebar* soon changed its appearance, and, from being a place very little considered, and of which scarce any notice was taken, grew into great reputation. Those who had the direction of the company's affairs treated the natives, whether of the *Portuguese* stock, *Mosses*, or *Gentows*, with justice and lenity; received ships that came to trade with all imaginable readiness, and put them under none of those re-

company.

¹ BALD. Hist. Ceylon, cap. xvii. ² *Gesta et Vestigia Danorum in Oriente*, p. 66. BALD. Hist. Ceylon, cap. xvii.

³ *Gesta et Vestigia Danorum in Oriente*, p. 67.

(K) According to the *Danish* admiral's inscription in his own language, there were but four ships in his squadron, and those all belonging to the king (31); but the *Dutch* historian says expressly there were five of the company's ships, and only one of the king's. The same person says, that one of them was lost after the crew had revolted at *Trinquemale*; which induced them to weigh anchor with the rest, and return immediately to *Denmark* (35); which is not at all consistent with the inscription, or with the account given by the *Danish* writers, who ~~may~~ be presumed to know their own affairs best, and who ascribe to him the fortifying and establishing their settlement at *Tranquebar* (31).

(34) *Gesta et Vestigia Danorum in Oriente*, p. 66. *Ceylon*, cap. xvii.

(35) *Gesta et Vestigia Danorum in Oriente*, p. 65.

strains to which they were subjected elsewhere. By these prudent methods the colony augmented in the space of a few years, not only to the utmost of their expectations, but beyond even their most sanguine wishes. This prosperity induced them to think of establishing factories upon the opposite coast of *Malabar*, for the sake of obtaining a share in the pepper trade, of fixing factories in other places, and of sending their ships to the remotest parts of the *Indies*. The *Danes*, therefore, had very little reason to treat the memory of the Prince of *Mignonne* with disregard, or to complain that they were seduced by his promises of mountains of gold to navigate distant seas, where they could meet with no such thing^u; for, whatever benefit they reap from the settlement of *Tranquebar*, whatever they drew in process of time from the rest of the *Indies*; and whatever advantages have attended, or may attend, the revival and extension of this commerce, ought in a great measure to be ascribed to that unfortunate great man, whose project produced such an armament, as rendered their first feeble endeavours effectual, from whence all the rest has flowed as from its proper source (L).

4

IT

[†] FLORIS's Observations on the Commerce of the Indies.

^{††} Gesta et Vestigia Danorum in Oriente, p. 66.

(L) We might easily give the reader several matters of fact in support of what is delivered in the text; but one instance may serve. *Francis Canabe*, of *Rouen*, acquaints us, that, in the month of *May* 1642, he went on board a *Danish East India* ship that put into a port of *Madagascar*, who gave him a letter in *Portuguese* for Mr. *Regimond*, who commanded in the island for the *French East India* company; and proceeds in his relation thus (37). "When I came to *Regimond*, he was angry, because I had staid so long, and acquainted the *Danes* with the ports and state of the island. I told him, that, as I did not

belong to his ship, he had nothing to say to me; and that, as a Christian, I was obliged to relieve other Christians. Three days after, three *Danish* factors, and four other men, came in their boat; and one of the factors, speaking *French*, said, they came to desire him to exchange some commodities proper for that country, for such as they had in their ship, or to sell them for ready money. *Regimond* answered, he would go see their commander, and supply him and his with all he could; dismissing them very well satisfied, with some present. Five days after, *Re-*

(37) *Relation du Voyage de Francis Canabe, de Rouen, en l'Isle de Madagascar, l'Isle adjacente, et cotes d'Afrique.*

It must be allowed, that our materials for the history of *As far as* this commerce are very scanty; and that we are obliged to *we can* collect

"gimnd manned his boat, and
 "put into it a bottle of *ros folis*,
 "which is a water ditilled with
 "cinnamon and sugar, very com-
 "fortable for the stomach, some
 "wet and dry sweetmeats, some
 "bottles of *Spanish* wine, gam-
 "mons of bacon, a barrel of salt,
 "a hundred thousand of all
 "sorts of string beads, four tun
 "of rice, and a barrel of beer.
 "I went in the boat with six-
 "teen others, of which number
 "were *Regimond* himself, and
 "James Proni, commander of
 "the colony of *St. Peter*. The
 "same day we departed from
 "port *St. Lucy* we came to that
 "of *Isolangure*, they being but
 "four leagues distant from one
 "another. The *Danish* ship
 "prepared to engage, hanging
 "out their lights even on the
 "round-tops; but, when they
 "knew us, all was turned into
 "joy, embraces, and scaling.
 "The commander treated us
 "with pigs, ducks, and other
 "fowl, he had brought alive
 "from the *Molucca* islands; and
 "after the entertainment, pre-
 "sented *James Proni* with a
 "flag and a hind, both alive,
 "brought from the same islands,
 "and, like ours, to breed in
 "the island of *Madagascar*,
 "where there were none; keep-
 "ing two flags and two hinds
 "to shew in *Dixmark*. *Regi-*
 "*mond* presented the said cap-
 "tain with all that was men-
 "tioned above, six pieces of
 "ebony each of them six feet
 "long, and half a foot square,
 "and two barrels of *French*
 "bread. In return, the *Dane*
 "gave him a *Perfian* jar bound
 "about with cane hoops to
 "carry it by, containing about
 "half a tierce, and full of
 "sugarcandy; another full of
 "white citron peel; another,
 "something smaller, of pre-
 "served ginger; [two others of
 "little preserved oranges and
 "lemons; a bag of pepper, con-
 "taining two measures; a bag
 "of one measure, of cloves; a
 "thousand of nutmegs; a pot
 "of preserved orange flowers;
 "a bag of cinnamon; two
 "pieces of *Denmark* cloth, 25
 "ells long each, the one of a
 "violet, and the other of a rose
 "colour; two peeces of *China*
 "double taffety, as long as
 "the others, one of white sat-
 "tin, and another of black
 "program; six pair of coloured
 "silk stockings, six fine callico
 "shirts, four cotton night-caps
 "stitched with white silk, two
 "pair of *Perfian* breeches which
 "reach down to the ancles;
 "two bundles of *Indian* canes,
 "of several colours and shapcs,
 "great and small, being about
 "one hundred; a whole service
 "of china-ware; and an earth-
 "en pitcher made of clay,
 "taken up near *Mohammed's*
 "tomb, with a grate over the
 "mouth, to pour water thro',
 "wh ch, being exposed to the
 "sun, cools, instead of grow-
 "ing hot." This last article is
 "a little superstitious; but how-
 "ever, there cannot well be any
 "evidence clearer than this pro-
 "duced, of the *Danes* driving
 "completely the trade of *India*
 "at this juncture; which might
 "surely have been extended and
 "established, if domestic disturb-

judge from
our mate-
rials, this
company
continued
some time
in a thriv-
ing con-
dition.

collect and range, in the best order we can, such passages as occur in authors of other nations, that speak incidentally of the traffick of the *Danes*, and not always with so much candour as we could wish. In spite, however, of these obstacles, we may venture to affirm, that in twenty years the ships of the *Danish East India* company had opened a trade with the *Moluccas*, which enabled their directors at *Tranquebar* to send home large vessels richly laden, with cargoes well assorted, from all parts of the *Indies*; so that during the reign of *Christian IV.* this commerce might be justly said to flourish as high a degree as that of any other nation in the same space of time, the *Portuguese* and *Dutch* only excepted; and, if we consider the difference of circumstances in regard to those nations and the *Danes*, we cannot but look on this as very extraordinary, and affording a proof that justice, industry, and an indefatigable application, will improve even a very small stock into a fund sufficient to answer the greatest purposes.

But those
circum-
stances,
that had
been fa-
vourable
to them,
changing,
their situ-
ation al-
ters.

THOSE, however, who pique themselves upon penetrating to the bottom of things, may possibly discern, that within these first twenty years there were many accidents happened in the *Indies* very favourable to the *Danish* colony, and to the views of those that were employed by the company at *Copenhagen*. The *Portuguese*, still under the subjection of *Spain*, were struggling with a foreign war, and domestic difficulties. The *Spaniards* rarely sent any ships beyond the straits of *Malacca*, the *Dutch* were fully occupied in obtaining the monopoly of spices, and the *English* felt the weight of discord at home even at so vast a distance. On the whole, therefore, the *Danes* met with little or no opposition from any of these nations, notwithstanding that the ruin of their commerce was looked upon as the joint interest of all. On the contrary, having nothing to do but to mind their own concerns, they were generally inclined to render good offices to such as stood in need of them, supplying them with provisions, ammunition, and arms, when they had occasion for them; by which they were great gainers, and made themselves many friends. In process of time, as things began to alter, and the *Dutch* acquired an apparent and a considerable ascendancy in the *Indies*, the *Danes*, as well as other nations, felt the effects of it, and found themselves excluded from some of

« *Gesta et Vestigia Danorum in Oriente*, p. 66.

ances had not destroyed in a great measure the attention, and in a still greater degree the capacity, to carry on such a trade as re-

quired a support at the beginning, which, when arrived at maturity, would have been amply repaid.

those

those branches of trade, which, within the foregoing period, had turned to the best account; and which, if they could have preserved, would have enabled them to have fulfilled the hopes that were entertained from so prosperous a beginning^w.

AT the same time that things began to take a wrong turn in respect to their affairs in the *Indies*, those in *Europe* took still a worse. The founder and supporter of this commerce, *Christiern* the fourth, had his attention called off from things at such a distance by those long and bloody wars, in which, during the last years of his life, he was continually engaged; and which with a very few, and those but short intervals, lasted for many years after his decease^x. These troubles in the north, amongst other mischievous consequences, had very bad effects on the affairs of the *Danish* company, and put it ~~at a loss~~ their power to correspond regularly with their colony at *Tranquebar*, which of consequence disabled that settlement from sending ships in the manner they had hitherto done into *Europe*^y. This alteration in their affairs was not only severely felt by them, but at the same time rendered them contemptible to the *European* nations that were more fortunate, and diminished their credit with the natives; circumstances that were equally mortifying and irreparable; neither was it a small addition to these untoward accidents, that, being altogether unforeseen, the state of their commerce did not at all correspond with the appearance of the fort and town, which they had taken care to embellish in a manner that distinguished it from most of the towns upon the coast, at least at this juncture^z.

THE famous Dutch navigator *Walter Schouten*, who is justly esteemed for the simplicity and veracity of his relations, informs us, that he was there in 1661; at which time the *Danish* fort, being a square, with regular bastions, all built of hard white stone, and the town of a large extent, laid out into long and broad streets, under its protection, afforded a very agreeable prospect from the sea. But he observes, as if it had been something remarkable, that there were two *Danish* ships in the port, the officers of which were very civil to those of the *Dutch* ship called the *Red Lion*, on which he was on board. It seems it was no usual thing for two ships to be there together; and he farther remarks, that their flags were

Affairs in Europe also take such a turn as is very prejudicial to the company.

Walter Schouten's account of the state of Tranquebar about the year 1661.

^w Voyage aux Indes Orientales, par GAUTIER SCHOUTEN, tom. i. p. 577. ^x PUFFENDORF, DESLOCHES, &c. ^y Commerce des Danois aux Indes, p. 53. ^z Dictionnaire de Commerce, tom. ii, col. 754.

but rarely seen in other parts of the *Indies*. He tells us likewise, that they were upon very bad terms with the *Moors*, which was one great occasion of their losses; and that the town was sometimes in danger of being plundered, if it had not been for the succours received from the fortress, in which there is always a pretty good garrison of *European* troops. The town, he farther says, was inhabited by *Tôpassees*, *Gentous*, and *Moors*, all of whom, according to the custom of that country, pay an annual capitation to the *Danes*, as "an acknowledgement for their defending them in time of danger" (M).

S E C T.

* Voyage aux Indes Orientales de GAUTIER SCHOUTEN, vol. i. p. 577.

(M) The Christian nations that trade to the *Indies*, such as the *English*, *Dutch*, and *French*, as well as the *Danes*, have settlements all along the coast of *Cocmandel*, so that they are nowhere above ten, and in some places not six leagues one from another. Each of these *European* forts or factories has a town, or at least a village, belonging to it, inhabited by Christians, *Moors*, and *Gentous*; but these last are generally speaking the most numerous (38). The huts that they live in are small and poor, resembling rather hovels for beasts than habitations for men, and yet for the most part they have numerous families. On the outside these huts appear to be so low, that one could scarce suppose a man could enter them with ease, or stand upright in them; but they are sunk so much below the surface of the soil, that they are considerably higher within. In these huts there are properly speaking no windows, but ra-

ther holes, which admit so few rays from the sun, and those too so oblique, as to create only a kind of twilight; yet in these mean, low, damp, dark, and wretched places, are wrought all those fine and beautiful piece goods that are brought in such quantities, and sold at so high a price, all over *Europe*. As provisions are cheap, and industry great amongst these people, who all work at something or other, they labour for very small wages, which enables such as purchase their goods at the first hand to gain considerably by them (39). This employs the Christians and the *Moors*, as well as the merchants of their own nation, who either send them to different places on their own account, or sell them to some of the *European* companies. Sometimes *Gentow* merchants, that are very rich, put themselves under the protection of an *European* fort, and manage the commerce between their masters and their countrymen, by

(38) *An account of the Religion and Government, Learning and Oeconomy, of the Malabarians*, p. 5.

(39) *Tacerner, Le Bruu, Ouygoun, &c.*

S E C T. III.

The different Shifts to which the Danish Colony are forced to have recourse, in order to maintain themselves in Possession of their Fortress. Attacked by the Naick of Tanjour with superior Forces. Generously assisted by the English, to whose gallant Behaviour they stand indebted for the Preservation of Tranquebar, and, of consequence, their Footing in the Indies.

AS it requires infinitely more skill to conduct a vessel in *Methods* storms, or through freights beset with rocks and shoals, *practised* than in fair weather, or in the open sea; so in a situation like *by the Da-* this, when the mother-country was able to do little or no- *nish com-* thing, sending supplies both seldom, and in a manner very ir- *pany's ser-* regular, we cannot with any colour of justice deny, that the *vants, in* managers of the *Danish* commerce deserved commendation for *order to* keeping their affairs on foot, rather than contempt for the *support* mean condition they were in. The methods by which they *that co-* did this merit explanation. In the first place, the revenue of *lony.* the town of *Tranquebar* afforded a subsistence for the garrison, which, though not very considerable, was regularly paid, and kept constantly complete. The small factories they had

which they grow excessively rich; which wealth, however, they conceal with as much industry as may be, since otherwise it would be taken from them either by the *Mogul's* officers, or by some of their own *Rajahs*, who are people equally rapacious. As the *Europeans* commonly defend them from both, they serve them with great fidelity; and, when they become rich, seldom stir out of their district (40). The *Maorish* merchants are more in number, and drive a very extensive trade, having several large ships of their own, which however are usually navigated, at least in a great measure, by *Europeans*; and it is mostly under their colours that they sail to all parts of the *Indies*, even as far as the *Munillas*. Of these vessels there are commonly twenty or thirty that belong to the ports of *Malabar*, besides those of the *Danish* company; and, as in this part of the world there is nothing done for nought, it is easy to conceive, that those who have the management of affairs at *Tranquebar*, draw considerable profit from that traffick which is carried on under their protection, as well as from the mechanics, and others who live by the fruit of their labours (41).

Hamilton's Account of the East Indies, vol. 1. p. 151. (41) Dn
London, &c. vol. 727.

on the *Malabar* coast, their lodge at *Chinchurat*, and some other places in *Bengal*, and a more considerable settlement at *Bantam*, furnished them with several kinds of commodities and manufactures, which were embarked, as occasion served, on board the vessels they sent to *Surat*, into the Bay of *Bengul*, to the shoights of *Malacca*, and to the island of *Celebes*^b. This country trade, if they had driven it intirely upon their own bottom, would not only have kept them from want, but procured them wealth, at least under a frugal management. The case, however, was otherwise; for, not having a sufficient capital, they were obliged to let out their ships for hire, and to take a great many goods on freight for *Gentru* and *Moorish* merchants. These several ways, taken together, kept them in a tolerable condition, and put it in their power to send now and then, perhaps once in two or three years, a ship to *Europe*^c.

The manner in which they have been from time to time distressed by the Rajah of Tanjour.

BUT though these, and other arts of a like kind, might enable them to go on in peaceable and quiet times, yet it could not be supposed they should afford them any resources in circumstances of distress or danger to which they were sometimes exposed, and more than once brought to the very brink of ruin. The principal cause of these difficulties was the quarrels they sometimes had with the Rajah of *Tanjour*, who, upon very frivolous pretences, interrupted their communication by land; and sometimes carried his resentment so high, as to besiege their fortress and town with a numerous army^d. If we may credit some accounts, as small and insignificant as the *Danish* commerce might appear in the eyes of their potent competitors, this did not intirely exempt them from envy, or hinder their covetous neighbours from offering very considerable sums for the port which they possessed. If the *Indian* Rajah could reduce it at other times, being himself hard pressed by the *Mogul*, he judged it reasonable, or at least necessary, that his tenants should bear a share of the hardship as well as himself; and therefore employed force to extort the sums for which he had occasion, and which, tho' their ability was very small, the *Danes* were compelled to furnish^e. When under these pressures, it has been insinuated, that they took very bold and unwarrantable steps to extricate themselves. An instance of this, we are assured by a countryman

^b Histoire des Indes Orientales, par GUYON, tom. iii. p. 77.
 Dictionnaire de Commerce, tom. ii. col. 754.
^c Commerce des Danois aux Indes, p. 51.
^d Gesta et Vestigia Danorum in Oriente, p. 67.
^e Dictionnaire de Commerce, tom. ii. col. 1142.

of ours, happened in 1684, when, through accidents of this sort, and the additional calamity of a famine, they were reduced so low as to pawn three of their bastions to the *Dutch*, for such a sum of money as might keep the garrison, and the people of the town, from starving. These, however, they redeemed the next year; but how they acquired the means of doing it, was a secret in the *Indies*. Some suspicions there were, however; because an *English* country ship, called the *Formosa*, bound to *Surat*, and which in her passage called at *Calicut* for water, wood, and other stores, never reached her port; and a great firing of guns was heard from sea not long after she sailed from *Calicut*; and two *Danish* ships were at that time cruising from *Cape Commorin* to *Surat*, which occasioned great doubts which were never cleared up^f (N).

IT

¹⁷⁴⁴ ¹⁷⁴⁵

^f HAMILTON'S Account of the East Indies, tom. i. p. 352.

(N) We have shewn in the foregoing note, that all the *European* nations, who have any share in the trade to the *Indies*, have also settlements upon this coast, and are consequently rivals. This is the true source from which those strange stories arise that are circulated in the *Indus*, often upon very slight, and not seldom without the least foundation. Thus, if we may depend upon Mr. *Thevenot* (42), when the *French East India* company was about to form an establishment at *Surat*, the governor of that great city was informed, that they were no better than a nation of pirates; and, to make this the better believed, they magnified the cruelties of one *Hugo Lambert*, who had taken a *Moorish* vessel laden with the baggage of the Queen of *Vishapour*, on the coast of *Arabia*; on which occasion, it was said that he tortured several persons, to make them confess what was become of the silver and jewels that had been on board. However, a certain *Capuchin* monk, whose name was Father *Ambrósio*, undertook to clear up the matter; and, tho' *Hugo's* vessel was in part manned by *French*, had a *French* commission, and sailed under *French* colours, yet this *Hugo*, who commanded her, was a *Dutchman*; and thus the tale was retorted upon those who had given it credit. But, after all, whatever suspicions there were, no proof is pretended in the case mentioned in the text; and, as several *Moorish* princes upon the coast of *Malabar* regard piracy as a kind of royal amusement, the loss of the *Formosa* may be as well placed to their account (43). But we may go one step farther; the ships from *Surat* are generally richly laden, that is, have a large quantity of silver on board; but vessels bound to *Surat* have little or no money on board (44);

(42) *Voyage aux Indes Orientales*, tom. v. p. 63. (43) *Tavernier, Gemelli*
Carreri, Thevenot, &c. (44) *From private information.*

and,

*Imputa-
tions on the
Danes in
regard to
ship taken,
or supposed
to be taken,
by them.*

IT is without doubt a very unbecoming thing in a historian to throw out national reflections, or to deliver as matters of fact what may suggest them, when no authority can be brought to support those facts beyond the power of contradiction; and for this reason we have been so tender in mentioning what the reader may find very roundly asserted in several books of voyages; and which it is certain is an opinion commonly received in the *Indies*, whether well grounded or not. Taking it for granted that it is not altogether without foundation, that piracies are said to have been committed by ships under the *Danish* flag, the same perhaps may be also said of other nations; and the *French* accounts of *Madagascar* furnish us with instances of their ships cruising upon the *Moors* without any colour of justice, and without so much as the excuse of necessity or distress * (O). But, as these are ~~things~~

* *Histoire de grande île de Madagascar, par Monsieur FLA-COURT, p.*

and, as to a rich cargo of goods, the *Danes* could never have sold them without furnishing sufficient evidence of the means by which they had acquired them.

(O) It is very possible, and to say the truth very probable, that the *Danes* might at this time cruise upon the *Moors*; and might justify this by way of reprisal, on account of their own vessels being taken by the people of *Malabar*; but the *French* could have no such reason, since they made prizes of the *Moors* before they had so much as an establishment in the *Indies*. We will cite an instance from one who was himself an actor in what he relates; and who ingeniously confesses, that, having been able to make nothing by planting at *Madagascar*, they were desirous of trying what might be done by sea on the coasts of *Arabia*. Take his

narration in his own words (45): "Proceeding onward in
"twenty-three degrees of north
"latitude, near the tropic of
"Cancer, and before *Mecca*,
"we met five *Dutch* ships. Af-
"ter the usual salutes, they
"made out to sea, and we ran
"up in sight of *Suez*, which is
"at the bottom of the gulph.
"Passing betwixt *Zibid*, an open
"town on the coast of the
"kingdom of *Abyssinia*, under
"the tropic of Cancer, and the
"island of *Suberga*, which is on
"the other side of the gulph,
"above *Mecca* in *Arabia*, we
"discovered an *English* frigate
"convoying the merchants that
"traded from one side to the
"other. They of the frigate
"would have picked a quarrel
"with us, threatening to deli-
"ver us up to the country-
"people as rovers; but, seeing
"us prepare to fight, they left

(45) *Relation du Voyage de François Cauche, de Rouen, en l'Île de Madagascar, Isles adjacentes, et Côtes d'Afrique.*

things of a very odious nature, we will dwell upon them no longer, but return to the current of our history; which leads us

“ us pass. At length, after
 “ ranging all the gulph, we
 “ steered about towards the
 “ mouth of it; and, being in
 “ fifteen degrees of north lati-
 “ tude, near the island *Zeiban*,
 “ which is between *Zibit* in
 “ *Arabia*, and *Maxua* on the
 “ coast of *Abyssinia*, our bark
 “ met a *Malabar* vessel, having
 “ thirty men aboard, besides the
 “ passengers, going over from
 “ *Archie* to *Arquico*. This bark
 “ carried twelve pattereroes, and
 “ was loaded with scarlet cloth,
 “ gold and silver, besides a
 “ quantity of money, most of
 “ which belonged to an *Abyssinian*
 “ lord, who had just married
 “ a wife in *Arabia Felix*. She
 “ was likewise aboard, beauti-
 “ ful and young, wearing a
 “ tunic of white and red striped
 “ sattin, with a sort of man’s
 “ coat of the same silk, reach-
 “ ing down to her hams; a
 “ little red and white turban
 “ on her head, and under it a
 “ white coiffe of very fine mus-
 “ lin. The husband’s garment
 “ was of crimson velvet, with
 “ gold loops; and his servants,
 “ being twelve in number, had
 “ all cloaths equally striped
 “ black and white from top to
 “ bottom, as also turbans and
 “ scymiters. The sails of the
 “ vessel were made of rushes, as
 “ are those of the *Malabars* and
 “ *Japoneses*; the commander’s
 “ name was *Lalo*. As soon as
 “ our bark discovered them,
 “ she hoisted the red flag at the
 “ topmast-head, and fired a gun,
 “ to give notice to our ship that
 “ we espied a sail; and then
 “ chased the vessel till we came
 “ up; which as soon as we
 “ did, she presently sent to
 “ order the stranger vessel to
 “ strike her sails, and disarm;
 “ and, they refusing so to do,
 “ the bark fired four guns. That
 “ daunted them; but much
 “ more, when our ship laid her
 “ aboard, they demanded to
 “ capitulate; and surrendered,
 “ upon condition that no wrong
 “ should be done either to the
 “ new-married lord, his reti-
 “ nue, or the vessel. This be-
 “ ing granted, we made *Lalo*
 “ come aboard our ship, and
 “ brought with him all the
 “ money we found aboard his
 “ vessel, with some pieces of
 “ scarlet cloth, and eight cows,
 “ leaving them four, with their
 “ provisions and water, which
 “ was in great jars, as also a
 “ considerable part of their
 “ goods. The ready money,
 “ amounting to above two hun-
 “ dred thousand crowns, satisfi-
 “ ed our captain’s avarice,
 “ which made him undertake
 “ that voyage. Having taken
 “ leave of one another, we
 “ held on our course to return
 “ to *France*; but fortune, which
 “ favoured us beyond our wish-
 “ es, brought into our mouths
 “ a merchant ship bound from
 “ *Cape Guardafu* for *Xarl*, with:
 “ out any defence; of which
 “ having possessed ourselves
 “ without any opposition, we
 “ took out most of the goods,
 “ being silks and callicoos of
 “ all colours, with raw silk and
 “ cotton, leaving the ship and
 “ merchants to go where they
 “ pleased. We steered our
 “ course thence to *Madagafcar*;
 “ and,

us to shew, that the *English* were much better neighbours to the *Danes* than some other people, who made no scruple of taking advantage from their distress^b; whereas our countrymen not only contributed to relieve them from a principle of friendship and generosity, but did it also at their own cost, and to their own loss.

The Rajah of Tanjour, incited by some bad neighbours, resolves to dispossess the Danes of Tranquebar.

ABOUT the close of the last century, when Mr. Pitt was the *English* governor at Fort St. George, a proposition is said to have been made to the Rajah of Tanjour, for the purchase of Tranquebar, at no less a rate than fifty thousand pardoes in ready money, when it should be in his power to deliver it. The *Danes*, having early intelligence of this intrigue, applied to the *English* for succour; which was generously promised, and afterwards as punctually performedⁱ. The Rajah of Tanjour, having once resolved upon this enterprise, assembled an army of between thirty and forty thousand men, with which he marched strait towards Tranquebar. The *Indians* were so extremely cautious, that they began to open their trenches above a mile from the town, and carried on two attacks. The earth being a dry sand, they drove down the bodies of cocoa-nut-trees instead of stakes, both on the inside and on the out, and filled up the space between them with sand, so that their trenches were almost as thick as a town-wall, and very high, so that they were perfectly covered from the *Danish* fire. They had about twenty or thirty thousand men employed in this siege; and with incredible labour and patience, in about five months time, they brought down their trenches within pistol-shot of the walls; and with their batteries had almost ruined one of the bastions, when the *English* reinforcements arrived. The *Danes* expected every day an assault, and were preparing to move their effects into the fort, and quit the town; and indeed they gave the enemy very little disturbance in carrying on their works, for the garrison did not consist of more than two hundred *Europeans*,

^b HARRIS'S Voyages, vol. i. p. 977. ⁱ HARRIS'S Voyages, ibid.

“and, without meeting any thing worth observing, anchored at Port St. Lucy the beginning of November 1643, and landed at our colony of St. Peter.” This humour of taking, instead of trading, has been fatal to those nations who have indulged it, and more es-

pecially to the *Portuguese*; so that if the *Danes* have really dipped in it, we need not wonder at the declension of their colony, for none surely would willingly confide in such as were partly merchants, and partly corsairs.

as many *Indian Portuguese*, and about a thousand blacks ; and, besides the fort, they had to defend the circumference of the town wall was not less than a mile and a half. It was faced with stone, but had no ditch ; and therefore the *Danes*, to prevent the enemy's scaling it, had set high pallisadoes upon the top of the ramparts.

A DAY or two after the *English* arrived a sally was resolved ; and about sun-rise a detachment of the blacks marched out, and were followed by the *English* : but the blacks were no sooner out of the gates, than they opened to the right and left, and made room for the *English* to advance, never intending to engage themselves. A body of the enemy moved out of their trenches upon this, and came on in tolerable order with their broad swords and shields, without shooting an arrow, or firing a piece. They were all decently clothed in white vests and turbants, and seemed determined to engage hand to hand in the plain between the town and the trenches. The *English* officers were in some pain, seeing this body of *Indians* advance with so good a countenance, knowing their men were several of them new raised, and mixed with *Portuguese*, on whom there is very little dependence. But the great guns from the walls, beginning to play, put them into confusion, and they retired to their trenches with much greater haste than they came out ; and our men, advancing while they were in that consternation, drove them still farther : but there being no preparations made for levelling the trenches, and the day growing hot, the *English* retired into the town, and the enemy returned into their works, without any great loss on either side.

A few days after it was resolved to make another sally with the greatest part of the garrison ; and accordingly they marched out at the great gate opposite to the principal attack. The black soldiers, according to custom, retired under the walls almost as soon as they were out, to make room for the *Europeans*. The enemy kept close in their trenches, firing continually. Between the two attacks, upon the plain, stood a considerable body of musketeers and pikemen, against whom the *English* commander thought fit to advance ; but had not marched many paces before a ball wounded him in the middle of his foot, which compelled him to quit the field. The next officer thereupon took the command, and led them towards the enemy, who were drawn up in the plain. That body, retreating, drew the *English* so far from the town, that they were intercepted by the *Moorish* horse ; and the *Danes*, whom the *English* expected to have supported them, never advanced a step. In this exigency the *English* officer having

thrown

thrown some grenades into the trenches, the *Indians* were so complaisant as to quit them, and make room for the *English*, who marched quite along them towards the town, till they came to the end of the works; but here they were met by the *Moorish* horse; yet upon making one general fire, in which great execution was done, the horse scoured off, and left the *English* at liberty to march on to the walls, where they found the *Danes* drawn up in perfect security. In this action the *English* were one half of them killed or wounded; but however, it was by this seasonable assistance that the *Danes* preserved this town and fortrefs; for, soon after, the Rajah of *Tanjour*, growing weary of a war that harassed his subjects, and brought himself no advantage, retired into his own territories, and left the *Danes* at liberty to pursue their trade, and restore their shattered affairs as well as they could *.

S E C T. IV.

Frederic IV. takes a Resolution of employing Missionaries to preach the Christian Faith amongst the Pagans. The Steadiness with which, in spite of all Discouragements, this excellent Design has been pursued. An accurate Account of the Danish Settlement, Fortrefs, Port, adjacent Country, Dependencies, present Condition, and future Prospects from the Colony at Tranquebar. Some Conjectures on this Subject, and the Arguments for and against the Danish Schemes truly and clearly stated.

Danish
mission-
aries sent
to Tran-
quebar by
King Fre-
deric IV.

BY these, and other such-like accidents, the commerce of *Tranquebar* was exceedingly reduced at the entrance of the present century, notwithstanding all the care that those intrusted with the management of the company's affairs could take; they therefore thought themselves at liberty to divert a part of their attention to putting things upon the spot in the best condition possible, that, by enlarging the town, and increasing the number of her subjects, their revenue at once might be augmented, and rendered more certain. In order to further this scheme, the *Danish* company, having applied themselves to their monarch *Frederic* the fourth, a prince of sincere piety, as well as great clemency and prudence, he inquired narrowly into the state of religion, which he apprehended ought to have been one of their principal objects in

* *Gesta et Vestigia Danorum in Oriente*, p. 67.

the conduct of that colony ; and, receiving a very unsatisfactory account, he determined to send over missionaries thither ; an action equally worthy of a Christian prince, and of a sound politician¹ (P). Upon this occasion recourse was had to the celebrated

¹ HAMILTON'S Account of the East Indies, vol. i. p. 352.

(P) The desire of propagating the Christian religion is natural to every prince who is sincerely influenced by his own belief of it ; and to this principle the spreading of the Christian faith has been in a great measure owing. What advantages have attended this, may be easily perceived by comparing *Europe* with the other parts of the globe ; and by considering the circumstances in which the inhabitants, particularly of the northern regions, were before their conversion, and the condition in which we behold them at present. The zeal, therefore, of spreading the gospel, as a scheme of happiness, into the most distant parts of the world, is at once a testimony of true beneficence, as well as solid piety ; and experience shews us, that it has prevailed farther, and had much more powerful effects than either human policy, or force of arms. A Christian prince, who desires to raise an establishment in countries at so vast a distance as the *Indies*, can never fix those hopes on any notion so probable or rational as that of converting the natives to Christianity, because this is the only way to intitle him to the especial favour of Providence, without which all hopes of prosperity are vain (46). Possessions acquired either by purchase or by conquest turn to little account without people ; and to think of sending sufficient numbers so far, is to hazard depopulation at home for the chance of raising colonies abroad. But to convert the natives, is in effect to acquire their bodies as well as to save their souls : he ever becomes a good Christian is a good subject of course, and in the *Indies* more especially, where the natives have moral notions and moral habits from education, the consequence is so much the more certain. But, to form some judgment of the benefits that might arise from hence, let us only reflect on the advantages the *Spaniards* would draw from their territories in the *West Indies*, if those ten millions of people, which they are said to have destroyed there by that time their conquests were complete (47), were added to the present number of their subjects ; according to a moderate computation, this must add to their annual revenue at least as many pounds sterling. Suppose the emperor of *Ceylon*, and all his subjects, were Christians and Protestants, can there be any doubt made that this would increase the commerce of that island in an extraordinary degree ? One great argument in favour of the truth of the Chris-

(46) *Histoire du Christianisme des Indes*. par M. La Croix, p. 521. (47) *Purcell's Engraving*, p. 962, 963, 964.

celebrated Dr. *Francke*, divinity professor of the university of *Halle* in *Saxony*, a man equally distinguished for his learning, piety, and disinterested zeal for religion; who, from amongst his numerous disciples, made choice of two, *Bartholomew Ziegenbalg* and *Henry Plutschau*, whom he recommended as perfectly qualified for so arduous an undertaking^m. These, therefore, were received in that quality by his *Danish* Majesty, and orders given that they should be sent by the next ships into the *Indies*; and accordingly, on the twenty-fifth of *November* 1705, at *Copenhagen*, they embarked on board the *Princess Sophia Hedwigh*, and arrived in the month of *April* following at the *Cape of Good Hope*; and, sailing from thence again, on the 8th of *May* they entered the harbour of *Tranquebar*, on the coast of *Coromandel*, the beginning of *July* 1706ⁿ (Q).

THEIR

^m Propagation of the Gospel in the East, P. iii. p. 2. Gesla
et Vestigia Danorum in Oriente, vol. i. p. 74.

tian religion is, that it contributes highly to our temporal interests; and if this be so, then the propagation of the gospel is the most perfect policy, and will be found so in the event. Plausible objections, no doubt, may be raised against this by men of subtilty, and who have the art of representing their notions in a fair dress; but they will have little weight with those who reflect, that human nature is every-where the same; and that what has spread learning, politeness, and happiness, thro' one quarter of the world, is like, with due attention, to be attended with the same happy effects in any other.

(Q) The pious design of sending missionaries to *Tranquebar* is said to have been suggested to *Frederic* the fourth by one of his chaplains (48); but, whoever proposed it, the honour

certainly belongs to that prince who carried so good a design into execution. Some possibly may surmise, that the scheme of sending Protestant priests into the *Indies* was in some measure a work of supererogation, considering the numbers of Popish monks and missionaries who are already there with greater advantages, better connected, and more effectually supported, than Protestant preachers can with any probability propose or expect. If therefore these, as themselves report, make continually multitudes of converts, why should they be disturbed? Or, on the other hand, if they labour in vain, and the harvest proves but thin, though the husbandmen are many, what reasons are there to hope? In answer to this, it may be truly said, that these considerations, instead of deterring, ought to have prompt-

(48) *Histoire du Christianisme des Indes, par M. La Croye, p. 535. See also the Introduction to the third part of the Propagation of the Gospel in the East.*

THEIR countrymen gave them but little encouragement upon their first coming over; and were so far from shewing any extraordinary zeal for this new establishment, that they made no scruple of treating it as a project chimerical and impracticable; into which belief they were led from a persuasion, that the missionaries would never be able to learn the *Damulian* language, which is commonly spoken throughout *Malabar*, to such a degree of perfection as to preach it fluently to a people naturally fond of oratory, and esteemed to speak their own language more correctly than any of the nations in their neighbourhood°. This did not at all discourage our missionaries, who within a short time set up a *Portuguese* school, where they taught poor children *gratis*. They next took a *Malabar* schoolmaster, with all his disciples, amongst whom they entered themselves, and were content to

Obstacles they met with, and how cheerfully they were encountered and happily overcome.

- Propagation of the Gospel in the East, P. i. p. 26, 27.

ed, as very probably they did, a prudent and religious prince to pursue this measure with vigour. The Jesuits, and other missionaries, do not so properly convert the *Indians* to Christianity as to popery; they preach not the gospel according to St. *Matthew* or St. *Luke*, but according to Father *Jerom Xavier* (49). They multiply their converts rather by teaching them exterior ceremonies, than the doctrines of the Christian faith; and keep them in such a dependence on the church of *Rome*, and on themselves, as takes away all probability of seeing any national churches of Christians in the *Indies*. Whoever seriously reflects on these particulars, will easily discern why they have preached hitherto with so little effect; and what grounds there are to hope that those who preach the gospel sincerely, who put the holy scriptures into the hands of the natives in their own

language, who profess that God is no respecter of persons, who make not the least difference between new and old Christians, who desire to see these people not proselytes only, but preachers, may succeed where they have failed (50). On the whole, therefore, the sending these missionaries was certainly a very prudent as well as a very pious undertaking, flowing from just and laudable motives, and not from a hasty fit of enthusiasm; and which, as the reader will see in the next note, has been steadily and constantly prosecuted, to the honour of the *Danish* government, and the great benefit of the natives, through the visible blessing of God on the labours of the missionaries, and the assistance given them more especially by their *English* neighbours, which they have generously and publicly acknowledged.

(49) *Histoire du Christianisme des Indes*, par M. La Croix, p. 333. (50) *The History of the Church of Malabar*, by Dr. Michael Geddes, P. iv.

learn to read and write that language with the children; which they did with such assiduity, that in a year's time they became masters of it, and could read, write, and speak it, as well as any of the natives ^p. Mr. *Ziegenbalg* continued his apostolic labours with indefatigable zeal till February 23d, 1719, when, being absolutely worn out with his incredible fatigues, he departed this life when not full thirty-six years of age ^q. As for Mr. *Plutschau*, being of a weaker constitution, he was forced, after preaching there for some years, to return home; but his place was supplied by others, who, following the example of Mr. *Ziegenbalg*, promoted vigorously the design upon which they were sent, and made many converts. In the course of their mission they met with many difficulties and discouragements; but by an indefatigable diligence and exemplary life, and a fervent zeal for that gospel they preached, overcame them all (R).

WE

^p Histoire du Christianisme des Indes, par Monf. LA CROZE, p. 537. Propagation of the Gospel in the East, P. iii. p. 8.
^q Histoire du Christianisme des Indes, par Monsieur LA CROZE, p. 536. 567.

• (R) The reader will easily perceive, that, to enter into a regular detail of these matters would require a complete treatise, and that of no small extent; what therefore is said here to illustrate what has been already said in the text, is only with a view to prevent the charge of omitting, in a work of this nature, a point of such high importance; and, having premised this, we will proceed to some farther hints. The missionaries first sent over met with many difficulties, and, amongst others, with these, which must have discouraged men of less piety, prudence, or application. They discovered, when they came to study, that the *Damulian* language was extremely copious, very elegant, and that they

were fallen precisely in that part of the country where it was the most correctly spoken, and best understood, it was therefore necessary for them not barely to acquire this language, but to acquire it in the greatest perfection, that, in point of eloquence, they might not fall short of their opponents. Their grammars, dictionaries, and translations, fully prove that they overcame this obstacle, and made the way smoother for those that succeeded them (51). They found a great coldness in their countrymen at *Tranquebar*, and indeed a general contempt of their design, as undertaken by persons ignorant of those circumstances that rendered it impracticable. In a little time they got the better of this; and by a

(51) Account of the Religion and Government, Learning and Oeconomy, of the Malabarians, p. 27, 28, 29.

We are indebted to the letters published from these worthy *A succinct* missionaries for the largest, clearest, and most certain account, *description* that we have of this country, taking in the dominions of the *of the little* Indian prince to whom the sovereignty belongs; as well as *principality* the *Danish* colony, which is our proper subject. The *ty of Tan-* principality of *Tanjour* extends in length, from east to west, about *jour, and* one hundred *English* miles; and in breadth, from south to *of the con-* north, about seventy¹. This country is extremely well peo- *siderable* pled; and the *Gentows* are here, 'as they are every-where else, *places* *therein*.

¹ Account of the Religion and Government, Learning and Oeconomy, of the Malabarians, p. 6.

just application of small charities, procured more considerable assistance from all quarters, but more especially from *England*, where Archbishop *Tennison*, and the society for propagating the gospel in foreign parts, entered heartily into their scheme, and procured them a printing press, and printers, which were sent over; they were likewise very kindly treated by those intrusted with the *East India* company's affairs at *Port St. George* (52). Some discouragements were thrown in their way, and many calumnies published concerning them by the jesuits and their creatures; which they refuted by the soundness of their doctrines, the probity of their lives, the progress of their mission, which exceeded all expectation (53). They had great opposition given them by the *Rajah* of *Tanjour*, and from the implacable malice of the *By* degrees they softened both, by making no returns, and by shewing that modesty, humility, and universal charity in their actions, which they recommended in

their discourses (54). One only difficulty lay out of their reach to subdue, which gave them greater trouble, and retarded them more, than all the rest; this was, the general corruption of Christians, which was continually objected to them, and which they could not either deny or reform; yet in this they were no farther unhappy than the *Portuguese* had found themselves, according to the account of *Francis Xavier* upon his arrival: it was not fit to preach the gospel in such a country, where the natives, finding that the missionaries resembled those of *India*, more than Christians. However, from the exact behaviour and exemplary lives of the *Malabar* children brought up in their charity schools, the natives are now taught to see what Christian principles will produce in practice, and the difference between real converts, and those who become nominally so for some trivial advantage.

* (52) *Histoire du Christianisme des Indes*, par M. La Caze, p. 556.

(53) *Gesta et Vestigia Danorum in Oriente*, p. 74.

(54) *Lettres* &c.

et curieuses, tom. xiv, p. 481, 482. *Histoire du Christianisme des Indes*, p. 554.

(55) *Life of St. Francis Xavier*, translated by M. Dryden, p. 92.*

ingenious, innocent, and indefatigable. The ordinary revenues of the Rajah are about seven or eight hundred thousand pagodas; but, like the other princes of the *Indies*, he is supposed to have prodigious sums in his treasury*. He has always an hundred and forty trained elephants, and about three hundred horse, with a small body of infantry; but, when he is disposed to take up arms, he can, by the help of his money, raise almost what number of men he pleases; but thirty or forty thousand without difficulty. He is notwithstanding tributary to the *Great Mogul*, who sometimes draws from him large sums besides his tribute. His capital, which is likewise called *Tanjour*, is large, and encompassed with a strong wall; and his castle, or place of residence, spacious, magnificent, and well fortified, insomuch that, notwithstanding the armies of the *Mogul* have sometimes over-run his country, yet they have never been able to reduce this place, though they have besieged it more than once. According to the computation of our missionaries, it is distant from *Tranquebar* about sixty *Englisb* miles. The Rajah of *Tanjour* has, besides, three other strong places in his territory, exclusive of the little port of *Karical*, and the fortrefs wick covers it; and which are now, as the reader will see at large in the next chapter, fallen into the hands of the *French*† (S).

As

* TAVERNIER, LE BRUN, DELLON, &c.
des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 263.

† Histoire

(S) The very last war, which proved so fatal to the authority of the *Mogul*, and so disastrous to all the *Europeans* settled on the coast of *Coremandel*, of which we shall be obliged to speak again more largely, in another place, took its rise from the then reigning king of *Tanjour*. *Dauust Ali Khan* was nabob or viceroy of *Arcotte* at the time that *Nadir Shah* deposed, and made prisoner, *Mohammed Shah*, emperor of *Indostan*; and, instead of marching, with the numerous army under his command, to the support of his master, he formed a design of reducing all

the *Indian* princes as far as *Cape Commorin*, in order to distribute their dominions between his son and his son-in-law (56). Those young men, being at the head of an army, speedily reduced the little principality of *Trichernapally*, and from thence advanced into the neighbouring country of *Tanjour*. The name of the then reigning prince was *Sabaji Maba Rajah*, who had but just put an end to a civil war that had constrained him to demand assistance from the *French*; and to promise them, in return, a town and port more commodious, and a district more

* {56} Histoire des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 275.

As to the climate, in the months of *August, September, The nature*
and *October*, it is temperate and healthy; the land-breeze *of the cli-*
warm in the morning, that from the sea, cool and refreshing in *mate, sea-*
the afternoon. In *November, December*, and part of *Janu-*
ary, the west wind blows, bringing with it at the beginning *fons, wea-*
very stormy weather, much rain, and sometimes frost. From *ther, and*
the middle of *January* to the end of *April* the weather is *of the an-*
temperate again; but from *May* to the middle of *July* it is *nual alter-*
excessively hot, and sometimes there is a wind blows as if it *ations*
came out of an oven or a furnace". In all these seasons *therein.*
the nights are not only temperate, but even chilly: the natives
enjoy the hot, the *Europeans* the rainy or winter season, when
every thing is fresh and green, and a variety of odoriferous
flowers, shrubs, and trees, exhale a fragrance that may be
conceived, but not described. It is almost unnecessary to ob-
serve, that the days and nights are nearly equal. At the
changing of the seasons they have commonly very tempestuous
weather, attended with terrible storms of thunder and light-
ning, which frequently do a great deal of mischief; but, with
respect to hail and snow, they are never seen in those parts,

■ Account of the Religion and Government, Learning and
Oeconomy, of the Malabarians, p. 11, 12, 13. *

valuable, than that of *Pondichery*, of which at this very
juncture they were endeavouring to get possession by force (57).
Sabagi, pressed by the *Moors* army on one side, and having
their allies the *French* upon his coast on the other, had recourse
to that method which had been so useful to his ancestors; and,
having chosen out of his whole army a sufficient number of de-
termined men, he shut himself up in his capital, and sent his
embassadors to *Maba Raja*, king of the *Marattes*, to implore his
assistance; who, accordingly, in *October* 1738, sent a powerful
army to his relief, by which the siege of *Tanjour* was raised (58).

In the mean time the *Moors* had put the *French* in possession of *Karical*, as will be shewn at large
hereafter, and is remarked here only to put the reader in mind
of the alteration this has made as to the circumstances of the
Danes at *Tranquebar*, who are now in the middle, between
Pondichery which lies to the north, and *Karical* to the south, of
them; and there is little doubt to be made, that in the space of
a few years the latter will be as much improved as the former;
and what consequences this may have with respect to the *Danes*,
is left to the judicious reader's consideration (59).

(57) *Memoires Historiques sur les Missions des Malabar*, par E. P. No 111, tom. i. p. 350. (58) *Archives de la Compagnie des Indes*, N. 161. G. 63. L. 1. F. 3. avec un Memoire particulier. (59) *Histoire des Indes Orientales*, tom. iii. p. 272, 273, 274.

yet their water is so chilled in the winter as to give them an idea of ice * (T).

As

* Voyage aux Indes Orientales, par GAUTIER SCHOUTEN, tom. i. p. 593. Description of the Coast of Coromandel, by BALDÆUS.

((T) What is said in the text is taken from the plain relation of the *Danish* missionaries, and may without doubt be depended upon as to the facts; yet, as the weather hereabouts has afforded much speculation to the learned, and as the curious reader may probably expect that we should not slip over unheeded a matter so capable of affording him entertainment and instruction, we will endeavour, from the best authorities, to set this affair in as clear a light as we can (60): "It has been always considered as a thing very extraordinary, that in *Coromandel* the seasons differ from the heavens; for the sun there causes great heat in *March*, *April*, *May*, and *June*, and no rains. The *Moors* divide the year into three seasons, hot, wet, and cold. The heat from the fourth of *May* to the fourth of *June* is intolerable. The wind blows from the north, to which if you turn your face, you feel such heat in the air as is perceived near a furnace; for the sun is then to the north at mid-day, and the slopes and wood are very hot; but the water in the wells very cold, so that sometimes people are killed by drinking it when they are hot. The greatest heat is from nine in the forenoon till

three in the afternoon, and then there is no travelling; but at other times it is temperate and tolerable, and the air clear, and travelling delightful. The wet season is from the first of *July* to the first of *November*; and the cold from the first of *November* to the first of *March*; and in *January* and *December* the cold in the night is sensible enough. There are here several things that deserve to be inquired into; for from the first of *March* to the first of *July* the sun is nearly vertical to them, and therefore no wonder if the heat be great then; yet one would think it should be as hot in *July* and *August*, when the sun is also over them, and hath the advantage of the former heat, and so should in this way of reasoning be greater: and, besides, how come the seasons there to differ from those on the *Malabar* shore, being both in the same climate, and having the sun vertical and remote at the very same times? And, which is more strange, there are not seventy miles, and in some places only twenty miles, between them; so that you may come from the places where the air is clear and hot to where it is foul and rainy in one day. *Maf-*

As for the soil, it is in itself extremely fertile, producing vast quantities of rice, many sorts of nourishing roots, and great variety of wholesome herbs, as well for the use of the table as for the apothecary's shop: they have most of those fine fruits of which they boast so much in the *Indies*; and their flowers equally delight the sight and smell by their beauty and odour. Yet this country has scarce any rivers, and but few rivulets, and is notwithstanding tolerably well watered; for in the summer, when every thing would be parched and burnt if it were otherwise, there come down land-floods from the northern countries, which the *Gentows* distribute with such dexterity over their lands, that whatever they cultivate is sufficiently nourished*: yet, for constant and domestic use, they are obliged to have recourse to well-water, which, if it is not at all brackish, and is brought from any distance, bears a considerable price for that country; and, on this account, in all the roads, at the distance of a league, or a little more, there are very neat structures built by charitable and public-spirited persons, where travellers may repose themselves as long as they think proper, and are in many accommodated with water *gratis*†. There are also in the country of *Tanjour* very fine meadows and pastures, well stocked with cattle

Fertility of the soil, how watered, produce, and other particulars relative to the country.

* Account of the Religion and Government, Learning and Oeconomy, of the Malabarians, p. 17—20. † *Histoire des Indes Orientales*, par GUYON, tom. ii. p. 101.

“ *feus* (61) writes on this subject thus: *There are other things very strange in that country; but what more especially puzzles naturalists, is, that in the same months there should be summer beyond the mountains of Gate, which run all the way to the promontory of Comoren, and on this side the Gate there should be winter and constant rains, the people, though near one another, having opposite seasons.* The best account hitherto given is, that it arises from the situation of the mountains which divide *Coromandel* and *Malabar*, running north and

south, together with the stated winds; for on the shore of *Coromandel* the general wind is more felt, except in the summer months of *May* and *June*, which drive the vapours against the mountains, and makes rain in *Malabar*; the mountains are then observed covered always with clouds in the wet months, and the showers more vehement on them when it rains in *Malabar*; but, when it rains in *Coromandel*, the sky is clear on the mountains as in *Malabar* itself, excepting the months of *July* and *August*, for then it rains in both.”

of different sorts. On the coast they have plenty of good fish; and birds and fowl, tame and wild, of as many different kinds as in almost any country. In short, the country affords every thing that can render it commodious and pleasant, to such as are disposed to live in a manner suitable to the dictates of nature and right reason, that is, temperately in all respects; for it must be owned, that excesses are always dangerous, and sometimes fatal; but those, who are careful in avoiding these, commonly enjoy a good state of health* (V).

The genius, manners, and employments, of the natives, extent of

THE natives are naturally sensible and ingenious, very capable of being instructed in all sorts of learning, and have a surprising facility in acquiring mechanic arts. The *Malabaric* language is said to be divided into eighteen dialects, the principal of which are these three; the *Kerendum*, which may be stiled the tongue of the learned, being chiefly used by the *Bramins*, and confined to their religious mysteries; the *Da*.

* TAVERNIER, SCHOUTEN, HAMILTON, and the Missionaries.

(V) There is a great deal of confusion and obscurity in what those writers say, who have visited this coast, about the overflowing of the rivers. The learned *Varenius* (62) says, *that they overflow in the wet months, and are supplied by the rains that pour from the mountains of Gate*. At first sight these words seem to be plain; but, when better considered, we shall find them very obscure. For, this ridge of mountains separating the two coasts, how shall we know what is meant by the wet season, that is, whether it refers to *Malabar* or *Coromandel*? since, as these are directly opposite, till that question is answered, the true sense of the expression cannot be known. On comparing, however, the best writers together, it appears, that the overflowing of the rivers, or rather the coming down of land-floods, is

in the dry season, as is asserted in the text; without which the earth would be then so parched, that it would scarcely be habitable; whereas when the seasons are regular, from this special provision made by Divine Wisdom, and directed by human experience, all the arable and meadow lands are kept for some time two feet under water, which renders them wonderfully fertile, besides affording them the benefit of double harvests (63). The more the disposition of these countries, and the consequences that follow from thence, and from the annual motion of the sun, are considered, the more evident it will be to every competent judge of these matters, that they are conducted by unerring wisdom, and with that spirit of bounty and goodness that is universally discoverable throughout his works,†

(62) *Geograph. scilicet* iv. cap. 15.

(63) *Account of the Religion and Government, Learning and Oeconomy, of the Malabarians*, p. 17—20.

mulian, which is the proper and polite language of all the *their language*, *Gentows* in this peninsula, taking in the compass of more *guage, and* than three thousand *English* miles; the *Wardagis*, spoken in *other circumstances*, the northern countries, and which differs from the *Damulian* in the same degree as the *Scottish* from the *English* language * (X). The dress of the natives is clean, thin, and slight, for the conveniency of being easily thrown off when they are inclined to bathe, which they do frequently. As to their manners, the better sort of them are honest, courteous, and civil;

* Account of the Religion and Government, Learning and Oeconomy, of the Malabarians, p. 8, 9, 10.

(X) We are assured by the Rev. Mr. *Ziegenbalg*, who took incredible pains to make himself master of whatever knowledge was requisite to the discharge of his pastoral duty, that the *Damulian* tongue, though very copious and significant, is yet very regular, and may be very easily reduced to the rules of grammar (64). They write upon palm-leaves, holding the leaf in their left hand, and an iron stile or pencil in their right. They move the leaf forward till the line is finished, and then pull it back again, and begin another; and this they do with great dexterity, and will dispatch much business in a little time. In all their cities, and even in their towns and villages, they have schoolmasters to teach the boys to read and write; notwithstanding which, there are but few who attain either in perfection; and the number is still smaller of those who attain both, because, according to their method of teaching, it requires six years at least, and that with constant

practice, to become an expert scholar and a ready scribe. As for the females, they are never sent to school at all, except a few only that are bred up for the service of the pagodas, and are styled *Attendants on the gods* (65). These have an admirable education, and are taught every thing that can contribute either to form their understandings, or to adorn their persons. In reference to the sciences, the other missionaries represent the natives as miserably ignorant, and amused with silly, trifling, and ignorant fables; but that worthy and diligent person we have before commended, and who had spent many years in cultivating that learning which he had with so much difficulty acquired, very candidly acknowledges, that, besides a mysterious allegorical theology, they have likewise systems of ethics, treatises of logic, rhetoric, poetry, philosophy, physics, geography, astronomy, chemistry, medicine, music, and the mathematics (66).

(64) *Histoire du Christianisme des Indes*, p. 537, 538, 539. (65) *Account of the Religion and Government, Learning and Oeconomy, of the Malabarians*, p. 29.

(66) *Histoire du Christianisme des Indes*, p. 443. *Account of the Religion and Government, Learning and Oeconomy, of the Malabarians*, p. 29, 30.

the common people rude and unpolished, as in other places. There are many rich and great men amongst them ; but the most part are but in middling circumstances, getting their living by the sweat of their brow ; and, though they work hard, live frugally, and have but little to depend upon, yet they are commonly chearful and content ; and as for beggars, except the *Faquirs*, who are religious mendicants, there are none ; for the *Gentows*-say, that he who made the mouth to eat made the hands to work. As there is little wood, and no timber in this country, the better sort of houses are built with brick ; and the poor live in cottages made with clay, and covered with straw ; but the *Europeans* build with stone, only one story high, yet their rooms are spacious, airy, and very commodious^b. Provisions are still very cheap, tho' much dearer than they were formerly : the *Gentows* live upon boiled rice, milk, herbs, and sweetmeats. The *Moors* live there as in other places, that is, as well as they can ; and nobody better, if they can afford it. As for the *Europeans*, they have rice, herbs, eggs, fish, fowl, hares, veal, mutton, goats beef, and pork. The soldiers live comfortably upon two or three dollars a month ; a *Gentow* will live upon one ; and those who spend high can hardly spend eight or ten at the most. As for the luxuries of the place, they are tea, arrack, and sicken, which is a sort of small wine not made of grapes, but from the juice of a kind of palm^c. The *Moors* are implacable enemies to the gospel, and very seldom converted. The rajahs, their courtiers, and the bramins, have also an obstinate aversion to the Christian faith ; and the common people are apt to insult those who have deserted paganism : yet, notwithstanding all this, the *Danish* missionaries have made a very considerable progress, and have excited a like spirit amongst their neighbours the *English* and *Dutch* ; so that the number of new Christians is vastly increased, and they are generally speaking modest and sincere^d (Y).

Wx

^b Voyage aux Indes Orientales, par GAUTIER SCHOUTEN, - p. 592. Description of the Coast of Coromandel, by BALDEUS and the Missionaries. ^c Account of the Religion and Government, &c. of the Malabarians, p. 15. ^d Gesta et Vestigia Danorum in Oriente, tom. i. p. 73, 74.

(Y) The progress of the *Danish* missionaries, or, to speak with greater propriety, the progress of the Protestant religion in the *Indies*, has been intirely owing to the steadiness of the court of *Denmark* in the support of this institution, for the maintenance of which its founder granted a certain revenue. In

WE will now describe the town, fortress, and fort, of *Present Tranquebar*, which could not have been done with so much *state of the* perspicuity if we had not previously described the country. *town and* The missionaries say that it stands in the latitude of eleven *fortress of* degrees; but the *French* maps place it in ten degrees forty *Tranque-* minutes, and in the longitude nearly of seventy-eight degrees *bar, and* from the meridian of *Paris* *. The compass of the city is *of its in-* between two and three miles, fortified with a good stone wall, *habitants,* and several bastions well provided with artillery, and in no *Christians,* Moors, great danger of being taken by all the forces that the *Gen-* *tows* can bring against it. Before the gate that leads into the *tows* country stands a fine citadel; and the fort towards the sea is well built, regular, the bastions supplied with good brass cannon, and has commonly a garrison of three hundred men complete. Within the walls of the city there are three Christian churches: first, that of the Jesuits, or *Portuguese*, settled

* *Histoire des Indes Orientales*, p. 101, 102.

1714 a council was erected for superintending the great work of propagating the gospel, composed of two privy-counsellors and three ecclesiastics, upon whom the superintendence of this undertaking devolved. The persons sent to the *Indies* in the space of thirty-two years have been: In 1705, Messieurs *Ziegenbalg*, *Plutschow*, and *Boving*; in 1709, Mr. *Grundler*; in 1713, Messieurs *Berlin* and *Adler*; in 1719, Messieurs *Schultze*, *Dahl*, and *Kirffenmacher*; in 1725, Messieurs, *Bressier*, *Bose*, and *Walther*; in 1730, Messieurs *Richtfeig* and *Worm*; in 1737, Messieurs *Obuch*, *Widebrock*, and *Koblhoff*. Within this space of time they have converted many thousands of the *Gen-tows* to the faith of Christ, not only in the district of *Tranquebar*, but in all the adjacent countries, partly by their discourses, and partly by the books printed and published under their direction. By their unwearied labours the holy scriptures have not only been translated into the *Damulian*, but also into the *Malian* and *Varugic* languages, and into that vulgar *Portuguese* which is spoken over all the *Indies*. The *Damulian* Bible has been printed twice, and the New Testament often. In 1716 a theological seminary was erected, in order to qualify the most capable of their scholars to become catechists, schoolmasters, and even preachers. Upon the extraordinary and unexpected success of this *Danish* mission, the *English* and *Dutch* have applied themselves to the conversion and instruction of the natives; and there is reason to hope that we shall speedily hear of the good effects of their endeavours (67). *Incrementum concedat Pater luminum, à quo omnia dona perfecta superne descendunt!*

(67) *Gesta et Vestigia Danorum in Oriente*, tom. i. p. 74.

before the *Danes* came thither, and which they have always tolerated, and treat the papists upon all occasions with much civility, though they have not made the most grateful returns^f. *Zion* is the *Danish* church belonging to the garrison and old inhabitants, where service is performed in the *Danish* language, and according to the liturgy of that church. The third is that of *Jerusalem*, built by the missionaries, consecrated on the 14th of *August* 1707. Every *Sunday* morning they preach there in *Portuguese*, and in the evening in the *Damulian* tongue, and the children are catechised immediately after sermon; the same is repeated every *Friday*. There is also a large mosque for the *Mohammedans*; and five great pagodas, or pagan temples, for the *Gentows* &c. We may easily collect from hence that taking in Christians of every denomination, *Moors*, and *Gentows*, the place is very populous, more especially at certain seasons, when the convenience of trading with other *Europeans* invites thither strangers from the adjacent countries, who make frequently a pretty long stay there. We find no exact computation made either of the whole number of its inhabitants, or of the Christians, *Moors*, or *Gentows*, that dwell there. Yet some writers, who were well acquainted with the affairs of the *Indies*, assure us, that, after *Batavia*, *Tranquebar* is the handsomest and best built place in the hands of the *Europeans*; and express their wonder thereupon that it has not been more considered by the *Danish* government, and rendered more advantageous in every respect; which they say might not only be done with certainty, but without difficulty; yet, in these cases, the reader will observe we report only, and do not pretend to decide^h (Z).

THE

^f *Histoire du Christianisme des Indes*, p. 536, 537. ^g Account of the Religion and Government, Learning and Oeconomy, of the Malabarians, p. 2. ^h *Commerce des Danois aux Indes*, p. 93.

(Z) The reader will see at large, in the ensuing chapter, how great difficulties occur, and how many obstacles are to be overcome, before a regular commerce can be settled in the *Indies* by a nation far more powerful, and in most respects better qualified for such an undertaking, than the *Danes*, even when encouraged and supported by

the government for a long series of years; which was far from being the case of that company and colony, the concerns of which make the subject of this chapter. If we consider their progress at first, it was very extraordinary; if we reflect on the causes of their declension afterwards, we cannot but esteem it very natural. Yet, after all, it

must

THE district belonging to this town, which belongs also *The district* to the *Danes*, is of a very considerable extent, full of vil- of Tran-
lages, and those crowded with people. The biggest of these quebar,
villages is *Borajar*, in which there are thought to be very near and the
as many inhabitants as in *Tranquebar*. The *Moors* have several towns and
ral mosques, and within these thirty years they have built a villages
that lie
therein,
described.

must be admitted, that things might have been better managed, that is, those who had the direction of affairs at *Tranquebar* might certainly have made themselves more acceptable to the natives, and found more proper means to soften the prince in whose dominions they were settled (68). In reference to the people, we have the fullest evidence that they are in general humane, beneficent, and very well disposed. The following instance will put it beyond all doubt: In the month of *September* 1709 Mr. *Ziegenbulg* made a tour into the dominions of the *Rajah*; and advanced as far as the town called *Perumulei*, where he preached publicly to a great number of persons of the first rank, among whom were many *bramins* (69). After his sermon was over they told him, that he ran a very great risque in making this excursion; that the *Rajah* had given positive orders for seizing such as should presume to preach the Christian religion to his subjects; that, in obedience to these orders, they might make him prisoner, and send him to court; that, however, this was far from their intention; and that if, contrary to their advice, he was resolved to persist in his design, they would give him no opposition. To all this they added, that, as

soon as it was known at *Tanjour*, he would be immediately arrested; and though in all probability the *Rajah* would not put him to death, yet he would throw him into a close dungeon, to obtain a large ransom. That he had often proceeded in this manner against *Portuguese* priests; and that running thus precipitately into difficulties would render him rather a victim to his own obstinacy than a martyr to his religion; for they assured him, that in this method he hazarded all to little or no purpose, because, if any of their countrymen were inclined to hear his discourses, they would certainly come to him at *Tranquebar*, where he might teach, and they be instructed, without danger. After this prudent representation, they entertained him very handsomely, assured him of their great respect for his person, and their willingness to hear him upon moral subjects (70). It is not easy to conceive how a stranger could have been better treated in any country; and therefore there are some grounds to suspect, that if condescension and complaisance had been employed, and no bad examples given, the *Danes* might long ago have gained such an interest amongst these people, as might have turned to their advantage.

(68) *Histoire des Indes Orientales*, tom. iii. p. 78.
Christianisme des Indes, p. 551.

(69) *Histoire du*
(70) *From il et missionary à son iitar.*

new one; and the *Gentows* also have several large and splendid pagodas: but the fairest and most pleasant of their villages is *Tilliar*, in which reside forty bramins, who have houses perfectly clean and neat. The road to *Tilliar* from *Tranquebar* is set with a double row of trees, which bear red, white, and yellow flowers, not unlike our lillies; and, as these are fresh and green through the whole year, it makes travelling even in that hot country very agreeable. Besides these there are seven other places; viz. *Tjandarapari*, *Kottupaleam*, *Erukittantscheri*, *Tjchattanguri*, *Dewanallur*, *Oruwamangalam*, and *Tschenkitankerei*, which, tho' far inferior to the former, yet are all of them well inhabited, with a pagod in each, and the grounds about them are well cultivated. There are still six more villages; viz. *Pommeampoettei*, *Kilinschimedu*, *Calinkaraipoettei*, *Singnurpoettei*, *Akhamenpoettei*, and *Elamenpoettei*, the inhabitants of which are fishermen, and such kind of people who acquire a subsistence by supplying the town of *Tranquebar* with fish; and also ply with their boats along the coast, carrying goods from place to place, as occasions require¹.

An account
of the har-
bour and
road, as
also of the
shipping,
belonging
to the
place.

THE port and road of *Tranquebar*, though not much to be commended, yet are as safe and commodious as any in their neighbourhood, and capable of admitting larger vessels; so that a famous *Dutch* writer had good reason to say it was strange the *Danes* made no better use of this place, tho' there seems to be no good grounds for his adding, that they had as good or better opportunity than the *English*^k. It is highly probable that the chief reason of their having no greater success, was, the want of regard to this commerce, which, either through negligence, or want of ability, was shewn at home. In respect to those who reside there, it is not altogether so inconsiderable; for, by the help of the *Gentow* merchants, they maintain some kind of correspondence with the people of the island of *Ceylon*, though they can trade only in small vessels and by stealth, as it is no easy matter to escape the vigilance of the *Dutch*, with whom also they have some dealings^l. They still keep up a few small factories on the pepper-coast; and have a lodge with a fine garden, as we mentioned before, on the coast of *Bengal*, to which they have sent some missionaries of late to preach the gospel. It seems to be their great misfortune, that they are very seldom upon

¹ Account of the Religion and Government, Learning and Oeconomy, of the Malabarians, p. 3, 4.

^k Description of

the Coast of Malabar, by Mr. BALDÆUS.

^l From the let-

ters of the missionaries.

good terms with the Rajah of *Tanjour*, who seldom finds himself in any tolerable state of security but he thinks of falling on the *Danes*^m. In 1718 he attacked them with the whole force of his country; and though he was then obliged to raise the siege, yet it has been conjectured that pieces of eight prevailed more than bullets. Since that time there have been so great distractions on the coast of *Coromandel*, that they have been less in danger than formerly; and, as their trade is now reviving, it is very probable that they will find the means of rendering themselves more acceptable or more formidable to this *Indian* prince, either of which would certainly have a good effectⁿ (A).

- THE scheme in which they are engaged of converting the *Indians* to the Christian faith cannot fail of producing very *Benefits* *resulting*, beneficial consequences. Those converts, and their descend- *or which* ants, will be so many loyal and useful subjects to the *Danish* *may result*, government, and may by degrees be employed in very different capacities; and it has been already observed, that, with a *from the* very small assistance, they apply themselves to some kind of *propagate- ing the* trade or other, and get a comfortable livelihood. They may *Christian* be also disciplined, and made at least better soldiers than any *faith*.

^m Histoire des Indes Orientales, tom. ii. p. 101.
et Vestigia Danorum in Oriente, tom. i. p. 74.

ⁿ Gesta

(A) A great part of what is suggested in the text has been actually effected; since by the concession of the town and fortrefs of *Tranquebar* to the *Danish East India* company, upon the renewal of their charter, who are obliged to keep the garrison complete, to pay the annual rent to the Rajah of *Tanjour*, and to defray the public expences of the government settled there (71). As this commerce has been ever since increasing, and as the company have at present a constant and regular trade to the coast of *Coromandel*, the bay of *Bengal*, and the port of *Canton* in *China*, there is no doubt that gradual improvements are daily making. We shall have

another opportunity of speaking of the extraordinary attention shewn to the recovery of trade by the northern nations in general, and the government of *Denmark* in particular, with the consequences that are like to attend it, more especially if it should be supported by a spirit of discovery likewise, than which nothing is *more* probable, not to say certain. Any new route to the *Indies* would produce surprising effects, as might be easily demonstrated by arguments, if the experience of what has been done since the *Portuguese* opened a passage thither by the *Cape of Good Hope* did not render all reasoning upon this head in a manner unnecessary.

(71) *Recueil historique d'Actes, Négotiations, Mémoires, et Traitez, par Mr. Roussel*, tom. v. p. 22.

of their countrymen^o. Besides, it is found that the resentment shewn against these new converts, when the missionaries first went over, by their own nation, which was so great that they were frequently obliged to quit their country, begins to wear out, and the *Indian* Christians live at present in good correspondence with their pagan relations. As these people are naturally sober and industrious; as well as sincerely devout, so there is nothing plainer than that the acquisition of numbers of such persons must add both strength and wealth to their masters. We may therefore expect in progress of time to see the face of things extremely altered in this part of the world, where the raising new commodities, for which their soil is as fit as any of the adjacent regions, and the introducing new manufactures, would either excite the *Danes* who reside there to aim at extending their commerce, or induce some of their neighbours, who have more money, to settle amongst them, and both encourage them by their example, and assist them for the sake of their own interest, which has been the case elsewhere^p.

*Objections
that may
be made to
what is
before ad-
vanced,
and their
answers.*

It may possibly be objected to this, that these conjectures are not very agreeable to facts; that, since the scheme of sending missionaries from *Denmark*, the concerns of the *East India* company declined; the little trade they had grew less; and the rest of the *European* nations, who had not taken much notice of them before, began in a great measure to forget that there was such a thing as a *Danish* company or colony^q. There is no doubt that much of this might be disproved; and that without difficulty it might be shewn, that this objection has been actually made already. But, notwithstanding this, what has been before advanced is very consonant to experience as well as reason; for, though the affairs of the *Danish East India* company might not mend, but rather grow worse from this period, yet the condition of the colony grew better daily^r. Their villages augmented, the people lived better, and the government of *Tranquebar* found itself more and more secure. Besides, the stated accounts given by the missionaries, the return of some of them upon necessary occasions into *Europe*, and the rumours that were spread by the seamen employed in the company's service, were attended with extraordinary consequences; since there is hardly

^o Account of the Religion and Government, Learning and Oeconomy, of the Malabarians, p. 56, 57.

^p *Histoire du Christianisme des Indes*, p. 508.

^q HAMILTON'S Account of the East Indies, vol. i. p. 352.

^r *Gedæren Vestigia Danorum in Oriente*, tom. i. p. 74.

a country in *Europe* which has not heard of and approved this measure (B).

As soon as a new spirit of commerce sprung out of those necessities which the love of money and gaming had produced, and those great powers that were possessed of it shewed a just persuasion of its value by the zeal which they expressed against the first attempts made to change its course, *Denmark* was next thought of; and that company, which had been so much neglected, was considered as a foundation upon which a noble superstructure might be raised. We see, therefore, that colonies ought not to be slighted, even when, China.

(B) There seem to be good grounds to attribute the preservation of the *Danish* settlements in the *East Indies*, and the keeping the company on foot in *Europe*, to this religious design of propagating the Christian faith. King *Christiern* the fifth had renewed the company's charter, and granted them a farther term of forty years, from *November* 23rd, 1670, when this drew towards its conclusion, which occasioned those applications that have been mentioned in the text. King *Frederic* the fourth inquired more narrowly into their circumstances; and, perceiving plainly that no good could be expected from this society unless their establishments in the *Indies* could be improved, and their capital in *Europe* could be greatly augmented, he chose to take this step of sending missionaries, which he judged most effectual for that purpose, without delay, at his own expence (72). At the same time he renewed his composition with the company; and agreed to take one hundred thousand weight of salt-petre, or eight thousand crowns, in lieu of all duties for homeward-bound ships, the cargo of which should amount in value to one hundred and fifty thousand crowns, or upwards; stipulating likewise to demand nothing more if the cargo exceeded that value ever so much, and to require nothing if the value of the cargo did not amount to one hundred thousand crowns (73). As soon as the success of the missionaries was known, he caused commissioners to be appointed, as we have already observed, for the future direction of the mission; waiting no doubt a favourable opportunity for putting the other part of the project in execution, that is, enabling the company to extend her commerce by augmenting the capital. We need not wonder, therefore, that, a proposal for that purpose being made, it was readily embraced, or that his Majesty willingly consented that foreigners should have a share in the new subscription, by which a measure so beneficial to his subjects might be carried into execution, the success of which appeared to be very doubtful without obtaining such assistance.

(72) *Histoire du Christianisme des Indes*, p. 535.
Selle Diplomatique du Droit des Gens, tom. viii. P. ii. p. 151.

(73) *Compé Universelle*

thro' a concurrence of untoward accidents, they fall into decline; for it is not to be conceived that any effect whatever of human policy should be exempted from those vicissitudes to which all sublunary things stand exposed; but, for the very same reason, perseverance appears to be prudent, since, if the root be kept alive, when the bad weather is over, commercial plants never fail to shoot out afresh; and, when it is least expected, provoke, by their sudden appearance, that attention which is necessary for their cultivation*. But, to speak more clearly, and to return from reflections to narrative, let us proceed to shew how that change which we have described was brought about, and what effects it has produced.

S E C T. V.

Proposition made to the late King of Denmark for erecting a new Company for carrying on the Commerce of the Indies. An Abstract of his Majesty's Charter, and an Account of the Progress of this Undertaking. It gives Umbrage, from the critical Conjuncture in which it was set on foot, to the maritime Powers, who vigorously oppose it. Appears to be a consolidating Scheme, in which the old Danish East India Company being comprehended, it stands on a quite different Basis from that at Ostend.

The proposal made, on this important subject, to the court of Denmark, by Mr. Van Asperen.

UPON the ruin of the *Ostend* company a Dutchman, whose name was *Josiah van Asperen*, who had been concerned in that affair, went to *Copenhagen*, where he applied himself to King *Frederic* the fourth, a prince of great goodness and virtue, and who had nothing more at heart than promoting the welfare of his subjects by all the means that lay in his power†. The scheme proposed by Mr. *Asperen* to his Danish Majesty had a very fair appearance, and great probability of success: he observed, that there was a strong spirit raised of opening a new trade to the *Indies*; that many people, who were very well versed in that trade, had engaged in the service of the *Ostend* company, the success of which would unquestionably have answered their expectations, if they could have carried it on; that the causes of its ruin were such as could not attend that project in any other country, but least

* Histoire des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 73.
 † Dictionnaire de Commerce, tom. iv. col. 1144.

of all in *Denmark*, which had enjoyed an uninterrupted commerce to the *Indies* for above a century; that therefore there was nothing farther necessary to render the *Danish* company as flourishing as those of *England* and *Holland*, than to increase its capital by opening a new subscription upon advantageous terms *. By the force of these arguments the king was prevailed upon to suffer his scheme to be put in execution; and, that it might be done more conveniently, the *Danish East India* company was transferred from the city of *Copenhagen* to the borough of *Altena*, a place belonging to the crown of *Denmark*, but situated close to the rich and free city of *Hamburg*, and therefore made choice of upon this occasion * (C):

In order to induce foreigners to engage in this under-^{Substance} taking, his *Danish* Majesty thought fit to grant a new charter, of the dated in *April* 1728, for promoting the commerce of the said charter company to the *Indies*, *China*, and *Bengal*, the chief articles granted by

* *Histoire des Indes Orientales*, tom. iii. p. 73. * *Recueil Historique d'Actes, Negotiations, Memoires, et Traitez*, par Mr. ROUSSEAU, tom. v. p. 2. •

(C) The design of setting up this commerce where they did, by placing over the building erected for the reception of the director and servants of the company at *Altena*, this inscription in large characters, "Here is the new *India-house* for carrying on the commerce to *Tan-quebar*, *China*, and other places," was purely for the conveniency of obtaining subscriptions, and in that respect was well contrived by Mr. *Van Afferen*. But, notwithstanding this, it subjected his project to various suspicions and imputations, from which it would have been otherwise free. In the first place, it was insisted upon, that this was a new *East India* company, to the institution of which the maritime powers conceived that they had a right to object; whereas the old company of *Copenhagen* was, even in their sen-

timents, established in its legal right to that trade by prescription. In the next place, it was given out, that the *East India* company at *Altena* was only an invention to revive the mystery of stockjobbing, and enable those who were in the secret to compass immense sums under colour of a trade to the *Indies*, when in reality they meant to deal in nothing but moonshine. It was farther added, that the royal concessions in their charters were so very extensive, and so highly disinterested, that it was extremely difficult to apprehend an absolute prince as the king of *Denmark* is, by the voluntary surrender of the liberties of his subjects, meant to be bound by them any longer than till they should have answered the concealed purposes of this plausible proposal (74).

his Danish company transferred to Altona. of which were these*; viz. The new subscribers shall have an equal share and right with the old members in all the concessions, octroys, and privileges, granted to the said company by his present Majesty, and his august predecessors; and likewise in all the forts, settlements, revenues, houses, magazines, ships, effects, and in short whatever the company is possessed of at this day, or may acquire in time to come. The old shares or actions, which are in number two hundred and fifty, of one thousand rixdollars each, shall subsist and remain as they are, and shall have the same rights as the new shares. The directors shall declare and affirm, upon their honour, that all the debts of the company do not exceed one hundred and sixty thousand rixdollars in specie. The united company are obliged to discharge and pay the said sum of one hundred and sixty thousand rixdollars, upon condition that the old shares shall have no dividends till the year 1733. Though there is no question that the accounts of the company are just, and that their debts do not exceed the said sum of one hundred and sixty thousand rixdollars, it is nevertheless stipulated, that, if the said debts should appear to exceed the said sum, the old shares shall be answerable for the overplus, and that the new subscribers shall not be obliged to contribute thereunto. Each new share shall be one thousand rixdollars in bank, or specie, whereof twenty *per cent.* shall be paid upon the account of Mr. *Alexander Bruguier*, banker at *Hamburg*, or in the manner prescribed in the project published by the company at *Copenhagen*, December 16th, 1727. If there was any absolute necessity to make a further call the present year 1727, the same shall not exceed five or ten *per cent.* at farthest. The call for the next year shall not exceed twenty or twenty-five *per cent.* The remainder of the subscription shall not be called in without the resolution and determination of a general court of the company. If the intire sum of the said one thousand rixdollars for the new actions is not paid in the year 1738, the proprietors of the old shares shall have an interest at the rate of five *per cent.* allowed them for the sum they have paid more and above the new subscribers. There will be no other actions than shares of one thousand rixdollars, and half shares of five hundred rixdollars each. Every subscriber shall be allowed to take shares for the bearer, signed by the company; and such as please may have them inscribed in the company's books. There shall be paid for each transfer two rixdollars to the company, and half a rix-

* Corps Universelle Diplomatique du Droit des Gens, tom. viii. P. ii. p. 150.

dollar to the poor. The creditors of the company are allowed to take new actions for the sums due to them, provided they discount on the said debts thirty *per centum* for the present year for each share, and twenty-five *per centum* for the next. The shares they shall purchase on this condition shall have the same dividends as the other new actions. The said share shall not be liable to any seizure or stop upon any account whatsoever, as it is declared in his Majesty's octroy. The directors shall yearly communicate to the subscribers an exact and particular account of the affairs of the company. The dividend shall be regulated upon the said account in a general court of the company, by the majority of voices. The directors are not allowed to undertake any trade but the commerce in the *East Indies* upon the company's account, without the consent of the members thereof; and still less shall they dispose of or lend the company's money to any person whatsoever, for which they are to be answerable *in solido* in their own name and estate. They shall take an oath of exact observation of this article; and, for a faithful administration of the affairs of the company for the common benefit and advantage of the members thereof. All the merchandize which shall be sold in any other place than *Copenhagen*, shall be paid in the bank at *Hamburg* to one or more merchants, and most substantial traders, for the company's account. These merchants shall be chosen and appointed, in a general court, by a majority of voices, and in no other way upon any pretence whatsoever. The said merchants, or cashiers, shall pay no money but upon orders signed by three or four of the directors at least. The money to be paid this year shall be at the disposal of the present directors, till new ones to be added to them are chosen. The money arising by the new subscriptions shall be laid out in sending ships to *Tranquebar*, *Bengal*, and *China*, and for no other use whatsoever. No more money shall be kept in cash than what will be necessary for the fitting out and sending of ships, as in the preceding article. A general court of the company shall be called as soon as possible, in order to chuse four new directors out of the new subscribers, who may be all foreigners.

On the publication of this new charter, and Mr. *Van Af-* The news
of this
company
gives a
great
alarm to
peren's soliciting his friends and correspondents in *Holland* to take a share in this subscription, a great inclination appeared to follow his advice; but, as this could not fail of giving great offence, more especially to those who were in the direction or service of other *East India* companies, it was not long

the subjects
of the ma-
ritime
powers.

before measures were taken to intimidate him, and to take off those impressions that his applications had made * (D). This certainly gave some check to that spirit which appeared in foreign countries in favour of this design; which, notwithstanding, had so great success, that those intrusted with the administration of the company's affairs, began to make preparations for such an expedition as might give them credit †. Several persons also, well versed in the *East India* trade, repaired to *Copenhagen*, and shewed an inclination to enter into the service, where they were kindly received, and often consulted; by which this important subject came to be not barely known, but generally understood in that country; so that not only great expectations were raised of the success which might attend this scheme, but also a warm zeal for promoting it to the utmost, and this amongst every order of men, upon that sensible and salutary principle, that whatever contributed to the public benefit ought to be esteemed a thing of public

* Historical Register, vol. xiii. p. 204, 205, 206. Mer-
cure Historique et Politique, tom. lxxxiv. p. 199.

(D) As the *Sieur Van Asperen* was a burgher of *Amsterdam*, and had retired into a foreign country, and entered into a foreign service, without renouncing his burghership, this, according to the laws of *Holland*, was an act of felony; upon which a prosecution was set on foot, and carried to the last extremity, which was, executing him in effigy. An answer was also writ to his circular letter; in which, besides the objections stated in the last note, it was suggested, that the honour of the director was no indisputable security, since one of them, tho' now a count, and honoured with a white ribbon, had been a bankrupt in *France*, and been driven out of *England* and *Holland* by prosecutions from his creditors; that the *Danish* company had made prize of a *Moorish* ship bound to

Surat, and had sold her cargo for three hundred thousand crowns, till which sum, with interest upon interest, at the rate of twelve *per cent* was refunded, the natives would exclude them from trade; and that therefore the hazards considered, no prudent man would subscribe, notwithstanding all the fair promises and large privileges granted to the new company, which seemed, upon the whole, rather calculated to draw the money of other countries into *Denmark*, than to revive the drooping trade of the *Danes* with the *Indies*. This answer was dated *May* the first, 1728, from *Amsterdam* (75), and was highly resented by the *Danish* court; but, as it was signed by nobody, and the author could not be easily found, the complaints made against it had no effect (76).

(75) *Recueil Historique d'Actes, Négociations, Mémoires, et Traitez, par Mr. Roussot, tom. v. 29, 30, 31.* (76) *Historical Register, vol. xiii. p. 204, 205, 206.*

concern^b. When affairs were thus circumstanced, preparatives, as it was very natural, were made with all imaginable vigour (E).

As soon as it was certainly known that the *Danish East India* company was actually on the point of sending ships to the *East Indies*, agreeable to their plan, and to the power given them by their charter, a resolution was taken by the maritime powers to act in concert in this affair, and to endeavour to deprive the new company of their sole support, which was his *Danish* Majesty's charter of incorporation. It was with this view that orders were sent to Lord *Glenorchy* and Mr. *Duffenfeldt*, the ministers of *Great Britain* and *Holland* at the court of *Denmark*, to act jointly in this affair, and to use

Their application on this head to the court of Denmark by their ministers.

^b Dictionnaire de Commerce, tom. iv. col. 1144.

(E) When the *Sieur Van Asperen* and his colleagues saw what pains were taken to discredit their scheme, they held it expedient to demonstrate the fallacy of some, and the fallacy of other objections. In a piece published in *Copenhagen* upon this subject, was that the erecting of a new *Danish* house at *Altona* did not constitute a new company, as was content from the royal charter, which was undeniably an improvement upon the old one; that, as to the credit of the directors of the *East India* company, there was no just reason to impeach it, since it was their interest to declare the truth, and since a provision was actually made in the charter to prevent the subscribers from being injured in case they did not declare the truth; that the story of the *Moorish* ship was an absolute falsehood; and that, in fine, the very letter itself, being inconsistent and contradictory, ought to have no weight with any disinterested person; for one part was calculated to prove that the *Danish East India* trade could turn to no

great account because of the circumstances of the company, which plainly admitted an intention to carry on an *East India* trade, and to carry it on upon the old company's bottom; whereas in the other part of the letter it was insisted upon, that this was a new company, and that they had really no intention to trade at all. It was impossible, therefore, taking things together, that all their objections should be true; but that there was nothing either absurd or improbable in presuming them all to be false, and calculated only to subvert a society established by the authority of his *Danish* Majesty, which ought to be respectable to all *Europe*, and more especially in the sight of his allies (77). This paper war seems to have ended here, at least with regard to private persons; and with the greater propriety, since the opposition to the *Danish* company was become a matter of state, and prosecuted as such by the ministers of the maritime powers at *Copenhagen* and the *Hague*.

(77) *Mercurius Historicus et Politicus*, tom. lxxv. p. 72.

their utmost industry to procure the repeal of the powers granted to this society; and, in consequence of these instructions, those ministers soon after drew up and presented the following paper to the court of *Denmark*.*

“ His Majesty the King of Great Britain, and their High Mightinesses the States General of the United Provinces, “ foreseeing the injury the transferring the *East India* company from *Copenhagen* to *Altena* will do to the commerce “ of their subjects; and perceiving with concern, that almost “ at the same instant they are making so great efforts to stop “ the progress of the *Ostend* company, the King of *Denmark*, “ their good old friend and ally, is setting up another equally “ prejudicial to their subjects; have ordered the subscribing “ ministers to make most humble representations to his *Danish* Majesty, hoping, from his Majesty’s friendship, that, “ as soon as he shall be informed of the uneasiness this novelty gives them, he will withdraw the privilege lately “ granted to that company, and leave it on the antient foot “ as it has always subsisted at *Copenhagen*: accordingly the “ subscribing ministers desire your Excellency to make a report thereof to the king, and to procure them a favourable “ answer. Done at *Copenhagen*, July 31, 1728.”

GLENORCHY and ASSINDELFT.

Progress of this dispute, as well at the Hague as at Copenhagen, till it determined.

WHATEVER address or moderation might be used, or how smooth soever its language, the King of *Denmark* and his council did not at all relish this memorial; to which however an answer was given, wherein his *Danish* Majesty insisted, that the maritime powers had totally mistaken the point, because it never was the king’s intention to erect a new company, or to transfer that which had now subsisted above an hundred and ten years from *Copenhagen* to *Altena*†: that this appeared clearly from the very project of incorporation, which granted no new powers to the company, but barely confirmed the old ones: that the voyages proposed directly for *China* could not be esteemed an infraction of treaties, any more than the voyages formerly made by the company’s ships from *Tranquebar*: that, farther still, his *Danish* Majesty was not restrained by any treaty whatever from maintaining and supporting the commerce of his subjects to the *Indies*, either from their establishments in that part of the world, or directly from *Copenhagen*: that the law of nature and nations not only gave

* Historical Register, vol. xiii. p. 208.

† Recueil Historique d’Actes, Negotiations, Memoires, et Traitez, par Mr. ROUSSET, tom. v. p. 35.

him a right, but made it his duty, to promote the welfare of his subjects, and to extend their trade as far as it was in his power: and that, finally, as he did not encourage this commerce with any view of injuring the *East India* companies in *England* or *Holland*, but purely with a design to benefit his own subjects, he could not discern how this should expose him to the resentment of any other power whatever. How clear and full soever this answer might seem to the court of *Denmark*, it was far enough from giving any satisfaction to *Great Britain* and *Holland*; and therefore a fresh memorial was drawn up, to shew the insufficiency of this answer, and the right which the maritime powers had to expect that his *Danish* Majesty should comply with their demands, and withdraw his protection from the company. This memorial was delivered by the Earl of *Chesterfield*, and the deputies from their High Mightinesses the States General, to Mr. *Greys*, his *Danish* Majesty's minister at the *Hague*, in the summer of the year 1729^e, from which time it does not appear that any farther applications have been made on this subject, or that the rights of the *Danish East India* company have been farther controverted.

THIS warm opposition seemed at first to answer the end of *which*, at the powers that formed it, but, in the issue of things, was *the bottom*, really favourable to the design of the *Danes*. *Frederic* the *fourth*, who was at this time drawing towards threescore, *the advantage* and was equally unwilling to perplex himself with disputes, or to sacrifice the rights of his crown, and the interests of his subjects, declined the support of the *Altena* company; but *old East India company*. at the same time recommended the *East India* commerce to the care of the Prince Royal, his son, who not long after succeeded him by the title of *Christiern VI^e*. This had a double effect; for it prevented those from interesting themselves in the capital of the *East India* company, who had nothing in view beyond trading in actions; and it put many others upon resolving to contribute all in their power towards re-establishing a commerce, the value of which was sufficiently demonstrated by the jealousy that had been shewn about it. The dreadful conflagration by which *Copenhagen* was laid in ashes prevented any great progress from being made by the Prince Royal in the life time of his father; but, when he was seated on the throne, and had recommended himself to his subjects by abolishing a farm of the excise which had been

* • Recueil Historique d'Actes, Negotiations, Memoires, et Traitez, par Mr. ROUSSET, tom. v. p. 37. † Mercure Historique et Politique, 1730. p. 581.

set up about four years before, and was extremely grievous to the people, he resolved to apply himself to trade, and to promote to the utmost of his power whatever might excite the love of industry amongst his people (G).

Their affairs brought into order by Christian IV. who enabled them to carry on a direct commerce to China.

His whole administration at home and abroad was conducted intirely with these salutary views, and conducted with such address, that they perfectly answered his purpose. All the affairs of the *East India* company were by degrees brought into proper order; their house at *Copenhagen*, their docks, yards, and magazines, put into a good condition; and a commerce with *China* directly, opened at a convenient season, and so prudently managed, that it has been constantly carried on ever since, and has grown more and more considerable in the space of about twenty years. The missions have also augmented during the same space; and the trade to *Tranquebar* has been rendered both more regular and more lucrative than it was in times past^h. It is indeed true, that the *Danish* may be stiled inconsiderable in comparison of the *English* and *Dutch* companies; but it is still a company, and a thriving company too, in comparison of what it was at the opening of the present century. What the consequences of this commerce may be in time to come, must be left to the conjectures of the judicious reader, as they lie without the province of an historian.

A strong confirmation of the principle laid down at the beginning of this work.

BUT, before we conclude this section, it may not be improper to put the reader in mind of a matter of fact, which very strongly confirms the doctrine we laid down when we first entered upon this subject. The matter of fact is this: that the attention of the *Danish* councils to trade has had no small influence upon the peace of the north, where they have taken no share in any war for these thirty years past; and in that space have not barely enjoyed the blessings of repose, but have cultivated and improved the arts of peaceⁱ. The benefits derived from thence to all the subjects of the crown of *Denmark* are sufficiently evident in the surprising changes made in the face of the country, the settling of a great variety of manufactures as well in other cities as in *Copenhagen*; and the increase of their shipping, which is become very considerable. We might also add to this the improvement of their machine, the wise precautions taken to secure their just rights by treaties, and the vigilance that is shewn in equip-

^g Introd. à l'Histoire d'Univers, tom. iv. p. 291. ^h Dictionnaire de Commerce, tom. iv. col. 1144. ⁱ Introd. à l'Histoire d'Univers, tom. iv. p. 288.

ping and sending abroad their squadrons, to protect their traffick every-where, as occasion required, if all the accounts we have from thence did not agree in representing an invariable attachment to the common tranquillity of *Europe*, and the laudable hopes of making the people in general easy and happy, the ruling maxims in the *Danish* cabinet.

If any want of connection appear, or any difficulty be found, from the reference some part of what we have delivered necessarily has to the history of the *Ostend* company, that will be fully cleared up in a succeeding chapter, where we treat of the rise, progress, and suppression, of that company at large; but we could not divide our history of the commerce of this nation to the *Indies* without manifest prejudice to their rights, by considering the new charter as creating a new company, a point expressly denied by the crown of *Denmark*, and which seems to be decided in its favour by the acquiescence of those powers under the present method of their carrying on that commerce, who so warmly contested the establishment of any new society. The progress of this trade may, and in all human probability will, furnish them materials for a much more ample and accurate history; but, till these shall appear, the public, we flatter ourselves, will not despise the unwearied pains we have taken to render ours as complete as possible.

C H A P IX.

The History of the French Commerce in the Indies, including a full and accurate Account of their Views in erecting, and the Difficulties that occurred in supporting, an East India Company in that Kingdom; and comprehending farther a distinct Account of the final Decline of their East India Company, and the Plan and Progress of the present Company of the Indies.

S E C T. I.

Endeavours of the French Monarchs to inspire their Subjects with a Passion for Navigation and Commerce. Henry IV. erects their first East India Company, which sunk without ever attempting any thing: makes way for another more active, and for a little time successful; but, in the Close, after varying their Scheme, fall into a declining State, and are unable to sustain themselves in that Capacity.

*A succinct
view of
the true
causes why
the French
nation
were so
late in en-
couraging
commerce.*

THE natural ambition, and great vivacity, of the French nation, has excited the wonder of some of the best writers of their own, as well as amongst their neighbours, that they came so late to understand the benefits of commerce, and the great influence arising from a naval force. But whoever considers this matter attentively, and consults what has been said upon it by one of the ablest as well as greatest men France ever produced, will find it no difficult thing to discover the true causes of the slowness shown in applying themselves to points of such importance, and the little success they met with in their first undertakings of that kind*. In the first place, they had not the spur of necessity which produced such wonderful effects upon the *Venetians* and the *Dutch*, who were forced for a subsistence upon those measures which in a short time raised them to wealth and power. Next, there were generally speaking great imperfections in their government, at least with regard to these matters; for sometimes their monarchs had too little, and at others too much power. In their former situation they were able to give but small encouragement to such projects; and, in the latter, the

* Testament Politique du Cardinal DE RICHELIEU, p. 83.

want of security in the possession of property was a bar to industry, and extinguished public spirit. Lastly, the vivacity, fickleness, and vanity, of their tempers, rendered the *French* very unfit for things that required a calm, steady, and tractable disposition^b. If, therefore, we put all this together, and clearly comprehend what obstacles the abundance of a country, defects in government, and opposite inclinations in the people, are to the establishment of a solid and extensive commerce, we cannot be surprised at the small progress made in a long course of time by a nation in other respects very capable as well as very enterprising^c.

It will appear that these reasons are founded upon facts, *At what time extensive traffick was first thought of, and the trade attempted in France.* when it is known how early one of the greatest *French* monarchs discerned these inconveniencies, and with how much earnestness he laboured to find proper remedies. This was *Francis* the first, who, by his declarations in 1537 and 1543, exhorted his subjects to undertake long voyages, and laid before them the advantages that would result to themselves from East India complying with his desire^d. This conduct was imitated by the last of his immediate descendants, *Henry* the third, who in an edict, dated the 15th of *December* 1578, pressed the same point, but with very little effect; for either want of attention in the people, or the inability of the crown to give the necessary assistance, prevented any undertakings that, in a work of this nature, are worth mentioning^e (A). However,

^b *Essai sur la Marine et sur le Commerce*, p. 62, 63. ^c See Sir WILLIAM MONSON's *Naval Tracts*. ^d *Dictionnaire de Commerce*, tom. i. p. 1346. ^e *Histoire de la Compagnie des Indes*, p. 14.

(A) The candid reader will not be displeased if we remark upon this occasion, that the temper of the *French* nation is, after all, the chief reason why, with all their vigour and vivacity, they have hitherto made so indifferent a figure in maritime affairs. They were almost as early in their discoveries as any nation whatever; but, while other people improved and pursued their discoveries, the *French* ingirely slighted theirs, and have never heard any farther news of that discovery to this day. But to be a little more explicit; In the reign of *Lewis* the twelfth, and in the month of *June* 1703, the *Sieur de Gonneville* doubled the *Cape of Good Hope*, and discovered a great country, to which he gave the name of the southern *Indies*, where he remained upwards of six months, and brought home with him the son of a person of distinction (1). The truth of this fact, as well

(1) *Memoires touchant l'établissement d'une mission chrétienne dans le troisième monde, autrement appelée la Terre Australe, Meridionale, Antartique, et Inconnue, présentée à N. S. P. le Pape Alexandre VIII. par un ecclésiastique originaire de cette même Terre*, 1663, 8vo.

ever, in the reign of *Henry* the fourth, one *Gerard le Roy*, a *Fleming*, who had made several voyages to the *Indies* in the *Dutch* service, came and offered himself as a pilot, in case a *French East India* company could be established; and in consequence of his proposal, which, like every thing of that kind, was at first well received, and afterwards little regarded, such a company was formed under the king's letters patents, dated the 1st of *June* 1604, by which they had an exclusive trade granted them for fifteen years, on the setting out of their first ship[†]. This design, however, came to nothing; but the same person revived his project in the succeeding reign, and, by the assistance of some friends at court, procured a new company to be erected by letters patents from *Lewis* the thirteenth, dated *March* the 2d, 1611; but the same difficulties that rendered the former scheme abortive, that is to say, disputes amongst the proprietors, and want of money, had a bad effect upon this, so that for four years they undertook nothing[‡]. At the end of that period two merchants of *Roan*, *Muiffon* and *Canis*, petitioned the king, that the privileges granted to this inactive society might be transferred to them, offering to fit out ships that very year, which however was opposed by those who were interested in the former establishment; and

[†] *Histoire des Indes Orientales*, par GUYON, tom. iii. p. 82, 83.

[‡] *Histoire de la Compagnie des Indes*, p. 15.

as several curious circumstances relating to it, are put out of all doubt by very authentic records of those times; yet no pains were taken to prosecute this attempt, though, from the description of the country given by the gentleman before-mentioned, and by many others on board his vessel, it was such as would have tempted any other nation (2) to have made the utmost efforts for establishing a correspondence that must have been attended with honour, and might probably have been the source of great profit. If this temper had prevailed among the *English* and *Dutch*, his Catholic Ma-

jesty might have been the sole monarch of *America*, and the crown of *Portugal* might have monopolized the *East Indies* to our times; for the reader will perceive it was no less than forty years after this singular and extraordinary event that *Francis* the first published his edict, in order to excite his subjects to undertake long voyages (3), and to enterprise something at sea for their own benefit, instead of lavishing away their lives in private quarrels, or in the maintenance of public commotions; which were the grievances of those times, and particularly in that country. °

(2) *Déclaration du Capitaine de Gonneville, datée Juillet 19, 1505.* (3) *Histoire de la Compagnie des Indes*, p. 14.

therefore

therefore the court judged a coalition necessary, which was soon after brought about ^h (B).

UPON this letters patents were granted to the old and new *A new East India* proprietors, *July 2d, 1615*, which were registered in parliament the 2d of *September* following. In the succeeding year *company* they fitted out two good ships, the command of the largest *set up on a* of which, with the title of general, was given to Captain *coalition* *Nets*, who at that time served the king in the marine. The *between* *the old ad-* lesser ship was bestowed on Captain *Beaulieu*, who had no *venturers* other recommendation than merit ⁱ. The voyage was in all *and new* respects fortunate and well conducted, though in the end it *ones* did not turn to any great account; for the *Dutch* president in the *Indies* having published an order, requiring all the subjects of the States General, that were on board those ships, to quit them immediately, the two captains found it thereby out of their power to bring home both the vessels; and therefore that which had been commended by Captain *Beaulieu* was sold to a little prince of the island of *Java*, and all their effects brought home on board the largest; notwithstanding which unforeseen misfortune, and the great expence with which this undertaking was attended, they managed so prudently as to make it a saving voyage ^k.

THIS, however, did not discourage the company; on the *Undiscover-* contrary, they made the necessary preparations for another *ed by their* expedition, and took all possible precautions for rendering it *want of*

^h Histoire des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 85, 86. ⁱ Relations de divers Voyages curieuses, par Mr. MELCH. THEVENOT, P. ii. p. 128. ^k Discours sur le Voyage de General Beaulieu.

(B) The members of the company defended themselves by setting forth, that, if they had not been so early in equipping ships as might be expected, it was not through any fault of theirs, but arose from many untoward accidents which they could not foresee or avoid; such as the fatal death of King *Henry* the fourth, the unexpected demise of their patron and protector the duke *Dampville*, admiral of *France*, and of several of their captains and pilots; notwithstanding which, they were ready to equip ships for this service in as little time as their rivals (4). These suggestions determined the court not to take away their charter, but rather to associate with them those who had an inclination to engage in the same design, with an exclusive power of trading to the *Indies* for twelve years, and many other privileges (5).

(4) Dictionnaire de Commerce, vol. ii. col. 1042. *Compagnie des Indes*, p. 162.

(5) Histoire de la Com-

*success in
their first
the compa-
ny resolve
to send a
second
time.*

successful, giving the chief command to Commodore Beaulieu, who sailed October 2, 1619, from Honfleur road, with three ships; the *Montmorancy*, of four hundred and fifty tons, and carrying one hundred sixty-two men, twenty-two guns, and twenty patereroes; the *Hope*, of four hundred tons, one hundred and seventeen men, twenty-six guns, and twenty patereroes; and the *Hermitage*, an advice-boat, of seventy-five tons, thirty men, eight guns, and eight patereroes; all victualled for two years and an half. We have the history of this voyage written at large from that gentleman's papers, and a very curious and instructive voyage it is; and from thence it appears, that as these were stout ships, and well equipped, so the whole voyage was conducted with the utmost skill and address, and a good lading procured for both the large ships at the port of *Aeben* in the island of *Sumatra*¹. Yet in some respects it was disastrous, the *Hope* being lost upon the coast of *Java*, or, as the commodore had very strong reasons to believe, was sunk by the *Dutch*, and all the men on board, and a cargo to the value of between seventy and eighty thousand pounds sterling; but, however, the commodore returned safe in his own ship to *Havre-de-grace* on the first of *December* 1620^m (C).

¹ Voyages de General BEAULIEU, p. 115. ^m Relations de divers Voyages curieuses, par Mr. MELCH. THEVENOT, P. ii. p. 123.

(C) It was in reality the civil war which broke out in *France* that interrupted the progress of this company, disabled the members from contributing the sums necessary to its support, and diverted the attention of the government, without which it could not subsist. Upon this, some traders in *Normandy* endeavoured to avail themselves of the company's charter, from whence sprung the original design of making a settlement in the island of *Madagascar*, as we learn from the testimony of a person who was deeply concerned therein, and whose voy-

age gives us light into many circumstances (6) that other writers endeavour to hide, particularly the bad behaviour of the *French* towards the natives, which without doubt gave a bad impression of the whole nation, and their early bent to privateer in the *Red Sea* (7); both which errors in management became more and more evident in the conduct of their successors, notwithstanding that they set out upon a better plan, and for some time at least were better supported, which rendered them so much the more inexcusable.

(6) Relation du Voyage de François Cauché, de Rouen, en l'île de Madagascar
(7) Histoire de la grande île de Madagascar, par le Sieur de Flacourt, p. 255.

THE consideration of this misfortune, and the fear of *But after-*
meeting with the like in succeeding expeditions, induced the *wards,*
company to confine her views to the island of *Madagascar,* *turning*
in hopes that, if she could raise a powerful colony there, it *their*
might be a means to render succeeding attempts in the *Indies* *thought; to*
more secure; but in this also, thro' a series of ill fortune and *the settle-*
ill management, with which there is not either room or reason *ment of*
to trouble the reader here, they found the hopes they had formed *Madagas-*
disappointed, and that all their returns from thence fell very *car, drop-*
short of the expence that was absolutely necessary for the *ped the*
maintenance of their settlementⁿ; so that, instead of contri- *the Indies.*
bution to the pursuit of their original design, it served only
to exhaust their funds, to discourage those who were in their
service; and to discredit their undertaking to such a degree,
that for many years together there was no more done towards
the establishment of an *East India* commerce, than if no such
company had ever been erected^o; and in all probability these
sinister events would have stamped the character of impracti-
cable upon every thing of this kind, amongst a nation equally
ready to venture upon enterprizes the most difficult and dan-
gerous, and to abandon even the most probable, if they do
not immediately answer, in point of success, to their most san-
guine expectations; a humour that prevails but too generally
amongst the herd of mankind in all countries, and contributes
more towards keeping them in indigence and misery than ei-
ther barrenness of soil, or an unlucky situation; for all local
evils admit of remedies, if the minds of men are but well
inclined.

ⁿ Relation du Voyage de FRANÇOIS CAUCHE, de Rouen, en
l'isle de Madagascar, isles adjacentes, et cotes d'Afrique. ^o Hi-
stoire des Indes Orientales, par GUYON, tom. iii. p. 85, 86.

S E C T. II.

The famous Cardinal Richlieu turns his Thoughts upon this Subject; resolves to set up a new Company, with more extensive Powers, better Funds, and under his immediate Protection; all which, however, could not secure it Success. Mr. Colbert enters into the like Scheme, pursues it with equal Ability and Application; notwithstanding all which, the Affairs of the Royal East India Company gradually decline.

Cardinal Richlieu's project for establishing a new East India company under his auspice.

BUT that wise and great minister, whose enterprising genius did so much good as well as hurt to *France*, the famous Cardinal de Richlieu, resolved to revive this commerce, and undertook it, as he did all things, with great spirit. The royal privileges granted to this new company were dated the twenty-fourth of *June* 1642, and contained all that could be thought necessary for promoting a society under the peculiar protection of so great a minister^o. Yet it fell out unluckily, at least for this establishment; he did not long survive this grant, which was a great prejudice to the company's affairs. However, *Lewis* the fourteenth, or rather the regency acting in his minority, confirmed those privileges by an edict dated the twentieth of *September* 1643. All these it quietly enjoyed for twenty years, during which space this third company sent every year a vessel to *Madagascar*; but the greatest part of them were either cast away in their passage, or lost the best part of their crews by the scurvy; so that though the name of an *East India* company was kept up in *France*, yet they were possessed of no such trade; but contented themselves still with fruitless attempts to settle a colony at *Madagascar*; a design, which, after all, they could never bring to bear^p. The time of their privilege being expired, the Duke de la Meilleray attempted an *Indian* trade upon his own bottom; which ended in sending a ship or two to *Madagascar*, where he got into the possession of their settlements, and found them not worth keeping; though it is said that he made this attempt at a pretty easy rate, because, being master of the ordnance, he made free with the king's stores. On his death his son sold his interest in this island for about twenty thousand

^o Histoire de la Compagnie des Indes, p. 16, 17. ^p Histoire des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 86, 87.

livres, which proved a great deal more than it was worth ¹ (D).

THIS shews how little the *French* government agrees with *This com-* commerce, and how difficult her ablest ministers find it to *pany come-* establish trade by dint of power. Yet it must be allowed *ing to no-*

¹ *Histoire de la Compagnie des Indes*, p. 19, 20.

(D) As wise and great a man as this famous minister was, yet he very ingenuously confesses it was a long time before he could frame to himself any conception how that commerce could be beneficial to any kingdom, which carried out of it gold and silver; and he farther owns very freely, that, upon this principle, he disliked and discouraged the trade carried on from *Provence* to the *Levant*, as being chiefly driven with ready money, and bringing in scarce any thing which might not be accounted an article of luxury. But perceiving, that however unnecessary, these things were grown into common use; considering that, if his countrymen did not go to fetch them, foreigners would bring them into the ports of *France*; and being well informed, that the silver exported was *Spanish*, and not *French* coin, he penetrated his mistake, and saw plainly that a nation might be enriched by the carrying out of money, by its proving the means of bringing in more money from other nations (8). It was this notion that induced him to patronize the *East India* trade, which, as it sprung from his influence, seemed to expire with its protector. There were however, to say the truth, some very un-

toward circumstances, which contributed to overwhelm the company. As for instance, the murder of Mr. *Fouquebourg*, who, returning from *Madagascar* in 1646, was assassinated on the road to *Paris*, upon a false supposition that he had abundance of jewels about him, by which they not only lost the opportunity of consulting him on the affairs of that country, but also his memorials, and other papers, which would have been of singular use to them (9). Another misfortune was, the death of Mr. *Flacourt*, who, returning to *Madagascar* with the king's commission, as governor and commander in chief in *Madagascar*, was attacked in his passage by certain *Barbary* rovers, when his ship was blown up *June* the 10th, 1660, by which himself, and upwards of two hundred other persons, perished (10); and the death of the Duke de la *Meilleraye*, after he had compromised matters with the company, and was very intent upon giving them all the assistance in his power (11); which last blow engaged them to desist from all farther endeavours, and to surrender their privileges, in order to make way for a new establishment.

(8) *Testament politique de Cardinal de Richlieu*, P. ii. chap. i. § 7. (9) *Relation de l'isle Madagascar par Flacourt*, P. ii. chap. 4. (10) *Histoire de la Compagnie des Indes*, p. 22. (11) *Histoire des Indes Orientales*, v. l. vi. p. 87.

thing like-
wise, the
trade to the
Indies
was for
some time
dropp'd in
France.

Cardinal Richlieu took all the pains in this respect that was in the capacity of man; he sent for persons, who were best versed in this trade, from *Holland*; drew abundance of rich merchants from different parts of *Europe* into *France*; formed the plan for the establishment of the new company himself, and engaged the principal persons for quality and fortune in *France* to embark in it. This step, which he conceived would most promote it, proved the ruin of the whole design; for, there being always some great nobleman at the head of this business, such as endeavoured to obtain employment in the company's service were forced to become his creatures; by which happy contrivance there were hardly any employed who had either merit or capacity; so that such as were the best judges of the means of carrying on this commerce with success treated the *East India* company as a phantom, and never concerned themselves therewith. On the other hand, the *English* and *Dutch East India* companies, being solely guided by experience, treated the affair of a *French East India* company with contempt; while the rest of the states of *Europe*, seeing *France*, with all her power, could make nothing of those repeated attempts, took it for granted that the *India* trade was designed by nature for the maritime powers, and never troubled their heads about it; a thing hardly credible, if we had not the authority of the best historians to support it.

The fa-
mous Mr.
Colbert
reviews
this pro-
ject, and,
with the
assistance
of Mr.
Cham-
penter, pub-
lishes his
scheme.

BUT the scene soon changed when *Lewis* the fourteenth came to manage his own affairs, and had taken into his service such ministers as were equally capable of foreseeing and overcoming all the difficulties that could possibly be met with in the execution of the great designs they formed for the glory of their nation. The famous Mr. *Colbert*, so much distinguished by that great prince whose activity and prudence procured him many of those successes which rendered him the most powerful monarch in *Europe*, was the person who conceived the design of reviving the *French East India* company, notwithstanding all the misfortunes which had over and over disappointed the skill and care of his predecessors. But, before he made his intentions known to the public, he took care to be well informed in the affair he was to undertake, by drawing to his acquaintance such merchants and seamen as were held to understand this subject best (E). It was from them he

* Testament politique de Mr. COLBERT, p. 182.
sur la Marine et sur le Commerce, p. 113.

• Essai

(E) We find this consummate pany to the king with very great
minister speaking of this com- modestly, and not only without
arrogating

he learnt the three principal difficulties in the way of that structure which he laboured to raise[†]. The *first* was, the finding a sufficient fund for establishing such a company, as to which nothing had been done that could afford any probable hopes of success. The *French* merchants, fond of new projects, were ready enough in subscriptions, but slow in complying with the terms of their contracts after they had subscribed. The *second* was, a peremptory exclusion of foreigners, notwithstanding it was evident that the necessary funds for the carrying on so extensive a trade were not easily to be found in *France*. The *third* and greatest difficulty was, the granting and establishing such a degree of liberty and independence to this company as might satisfy strangers and natives as to the security of their properties, and put the intire management of their affairs into the hands of such only as were esteemed fit to be trusted by themselves. All these things he weighed in his own mind; and, when he had sufficiently ripened his project, he communicated his plan to Mr. *Charpentier*, of the *French* academy, esteemed one of the best pens in *France*. As this paper was esteemed a master-piece in its kind, explains the subject clearly, and contains abundance of curious circumstances, it may not be amiss to give the reader

† Eloge de Mr. Colbert, par Mr. PERRAULT.

arrogating any thing to himself; but with a fair acknowledgement, that whatever might result from this establishment ought to be considered as flowing from the plan of Cardinal *Richlieu* (12). This company, which was properly of his erecting, is generally esteemed the fourth *East India* company deriving its authority from the crown in that country. It may not be amiss to recapitulate the several titles by which these companies are mentioned in *French* authors. The first, then, is called the fleet of *Montmorency*, or the company of the *Moluccas*, which subsisted from 1611 to 1642. The

second they stile the company of *Ricault*, or the *Madagascar* company, which was that formed by Cardinal *Richlieu*, and continued from 1642 to 1656. The third had the title of the Duke de *Meilleraye*'s company, because he compromised matters with them, and entered into a kind of partnership, which subsisted from 1656 to 1664, when the Duke of *Mazarine*, son of the Duke de *Meilleraye*, and the old company made over their rights to that formed under the auspice of Mr. *Colbert*, who may be truly stiled the parent of commerce and naval power in *France* (13).

(12) *Testamen politique de Mr. Colbert*, chap. iii.
Compagnie des Indes, p. 2.

(13) *Histoire de la*

an extract of its contents; the rather, 'as we shall be obliged to refer to it often'.

The principal points therein.

IT began with this remark, that, as former schemes had failed for want of proper funds, there was no danger any thing of this nature should happen here, since, besides the constant protection which the government determined to give, the king himself, and the greatest and the wealthiest persons in the nation, were resolved to furnish such large sums at the beginning as might put it on a level at least with the *Dutch East India* company at the time of its first establishment. In regard to any objection that might be raised from the disappointments which had overturned three companies already, it was observed, that few or no undertakings of this sort were attended with immediate success: that the *Spaniards* suffered greatly in their first expeditions to *America*, which did not hinder them from persevering in those designs, that had acquired them the empire of the new world: that the *English* colony in *Virginia* had failed four or five times, and yet was brought to perfection at last: and that even the *Dutch East India* company, which so much excelled all others, was far enough from being fortunate in its beginning.

THESE principles laid down, it was next shewn, that the island of *Madagascar*, a considerable part of which was then in the possession of the *French*, was a country capable of being improved to such a degree, as to become of more consequence, and of greater advantage, than any of the settlements possessed by the *Dutch* in the *East Indies*. In support of this it was said, that nobody would deny this settlement was incomparably more commodious and more secure than that of *Batavia*, which the *Dutch* had nevertheless made the capital residence of their company in the *Indies*: for, with respect to the place, the country of *Madagascar* was extremely agreeable, the climate equally temperate and pleasant, and the soil affording all the necessaries of life in the greatest abundance; whereas the territory about *Batavia* was so far from being fruitful, that the company were obliged to procure from distant places rice, fresh meat, and other provisions, for twenty-five or thirty thousand people, which could not but be attended with great difficulties, as well as a vast expence.

IN respect to security, it was well enough known that only a small part of the island of *Java* was in the power of the

“Discours d'un fidele sujet du roi touchant l'establissement d'une Compagnie Françoisse pour le Commerce des Indes Orientales, Paris, 1664, 4to.

Dutch;

Dutch; and that the rest of the country, which was large and populous, was inhabited by a variety of nations, agreeing however in the fierceness and brutality of their natures, and in a bigoted zeal for the *Mohammedan* religion, which made them hate and despise all Christians to the last degree: that the territories of the *Dutch* bordered on one side on those of the king of *Materan*, who had more than once invaded them at the head of an army of upwards of an hundred thousand men; that, on the other, the city of *Batavia* itself was but twelve leagues distant from the dominions of the king of *Bantam*, who had likewise shewn himself their powerful and inveterate enemy; whereas the inhabitants of *Madagascar* were of a mild disposition, and so inclined to receive the gospel, that a settlement consisting of one hundred men would be in greater security there than one of a thousand and upwards in the island of *Java*: that, besides all this, by fixing their principal post in *Madagascar*, the *French* company would be better seated for trade than the *Dutch* in *Batavia*, because it was equally convenient for carrying on the commerce of the *Red Sea*, or of the gulph of *Bengal*, and lay at the same time very properly for the dispatch of ships to *China* and *Japan*, affording a convenient place for resting and refreshing in their return.

In reference to the execution of a project which these arguments were supposed to demonstrate probable and feasible, it was said in this memorial, that a sum of six millions, or three hundred thousand pounds of our money, would be necessary in order to the equipping twelve or fourteen large ships, from eight hundred to fourteen hundred tons, in order to embark such a number of persons for this island of *Madagascar* as might effectually and at once establish a considerable colony there; that there was no reason to doubt that his Majesty would advance a tenth part of this sum: that the nobility, and other persons of fortune, would advance also the sums requisite to set this design on foot; and that, as the king was willing to take a tenth share in the setting out, they had reason to expect he would concern himself largely in future expeditions: that, as a further encouragement, he was willing to grant the company an exemption from half their duties, both inward and outward, on all goods exported to or imported from the *Indies*; and, over and above all this, his Majesty was content to take upon himself all the loss that might arise for the first eight or ten years; which was sufficient to shew how much and how sincerely he had this great design at heart, and how willing he was to contribute to its

success: that as to private persons, they should be at liberty to subscribe in what proportions they pleased, till the fund was full; after which, no farther subscriptions should be received on any terms.

THAT the king would not only permit foreigners to take what share they pleased in these subscriptions, but, to encourage them thereto, would likewise consent that such as subscribed ten thousand livres (this was afterwards changed to twenty thousand), or upwards, should thereby acquire the right of naturalization, without any farther ceremony, by which their relations, though strangers, should be capable of inheriting their effects in *France*; and farther, that, in case of a rupture with the state to which such strangers were subjects, their effects should never be liable to confiscation on any pretence whatever: that the affairs of the company should be managed by their own directors, chosen from amongst themselves, in whose hands the funds of the company should constantly remain; and that foreigners should be capable of being elected directors, provided they were interested in a reasonable degree in the stock of their company, and resided in *France*: that, in point of law-suits, the company should be made as easy as possible; and, after being heard in the first inferior court, near the place where the cause of action arose, they should be at liberty to appeal directly to the parliament.

Good effects of this memorial, which produce a new East India company, with greater powers.

THIS memoir was exceedingly well calculated to answer its end, by reviving the hopes of the nation, and by throwing the weight of former disappointments upon want of money and want of conduct; it was also well contrived to magnify the importance of *Madagascar*, and that without doubt a little at the expence of truth, that people might not be discouraged at the recurring to a measure that had so often failed, and that they might please themselves with the hopes of seeing the whole design quickly brought to bear; since a place of such high importance, though hitherto so indifferently managed, was still in the possession, or at least in the power, of *France*. Upon this basis, therefore, was raised the last *East India* company, which in some degree still subsists, and which was erected by a very large and well-drawn edict, in which every thing was put into the best form, and set forth with all the advantage imaginable, dated in the month of *August* 1664, and soon after registered in parliament, containing forty-seven articles; and fixing the actions, as they were then first called, at one thousand livres; reserving a power to the company of making farther demands upon her proprietors,

tors, not exceeding half that sum upon each share^w. All the advantages formerly promised to natives, or to strangers, were actually given, and every other method employed that might keep a good opinion of the government's favourable intention for this new company, the success of which, after so many fruitless attempts, it was believed, would do honour to that reign, and to the administration of Mr. *Colbert*, who, as he shewed great spirit in forming the plan^x, so his constancy was visible in supporting this commerce with great firmness, and persevering in his care for it even to the last (F).

WHAT-

^w *Histoire de la Compagnie des Indes*, p. 177—190. La Vie de Jean Baptiste Colbert, p. 36, 37.

(F) The plan of this great minister was, to raise himself and his family by the favour of the king his master; but, in order to do this, it was necessary to enable that monarch to raise vast sums upon his subjects. Mr. *Colbert* very well knew, that, to draw prodigious wealth from a nation generally poor, was impossible; and that to make a people, even moderately wealthy, bear repeated taxations, was a thing very grievous to a sovereign, as well as very unsafe for a minister. He ventured, however, as nobody was better skilled in the finances, to take some very bold steps, in order to fill his master's coffers; but as, in doing this, he attacked only public plunderers, the bulk of the people were so much the less offended (14). He next advised the king to employ large sums, out of what he had in this manner obtained, to promote industry, manufactures, and navigation, that his countrymen might be in the better circumstances, and the king have it more in his power to establish high taxes, without bringing his people into absolute indigence. Upon this basis he constructed an *East* and a *West India* company, erected several manufactures, and formed the plan of a royal navy (15). It has been said, that he undertook too much; but the reason of mentioning these undertakings here, is, to shew how closely so wise a man thought all these designs connected, and the hopes he had, that, if steadily pursued, they would support each other. His notions were certainly right, and his conduct too, so far as his immediate interest reached; for, by his skill and attention, he raised manufactures, and a navy, contrary to the sentiments of many, and beyond the expectations of all; and, if he was less fortunate in his schemes of commerce, it was because his instruments failed him, and it was impossible for him to exert even his own great talents effectually in places at so great a distance (16). All he could do he did; and all we mean to do, is, to

(14) *Vie de Jean Baptiste de Colbert*, p. 24. 25.
Europe, p. 263.
Dejlandes, p. 169.

(15) *Present State of*
Effet sur la Marine et sur le Commerce, par M.

Which, being countenanced and encouraged by the court, is quickly enabled to act vigorously.

WHATEVER is heartily espoused by a prime minister will, in all countries, but more especially in those under an arbitrary government, find a multitude of advocates, and rise into general esteem, especially if it receives concurrence as well as countenance from the government, which in this instance was actually the case; for the king, as he had promised, paid three hundred thousand livres in ready money; and most of the great men of the court, either from motives of prudence or public spirit, interested themselves in like manner, and their example was followed by all who could afford it; so that in a short time the company was in a condition to undertake any expedition that should be judged most conducive to the ends for which it was instituted. Upon mature deliberation, therefore, an effectual settlement was resolved upon in the island of *Madagascar*; in order to which, a regulation was drawn up for the intended colony, so well contrived in all respects as to attract, and that very justly too, the public approbation. It was indeed in many circumstances very strict; notwithstanding which, numbers of people offered themselves to go over and settle there; and accordingly, on the seventh of *March* 1665, four large ships, equipped as well for war as for trade, carrying in all five hundred and twenty men, sailed from *Brest*, and arrived safely at *Madagascar* on the 10th of *July* following. Such was the first attempt of this new company, which, being executed in all respects with spirit, diligence, and success, raised a general expectation that all obstacles would be at length overcome, and that the great and magnificent promises made in favour of this establishment would be effectually performed.

Their colony sent to Madagascar call it ISLE DAUPHINE, and endeavour several settlements.

THE first thing this new colony did after they arrived, and were settled on the place, was, to change the name, and that in honour of the heir apparent of the crown of *France*, then about four years old; so that, instead of *Madagascar*, it was for the future to be stiled ISLE DAUPHINE. The next year a new embarkation was made; and, in order to excite still greater numbers to go thither, a description of the island was given, together with an account of the new colony, re-

† Relation de l'établissement de la Compagnie Française pour le Commerce des Indes Orientales, Paris, 1665, 4to. * Histoire des Indes Orientales, par Guyon, tom. iii. p. 136.

shew what he contrived, upon what principles, what he achieved, and in what he failed; this being the only method from which the subject we are treating can be thoroughly understood.

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presenting the former as a perfect paradise, and the latter as the happiest and best satisfied people in the universe; and, by affixing these papers in public places, and circulating them through the kingdom, the ends of the company were answered; and a great reinforcement of new adventurers sent over to the isle *Dauphine*, where a regular government was actually settled, together with the company's first and chief residence, agreeable to Mr. *Colbert's* original memorial, and in imitation of the *Dutch* establishment at *Batavia* ^a. In the mean time that great minister employed his thoughts for compassing more essential advantages, and such as might render the commerce of the new company more agreeable to its title; being sufficiently sensible, that, whatever might be said for the present, it would not be long before the *French* would exclaim that their new *India* company had as yet brought nothing from the *Indies*. To second his views in this respect, many projects were offered, and not a few of those bold adventurers presented themselves with magnificent promises; but though the former were received, and the latter encouraged, yet the cautious minister, who knew of how great consequence it was to make choice of a right plan, and of proper persons to carry it into execution, was far from being hasty in his decision; and indeed every day's experience taught him, that, whatever it might be in other countries, there could not be a more difficult task in *France* than to establish an *East India* company; and this, notwithstanding he had the authority of the crown, and the good opinion of the better part of the nation, to support him in his design, without either rivals or enemies to give him any opposition ^b (G).

AFTER

^a Histoire de la Compagnie des Indes, p. 38, 39. Methode pour apprendre la Geographie, par Monsieur *Ronne*, tom. ii. p. 248, 249.

^b Histoire des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 136.

(G) At this distance of time we may perhaps be in a condition to discern some errors in Mr. *Colbert's* plan. or rather to point out some defects; but, however, candid inquirers will find it very hard to perceive how these could be otherwise discerned, than from the event; and this, being the case, acquits him of all blame. His foundation was very broad; for he intended that the intire capital of the *French East India* company should have consisted of fifteen millions of livres, of which the crown was to advance nine, and the proprietors six (17). This

(17) Relation de l'establissement de la Compagnie Françoise pour le Commerce des Indes Orientales, p. 5.

But the company suddenly alter their plan, and resolve to enter on the East India trade at once.

AFTER mature reflection, however, and the necessary consultations with those who were placed at the head of the company's concerns, it was resolved, that, in the year 1667, some ships should proceed from *Madagascar* to the *Indies*; and that the care of fixing an introductory establishment there should be left to the joint endeavours of two very intelligent persons, who had been lately taken into their service. The first of these was Mr. *Caron*, who has been mentioned already more than once; he was a native of *France*, but had been for many years in the *Dutch* service, and had been raised in that service to the rank of president of the factory of *Japan*, where, for reasons which we have assigned in their proper place, he suffered severely; and, not thinking himself sufficiently considered for those sufferings, quitted the *Dutch* service, and returned to *France*, at a juncture when a man of his abilities was much wanted, and therefore he was caressed and employed^c. The other was Mr. *Marcara Avonchinz*, a native of *Isfahan* in *Persia*, and nearly allied to several persons of great rank in that empire, as also to some who enjoyed governments, and other great employments in the *In-*

^c *Histoire de la Compagnie des Indes*, p. 40, 41.

was a very extraordinary encouragement; for in other countries the public had never contributed any thing except countenance and protection. He apprehended thoroughly the advantages derived to the *Dutch* company from her great establishment at *Batavia*; but it may be he overrated the benefits he expected from the *French* settlements at *Madagascar*; and yet patience, industry, and oeconomy, might have gone a great way in justifying even his sanguine expectations. But these were wanting; and, as the whole plan of his company rested upon this plantation, the disappointment was in some degree fatal; and it was a dreadful distress upon a new company to be obliged, as this was, after

a great part of the capital wasted, to begin again. Yet, as we see, he did not lose his courage, but concerted a new scheme, in which he shewed vast abilities, and attempted the execution of it with vigour (18). But the obstacles he met with were not to be overcome; the best instruments he could procure were unequal to the undertaking; and other *European* nations were so well established in the *Indies*, that strangers had but little chance of succeeding, even if they had conducted their affairs with the utmost circumspection and frugality, which time and events could only teach, and which even the most penetrating statesmen might not be able to foresee.

(18) *Histoire des Indes Orientales*, par l'Abbé Guyon, vol. ii. p. 137, 138, 139.

dies, so that the company had good reason to expect great things from their abilities and experience^d (H).

THEY

^d *Histoire des Indes Orientales*, p. 136, 137.

(H) The great impediment in the way of this establishment was, the want of proper persons to carry it on; a want, of which Mr. *Colbert* was very sensible, and which he did all that it was possible for him to do in order to supply; and much more than could have been thought necessary, if the event had not shewn, that all he did was to little purpose. He saw that there was a certain spirit in free governments, from which companies received, by a kind of communication, the courage and confidence necessary to venture on the boldest undertakings. In the place of this he introduced the royal attention and paternal tenderness of his Most Christian Majesty, who, out of mere affection to his subjects, not only contributed great sums to the original fund of this company, but charged himself from time to time with their losses, that the proprietors might not be discouraged with the disappointments incident to all new trades (19). He understood, that in *England* and *Holland*, where there were always abundance of moneyed men and rich merchants, there was a kind of an emulation in subscribing at the first setting on foot of their *India* companies. As this resource was wanting in *France*, he had recourse to the royal and ministerial influence, by which the principal nobility, and most opulent persons in the nation, were brought to concur in supporting this design, in order to make their court to those who had it really at heart; and as for those in a mercantile way, who were inclined to espouse its interest, he caused them to be taken into the direction; and, to render this disposition the more general, he imitated the example of the *Dutch*, by setting up several chambers (20). He perceived, that in maritime countries the affectation of independency, and the desire of arriving at that power which naturally arises from property, was another strong motive to adventure in such undertakings. He procured, therefore, to balance this, repeated promises that the king would look with an eye of favour upon such as exerted themselves with a laudable degree of diligence either in the direction or in the service of the *East India* company; and would bestow upon them honours and rewards which should descend to their posterity (21). But whereas the *English* and *Dutch* companies managed their own affairs, and were never at a loss to find proper persons to fill every station, this was a great hardship upon Mr. *Colbert*, who was obliged to search everywhere for agents, and to take most of them upon recommend-

(19) *Histoire de la Compagnie des Indes*, p. 138, 139.
Orientales, par l'Abbé Guyon, vol. iii p. 103.
ment de la Compagnie Française, &c.

(20) *Histoire des Indes*
(21) *Relation de l'établissement*

ation,

Upon
which
their
agents pro-
ceed to set-
tle a fac-
tory at
Surat.

THEY proceeded accordingly from *Isle Dauphine*, as the French call it, and arrived the day before *Christmas* 1667 at *Cochin*, where they were well received, and very respectfully treated by the Dutch governor; and from thence they continued their voyage to *Swally*, which is the port of the famous city of *Surat*, in which they were to erect their first factory^e. In 1669 it was judged for the company's service that Mr. *Marcara* should repair to the court of *Golconda*, where he had several particular friends, as well as near relations, in order to obtain, through their interest with the king, the privilege of trading through his dominions, purchasing whatever kind of merchandize they wanted, and employing manufacturers for the service of the company, as also for obtaining a license to establish a factory at *Masulipatan*. This commission, taken all together, was extremely difficult, more especially as it was known that the *English* and *Dutch* had not been able to procure smaller favours than these, though they had great interest in that court, and had been at vast expence to preserve it; nor was it any secret that their agents would give this *Persian* negotiator all the trouble and opposition in their power; and at the same time he was but indifferently supplied with money, which is as necessary, in such cases, in the *Indies*, as in *Europe*. However, the *Sieur Marcara* undertook very cheerfully, and executed very happily, this important negotiation^f. It is true, he was a long time about it; and rejected one *firman*, or letters patents, from his Majesty of *Golconda*, in which there were so many qualifications and restrictions, that he judged they would have been of little use; but in the end he obtained a *firman*, dated *December* the 5th, 1669, by which the *French* company were

^e *Memoires du Sieur MARCARA.*
pagnie des Indes, p. 43, 44, 45.

^f *Histoire de la Com-*

ation, and this too founded rather upon opinion than experience (22). He was also under the necessity of receiving and encouraging adventurers and deserters; that is, such as gave themselves out to be fit for service, and such as were either rejected, or had quitted the service in which they had formerly been (23). These were but

indifferent tools to work with; but they were the only ones he had, and he took all the precautions possible to render them fit for the purpose. Upon the whole, therefore, it must be granted, that though many of his expedients proved ineffectual, yet they were most of them well imagined and well applied.

(22) *Essai sur la Merine et sur le Commerce, par M. Deslandes, p. 169.*
(23) *Renoufort, Dufresne de Francbeville, Guyon.*

permitted to negotiate through all the king's dominions for ever, without paying any duties either inwards or outwards, either for the king's ships, or for those of the company; a privilege which the *Dutch* could never obtain, and which the *English* acquired in 1655 at a vast expence; and after having rendered, for twenty years together, very signal services by sea to the monarchs of *Golconda*. After this Mr. *Marcara* went to *Masulipatan*, caused his letters patents to be registered there, settled a factory; and, in quality of chief, carried on the commerce of the company with the same zeal and diligence that he had shewed in his negotiation^a.

ONE would have imagined, that, after such testimonies of his fidelity, and those too attended with such surprising success, the credit of this *Persian* gentleman should have been so thoroughly established, as well with the *French* court as with the company, as to be out of any danger of suffering from sinister insinuations; and yet it fell out quite otherwise, for his competitor, Mr. *Caron*, having acquired by his intrigues a superior interest there, obtained an order from Mr. *Colbert*, in 1671, by which himself was raised to the second post in the *East India* company's service, and all the friends of Mr. *Marcara* removed from their employments, and subjected to prosecutions, though there was not a word said of him in that order, or the smallest mismanagement laid to his charge^b. But things wore another face in *France*, where his character was injured by a multitude of aspersions; of which having notice from his friends, he transmitted such full justifications that Mr. *Colbert*, having thoroughly examined into every thing, and made an impartial report to the king, his conduct was intirely approved, and his innocence acknowledged by a solemn arret. But it is fit that we should likewise shew what the services were which his rival also rendered to the company, and by what projects he so effectually recommended himself to so intelligent and clear-sighted a minister, as to be able, though but for a short time, to abuse his confidence to such a degree, as to bring a person into disgrace who had deserved so well, and whose interest, as well as his experience, was of so great service to the company's affairs, without his giving so much as the slightest occasion for their displeasure, or even for their suspicion^c (1).

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^a Memoires du Sieur MARCARA.^b Histoire des Indes

Orientales, tom. iii. p. 146.

^c Histoire de la Compagnie des Indes, p. 63, 64.

(1) We have already mentioned the Sieur *Caron* to often, and said so much of him, that there is no need to enter, upon this

His project of attack- ing Ceylon comes to nothing, and, in the issue, proves his ruin. It is allowed that the *Sieur de Caron* settled the factory at *Surat*, of which the *French* are still in possession, as also that of *Bantam*, upon the island of *Java*, which they held till, as we have shewn elsewhere, the *Dutch* became masters of that kingdom, or rather of the king, and, under colour of his authority, excluded them and the *English*; which, however, happened some years after this gentleman's death^k. The

^k TAVERNIER, CHARDIN, LE BRUN, &c.

this occasion, into a retrospect of his character: it is sufficient for our purpose to observe, that tho' his capacity, activity, and experience, raised him very high in the opinion of *Mr. Colbert*, and gained him such a share in his confidence as to give him, from the first, a very honourable employment in the company's service, and to intrust him at last with the principal direction of affairs; yet this was not done hastily or blindly, but, on the contrary, was accompanied with all possible precautions (24). For *Mr. Carron*, though born of *French* parents, not being a *French* subject born, was obliged to naturalize himself and his children, whom, together with his wife, he brought into *France*, and put into the hands of the government, as a kind of security for his behaviour; and, that that he might be also under the strongest tie of gratitude, the king was graciously pleased to give twenty thousand *livres* by way of fortune with his daughter, upon her marriage with a gentleman of *Normandy* (25). Yet he no sooner came to act abroad, than a spirit was raised against him by those whom the company principally intrusted;

against which he was strongly supported, upon a presumption that this arose chiefly from envy, and from the spite they had against him as a stranger. There is indeed nothing clearer, than that he was the person principally relied on for carrying the scheme of a trade to the *Indies* immediately into execution; and that the court went so far, as to take all the measures possible to force such as were in the *Indies* to pay an implicit obedience to his orders, and to pursue his instructions in respect to commerce in all respects, and to their utmost extent (26). We may well imagine that this extraordinary confidence proceeded from the superior knowledge he had of the whole circle of trade in the east, which he was very able to set in the fairest light, as is evident from those pieces of his which are still remaining; and from which it is also clear, that he had made some overtures about an embassy to *Japan*, for which some have thought, and it may be justly, that, notwithstanding his former residence in that island, he was not by any means a proper person.

(24) *Memoires de Monsieur Marcara, des Indes, tom. III. p. 40—54.*

(25) *Histoire de la Compagnie des Indes, tom. III. p. 40—54.*

(26) *Lettre du Roi (Louis XIV.) à M. de la Haye, datée de Versailles le 27 Decembre 1670.*

great experience he had gained during the time he served the *Dutch*, made these things easy and familiar to him ; but what, without doubt, made him most acceptable to Mr. *Colbert*, was, the scheme of surprising some of the fortresses in *Ceylon*, and bringing the *French* thereby at once into a share of the spice trade. In this he is on all hands allowed to have had a very large concern, if he was not the original inventor of it ; and it must be likewise confessed, that the plan was very well laid. The minister was very desirous of seeing the *East India* commerce firmly established, a regular correspondence fixed, and rich cargoes brought every year into *France* ; for he began to be convinced, that, if this was not speedily done, the last *India* company would be little better than the first ; and that as the busy roving spirits of the *French* would not allow them to live long enough in a place to render it fertile, if it was not so naturally, or to accumulate riches if they were not at hand, and, in a manner, to be had for taking up ; so, if this project had succeeded, which was supported by a competent force, and they could once have fixed themselves in any part of the island of *Ceylon*, for which it is said they had obtained the consent of the emperor of that island, it would have answered all these purposes, and would have given them a fortress, a port, and a share in the cinnamon trade, at a single stroke¹. But, as we have informed the reader, in treating of the affairs of the *Dutch*, how this affair miscarried, and how the *Sieur Carron* lost his life in sight of the port of *Lijbon*, on his return, it is not necessary that we should dwell longer upon it here, though it is certainly a piece of history that very nearly concerns this subject. By his death it came to be known, that though he had been very zealous and diligent, yet he had not been over-faithful in the management of the company's affairs, but had amassed much wealth for himself, of which the greatest part perished with him, while he was endeavouring to deposit it in a place of safety^m (K).

BEFORE

¹ Journal de Voyages des Grandes Indes, Paris, 1698, 12°.
^m BASNAGE Annales des Provinces Unies, tom. ii. p. 457.

(K) It is somewhat difficult to fix the dates relating to this expedition ; but there appears sufficient authority to prove, that the *Sieur Carron* sailed on his expedition against *Ceylon* in the month of *February* 1672 (27). Authors are not exactly agreed what the errors were which he committed in the management of this important business ; and yet they are almost unanimous

(27) *Mémoires du Sieur Morca.*

A resolution taken by the company to quit the isle Dauphine, and transfer their residence to Surat.

BEFORE this unhappy event fell out, the new *East India* company began to be weary of her establishment at *Madagascar*, chiefly, as they acknowledged, through the ill management of those who were placed in authority, and principally intrusted with her affairs; but, in reality, because the country was fruitful, pleasant, and very fit for hunting, and other sports, to which those they sent over intirely devoted themselves, and thought very little of the conditions upon which they were carried thither. The necessaries, the conveniencies, and the pleasures of life, were easily to be had; and, in acquiring these, the people thought they pursued their own interest, and would not forego them, or fatigue themselves, in respect to the interests of the company; who therefore desired that the king would resume his gift, which his most Christian Majesty accordingly did by his arret dated *November 12th 1670*ⁿ; and thus, the isle *Dauphine* being abandoned, the company's chief residence was fixed at *Surat*, where they had new powers and fresh favours granted them by the crown; for all which they were indebted to Mr. *Colbert*, as well as for the exemption from duties of all kinds, and indeed for every thing else that they could ask with any tolerable pre-

ⁿ *Histoire de la Compagnie des Indes*, p. 74, 75. *Histoire des Indes Orientales*, tom. iii. p. 158.

in ascribing the miscarriage of this great design to some mistake or misinformation of his. However that matter may be, he actually embarked for *France* with all his effects, and arrived upon the coast of *Bretagne* towards the close of the year 1674 (28); but whether it came to pass thro' fear of his enemies, or, as his antagonist *Marcara* asserts, from the consciousness of his own misbehaviour, so it was, that he ordered the vessel to steer for *Lafbon*, where, as the reader is told in the text, he perished (29). By his death the *Dutch East India* company lost a dangerous and determined enemy, the servants of the *French East India*

company a man whom they hated and feared, and Mr. *Colbert* a person from whom he had received great lights, and who perhaps might have been of farther use to him if he had lived; for, whatever the slips in his conduct might be, there can be no dispute, that, from the experience of two-and-twenty years, in which he had served the *Dutch*, he had acquired a more comprehensive knowledge of the trade of the *Indies* than any of those he left behind him in the *French* company's service, as was evident from the confusion into which their affairs ran after his decease (30).

(28) *Histoire de la Compagnie des Indes*, p. 53, 64.
Sieur *Marcara*.

(29) *Mémoires du*
(30) *Histoire de la Compagnie des Indes*, p. 40.

ence, in order to encourage and render flourishing, if it had been possible, a commerce upon which he had set his heart °; and that for no other reason, but because he thought it honourable and profitable for the kingdom, the welfare of which was the object of his ministry (L).

BUT all would not do; for, notwithstanding these repeated favours, it became every day more and more apparent that their affairs were in a bad condition, and that without some speedy remedy they would fall into absolute confusion. Upon this a general court was called of all the proprietors, at Paris, before whom a true state of their concerns was laid; of

Yet, without the interposition of the crown, their affairs must

° La Vie de JEAN BAPTIST COLBERT. Histoire des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 150.

(L) This project of abandoning the island of *Madagascar*, which the crown had yielded to them in property, reserving only a crown and sceptre of gold, of the weight of eight hundred ounces, upon the accession of a new king, was by no means agreeable to their patron Mr. *Colbert*; though, at the earnest request of the company, he disposed the king to accept of their renunciation, not doubting that in a short time the company would perceive how indiscrete a step this was, and apply for its restitution. But those who were in the direction of the company's affairs had very different sentiments; they knew, from experience, that their colonies were only a dead weight; and that, notwithstanding all the changes they had been able to make, those intrusted with the management of them preferred their own interests and pleasures to their duty; and, while they expected that the company should do every thing for them, would do nothing for the com-

pany (31): for these reasons, therefore, as we shall see hereafter, they persisted in refusing this island when the property was again offered. But how right soever the directors might be in their notions, which were indeed founded on facts and ample experience, yet Mr. *Colbert* was far from being wrong in his notions, as time has fully demonstrated, and as will sufficiently appear in the course of this chapter. His only mistake was, if indeed it was his mistake, and not Mr. *Charpentier's*, in supposing that *Madagascar* might serve commodiously for the centre of the company's commerce with the *Indies*, as *Batavia* did to the *Dutch*; whereas the securing a post in this part of the world, though it was convenient, and even necessary, yet became so for quite another purpose; and ought rather to be compared with the *Cape of Good Hope* (32), as we shall have occasion to shew at large hereafter.

(31) *Histoire des Indes Orientales*, tom. iii. p. 162.
dans les *Indes Orientales*, p. 17.

(32) *L'Asie Voyage*

have fallen into confusion.

which, through the interposition of Mr. Colbert, a report was made to his Majesty, who thereupon issued his declaration, dated *September 13th, 1675*, by which he first directed a dividend of *ten per cent.* to be paid to such of the proprietors^p as had completed all their payments; that, with respect to those who had not completed them, they should have time to the first of *July 1676*; and, upon completing their payments, should have a discount of *ten per cent.*: that the capitals of such as neglected to complete their subscriptions should be forfeited for the use of the company: and, lastly, that whereas, through the losses and discouragements to which all new undertakings are inevitably liable, the *East India* company had incurred a debt of no less than four millions, his Majesty, according to the promise made in the edict of his creation, discharged that debt, and also forgave freely and for ever the said sum of four millions advanced for their service^q. This extraordinary generosity of the crown was followed the next year by a new favour, which had come sooner if it had not been opposed by the farmers general, which was, the freeing all merchandize bought at their sales from all duties inward and outward, except those transported to *Lyons*, and even those were to pay only a fourth of the usual duties upon entry, and those of the custom-house belonging to that city. Such was the situation, and such the repeated benefits bestowed upon this company during the ten first years of its subsistence; by which we see, that nothing but the care of the government prevented it from sinking into ruin^r.

Are obliged to demand the king's permission to grant licences on certain terms, to private traders.

AT the close of the year 1681 some private persons having insinuated that they were willing to embark their fortunes in a trade to the *Indies*, provided they might obtain licences; and the company likewise having signified to the king, that it might prove beneficial to them, if they had a power to grant such indulgences; this favour likewise was added to the rest, and private traders were permitted to engage in this commerce upon the following conditions: That they should transport themselves and their effects on board the company's ships, both outwards and inwards: that they should pay their freight and passage before their departure: that the goods they brought home, precious stones only excepted, should be exposed in the company's sales, and their produce fairly accounted for: that these licences should be in force only for five years; and that, if they should be found prejudicial to

^p Histoire de la Compagnie des Indes, tom. iii. p. 71. ^q Histoire des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 150, 151. ^r Histoire de la Compagnie des Indes, p. 224. 259. 342.

the affairs of the company, the directors might abridge or cancel them at their pleasure'. But, notwithstanding these advantages, and though they scarce asked any thing of their patron Mr. *Colbert* but what was granted, yet their affairs continued declining; and, as he died in 1683, the spirit of this commerce might be said to expire with him'. The body indeed of the company was kept up, not much perhaps to its advantage; they had not only a court of directors at *Paris*, but, in imitation of the *Dutch East India* company, chambers of direction at several ports, a council in the *Indies*, and, in short, the appearance and trappings of a great society, when at the bottom they were distressed and poor, so that upon stating a general account in 1684, it clearly appeared, that, instead of gaining one penny by their commerce, they had actually run out one half of their capital. This was attributed to several causes, but principally to three; the war with the *Dutch*, which lasted from 1672 to 1678; the frauds of the persons employed in their service in *Madagascar* and the *Indies*, who, though they were sent by the company, acted as if they had no other business there than to mind their own interests, which they did at the expence of their masters; so that some private fortunes were made, while the concerns of the public were running to ruin; and, lastly, to the supineness, timidity, or inability, of their subscribers, who had not paid in as they ought to have done, to the great detriment of their affairs^u.

^a *Histoire des Indes Orientales*, tom. iii. p. 158, 159, 160.

^t *La Vie de JEAN BAPTIST COLBERT*, p. 303.

^u *Histoire de la Compagnie des Indes*, p. 73, 74.

S E C T. III.

Various Efforts made to restore their Credit, and to keep their Trade alive, in which they are sometimes assisted by, and sometimes meet with Discouragements from, the Ministry, which at length induces them to let out their Privileges to private Persons. The Consequences of these Licences, which, amongst others, produce a China Company, and, upon the Whole, turn to very little Account, in whatever Light they are considered.

To retrieve some degree of credit, it is found requisite to make a change in the company's administration.

TO remedy these disorders, and to retrieve, if possible, the trade of the company, it was resolved to change their system of government, to suppress all the little chambers of directors, and to put the whole management of the company's concerns into the hands of twelve directors residing in *Paris*, who were each of them to pay in thirty thousand livres upon the forfeited actions, and to be allowed reasonable salaries. It was also resolved, that all who had not paid in should forfeit their shares to the company; with a proviso, that if, in two years, they made good their payments, they should enter into their former rights, and have all their actions restored. This regulation was confirmed by a royal edict dated in *February* 1685, by which the king left the company free liberty either to resume the sovereignty of the *ille Dauphine*, which they had surrendered in 1670, as has been before mentioned, or to leave it as it then was in the king's hands. As the company were left at liberty to do as they thought fit in this affair, they, after mature deliberation, thought proper to adhere to their last resolution, and to quit this island intirely to the crown; which act of theirs was confirmed by the king's arret, dated *June* 4th. 1686 *.

New directors added to increase the much exhausted fund of the company.

In the succeeding year eight new directors were added upon a very laudable motive, which was, that of increasing the capital of the company; for they were obliged to pay in ready money forty thousand livres in case they were possessed of twenty thousand of the company's stock, and sixty thousand if they were possessed of none; and these sums, together with those advanced by the proprietors, brought such a supply to the company's cash, that even the most intelligent people began,

* *Histoire des Indes Orientales*, tom. iii. p. 162, 163.

to entertain great hopes, that, after so many disappointments, this commerce would be put upon a solid foundation; and these hopes were not a little augmented by the dividends made in that year, and in 1691, amounting, in the whole, to thirty *per cent.*; but these flattering expectations soon gave way to presages of another kind, that were better founded, and which were intirely owing to a new strain of politics that prevailed in *France*; whereas hitherto the power of the crown had been solely employed in protecting and advancing the commerce of this company, notwithstanding repeated losses and miscarriages; so now of a sudden, when this trade began to answer in some degree, that very power was employed to distress it; and the consequence was, that it made it plainly appear, that how difficult soever it might be to raise, yet there was nothing easier than for a minister to destroy, a trade by an ill-judged and untimely interposition*.

In order to understand this, which is indeed one of the *When* most material points in the history of the *French* commerce, *their com-* it is necessary to observe, that, finding gold and silver bro- *merce be-* cades, and painted cottons, were goods of the quickest sale, *gan to take* they struck into that branch of trade, by which they were *a turn in* very considerable gainers; and, that they might encourage *their fa-* the artificers of their own country, they imported chiefly white *vour, the* cottons, and caused them to be painted after the *Indian* man- *govern-* ner in *France*, by which they had the command of the fashions; *ment alters* and, when people began to be tired with one sort of goods, *its conduct.* they revived their appetites by introducing another. The demand for these goods being by this means kept up, and continually increasing, the manufacturers in *France* set up a general clamour, that they were sacrificed to strangers; and that, if a stop was not immediately put to the importation of these silks and cottons, they should be all starved. Upon this out came an edict, dated *January* 27th, 1687, by which this branch of commerce was prohibited; and it was with very great difficulty that the company procured leave to sell off what they had in their hands, and what might arrive by the next ships; but, what was most extraordinary, they were required to break all their moulds for printing, without considering that this was as much a manufacture of *France* as any other. As to the brocades, they were allowed some little indulgence, which however did but just keep them from sinking; with the assistance of some other favours, which the few friends they had yet left at court, not without much solicitation, obtained. By this instance the reader may see

* Histoire de la Compagnie des Indes, p 75.

how little safety there is for trade under an arbitrary government, where all things depend at best upon the understanding of a minister, which is a very precarious tenure, and very often upon his caprice, or the influence that he is under; which is the most dreadful situation people can be in who have any property at all (M).

THESE,

† Histoire des Indes Orientales tom. iii. p. 165, 166, 167, 168.

(M) It would be tedious to enter into an exact detail of all the expedients proposed from time to time by the company, and either accepted or rejected by the minister; the contrivances practised by the merchants and retail dealers, to make advantage of the company's distress, and to constrain them to take back goods at a high price, which had been in reality sold them at a lower; and the trouble they had to procure, by long and expensive solicitations, such temporary alleviations as kept them from totally sinking. All these things ought to have been previously considered, and such exceptions made in their privileges as might have prevented these disputes; for, to erect an *East India* company with full powers, and give the strongest assurances that those conditions should never be violated, and yet prohibit their importing the most saleable goods they could import, was not only inconsistent with the honour of the crown, but destructive of that principle of security upon which all rational hope of seeing commerce flourish is founded (33). There is no doubt that this inconvenience was foreseen by Mr. *Colbert*, and was the true reason why he at the same time erected a *West India* company, and laboured some other establishments, from a well-grounded judgment, that, without a proper circulation, an *East India* company could not be beneficial to the kingdom. He had just and extensive notions of trade; and whereas his successors had recourse to expedients, he had always remedies in view; so that if this affair had happened in his time, we may fairly presume that he would have conciliated all the disputes between the company, the merchants, and manufacturers; and have procured satisfaction to all, by providing a proper vent for their respective goods, which was the only effectual method that could have been put in practice (34). For want of this the *East India* company was hated, cramped in her commerce abroad, and distressed every-where; which sufficiently shews how dangerous a thing it is to confide in the promises made by the ministers of an absolute prince; which those who make them may be often tempted, sometimes forced, to break, and which will be seldom

(33) *Histoire de la Compagnie des Indes*, tom. iii. p. 77, 78, 79.
Advantages of the East India Trade considered, p. 59.

(34) *The*

thought,

THESE, however, were but the beginning of their misfortunes; the farmers of the public revenue, who have generally speaking the ears of ministers more at their command than other people, insinuated, that their great idol the revenue was prejudiced by the privileges and immunities granted to the *East India* company; to which tho' their patrons readily listened, yet they knew not well how to proceed; for, to have gone roundly to work, and abolished these, would have been such an apparent infraction of the original edict, as would have been too glaring even in that country. But the farmers general soon got the better of this scruple, by shewing, that it was easy to enervate laws without repealing them; and furnished them with such a variety of expedients for this purpose, that though the company lost the benefit of their immunities, yet they were not taken away. The next step was, the forbidding the sale of piece goods to foreigners, upon a supposition that, if they could not buy *Indian* manufactures from the *French* company, they must purchase those of *France*; but, as they could not be forced to this, they bought none at all; and, as the company lost her profit, so the nation lost the whole produce of this branch of trade, and were much the greatest sufferers of the two. Then a high duty was laid upon raw silk, of which the company imported about seven thousand weight a year; and, though this produced a great deal, yet that could not prevent an absolute prohibition, under colour that this was prejudicial to the silk of *France*, though in fact the greatest part of it was bought by foreigners for ready money; and thus, by mistaking public spirit, those who were then in power were continually undoing all that Mr. *Colbert* had been labouring to do; and therefore we need not at all wonder, that, after a short gleam of prosperity, the affairs of the *French East India* company wore very quickly a more gloomy aspect than ever, notwithstanding all the pains taken by the intelligent persons in the direction to set these points in a clear light ² (N).

THE

² *Histoire de la Compagnie des Indes*, p. 81, 82, 83.

thought, and never can be made binding upon their successors. In such countries, therefore, as trade can never be raised but by the interposition of the government, so it will be continually exposed to ruin from the same quarter (35).
(N) There are very few countries in *Europe* where the public

(35) *Histoire des Indes Orientales*, tom. iii. p. 179, 180, 181.

The great distress of the company's affairs, notwithstanding all the helps that had been given them.

THE war that broke out in 1691, as it deeply affected the whole commerce of *France*, so it was particularly fatal to that of their *East India* company, which was already in so indifferent a condition as to be scarce able to support itself under the hardships which it suffered at home, without the addition of other attacks from abroad; and those by powers so infinitely superior in force, as to be able to complete, almost as soon as they had formed, the design of its destruction. They lost, as the reader will see hereafter, the only place of consequence they had in the *East Indies*, which they recovered again by the peace of *Ryswick*; but their affairs were then in

revenue is raised in a manner more severe with respect to the people, more inconvenient with regard to commerce, or more expensive as to the crown, than in *France*, where those who farm the public revenue, their substitutes and under-officers, acquire prodigious fortunes by methods most mischievous to society. While the *East India* company had but little trade; and while Mr. Colbert, and his son the Marquis de Seignelay, lived, these cormorants could not prey upon that body; for those ministers not only understood, but loved trade, or rather they loved it because they understood it. But when these great men were dead, and the impositions of the company for a few years became pretty considerable, these ravenous people grew very impatient, and were perpetually teasing the ministry about the injuries done to the revenue. The ministers, whose instruments they were, who had them in continual use, and who could supply no public necessities without them, listened, and indeed could not help listening, to their representations; in consequence

of which new difficulties were gradually put upon those who had otherwise but too many difficulties to struggle with, and whose demands were rejected when they were ever so reasonable (36). Instances make these matters best understood, and therefore we shall produce one: The *East India* company had three thousand weight of coffee in their warehouses, for which they had actually paid duty; and they desired the liberty of being allowed to ship one third part of this for *Holland*, where there was a demand for coffee, and to be allowed to replace it duty-free out of their next cargo; which, tho' in itself highly reasonable, was refused, because the farmers were changed, and therefore it was said that those who were now intitled to the duties ought not to be prejudiced by a transaction in the time of their predecessors (37); and though this might be good exchequer logic, yet it was such a solecism in respect to commerce, that we need not wonder the directors of the *East India* company thought their proprietors hardly treated.

(36) *Histoire de la Compagnie des Indes*, tom. iii. p. 298, 299. (37) *Memoire sur le Commerce du Café*, depuis 1692 jusqu'à présent, p. 75.

so miserable a condition, that, though the directors resolved to make their utmost efforts to resume their trade as a company, yet they found that it would be so long before they would be in any condition to bring about what they desired, that they very willingly accepted, in the mean time, a proposal for carrying on the trade to *China* by a private person, under the authority of the company * (O).

THIS

* *Géographie Moderne*, par ABRAHAM DU BOIS, pag. 646. *Histoire des Indes Orientales*, tom. iii. p. 182, 183.

(O) The reader will be certainly surprised at various inconsistencies that are visible enough in the text; such as, that the company should have servants in the *Indies*, with factories, forts, and garrisons, and yet carry on little or no trade: that they should be continually applying to the court for new favours when the old had produced so little effect, and that, in the course of so many assemblies of the proprietors, the true origin of all these evils should not be traced out. But, to speak impartially, though there might be, and very probably was, cause for some blame, yet both the directors at home, and those intrusted with the company's affairs abroad, rather deserved pity. The major part of the time their establishment subsisted, the crown of *France* was engaged in wars prejudicial to the commerce of her subjects in general, and more especially destructive to those who were embarked in this undertaking. In those short intervals of peace, which gave them time to look about them, they were certainly not idle; and their servants made them very large returns, which brought in immense sums

of money at their sales, which might have given them an opportunity of retrieving things, if the proprietors could have been persuaded to have patience; but the sight of so much money excited a desire of receiving dividends which, not to call it unjust while they were in debt, was at least very inconvenient. However, in 1687 and in 1691 they made dividends to the amount of thirty *per cent* which put it out of their power to send proper cargoes to the *Indies*, where their servants had borrowed large sums, and bought vast quantities of goods upon credit (38). The directors were forced to make use of the same methods at home, the proprietors, who were so ready for dividends, being very backward in paying calls. Add to all this, that the magnificence with which the company let out, and which it was judged inexpedient for her to let fall, absorbed very large sums. Grievous disappointments, debts at a large interest, and bad oeconomy kept on to prevent a suspicion of worse, are principles so naturally productive of declension and destruction, that the reader can no longer wonder the *French*

A new
China
company
arises out
of a licence
granted by
this com-
pany to a
private
merchant.

THIS was effected by granting a licence, which was likewise confirmed by the crown, to one Mr. *Jourdan*, a rich merchant, who fitted out a very large ship, called the *Amphitrite*, for that voyage, which failed in *March* 1698, and returned safely to *France* on the third of *August* 1700, very richly laden. The success of this voyage encouraged the merchant before-mentioned, and those who were concerned with him, to fit out the same ship again; and this they accordingly did in the following spring, and she returned in the month of *September* 1703 with as great profit as from her former voyage, though she narrowly missed being shipwrecked, falling down the river of *Canton*, at her return ^b (P). The success

^b Histoire du la Compagnie des Indes, p. 93.

East India company was reduced to great extremity; but will be rather amazed that she was still able to creep on, when nothing came in for the present to their directors, and had no better fund for their future expectations than flattering hopes (39).

(P) The historians, who have made the *French* commerce the object of their care, mention several companies for carrying on the trade of *China*, and with these companies it is requisite that the reader should not be altogether unacquainted. The first of these was formed in 1660, chiefly through the care of Mr. *Fernel*, a very rich merchant at *Rouen*, who associated with him several persons of great rank, upon principles chiefly of piety, as their great view was, to carry over certain prelates, whom the pope had appointed to preach the gospel in those countries (40). The fund of this company was one hundred and forty thousand livres, of which forty thousand were advanced by Mr. *Fernel*. It is

doubtful whether they had any regular establishment, or only a bare licence from the crown; however, the success was so indifferent, that the first voyage they made was likewise the last (41). The second company was erected by virtue of a licence from, or rather treaty with, the *East India* company, bearing date *January* 4th, 1698, supported by an arret of council dated the 22d of the same month, and produced those two voyages mentioned in the text (42). In consequence of these, letters patents were granted to the proprietors, dated in the month of *October* 1705, by which they were incorporated under the title of The Royal Company of *China*, with the consent of the *East India* company (43). Their privileges determining at the same time with those of this company; and, in consequence of this, two or three ships returned into *France* in the space of eight years; but, as their cargoes consisted chiefly of silk, they found a prohibition in their

(39) *Histoire des Indes Orientales*, tom. iii. p. 193, 194.

(40) *Histoire de la Compagnie des Indes*, p. 89.

p. 152.

(41) *Histoire des Indes Orientales*, tom. iii.

(42) *Histoire de la Compagnie des Indes*, p. 93.

(43) *Titres concernant le Commerce de la Chine*, p. 385.

success of these voyages, one would have thought, might have established this new company; but the general war in which *France* was then engaged against most of the princes of *Europe* rendered it impracticable; and thus the actual powers of the company lay dormant again, though she was still possessed of its rights, which extended to the coasts of *China*, *Tonquin*, *Cochin-China*, and the isles adjacent; or, to put it in other words, which perhaps may raise more suitable ideas in the reader's mind, the rest of the subjects of *France* were excluded from trading to these places, in favour of a company that never had been in a condition to trade to several of them, in all the time which she had subsisted ^c.

WHILE the *China* commerce was thus left out, as it were, *They exert* in turn, the directors exerted themselves as far as they were *themselves* able, in hopes of restoring their affairs in the *Indies*, or at *to the ut-* least doing something towards it; but, finding that absolutely *most, in* surpassed their abilities, they were forced to apply themselves to the court in the beginning of 1701; and to confess, that they were again under such difficulties, that, without his Ma- *more to* jesty's gracious assistance, their *raise a* trade and establishments must *fund to* be let fall ^d. *Lewis* the fourteenth, who retained the maxims *trade on* which *Mr. Colbert* had so often impressed upon his mind, lent *their own* them eight hundred and fifty thousand livres, upon condition *bottom.* that the directors advanced each forty thousand livres, and the proprietors fifty *per cent.* upon their respective capitals. With this condition the directors complied; but the proprietors, or, as they are called in *France*, the actionists, absolutely refused it; which occasioned a warm and tedious dispute, which was not ended till the year 1704, when the court decided by an arret, that the proprietors should receive the profits, and be liable to the debts, of the company, in propor-

^c Histoire des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 193, 194. ^d Dictionnaire de Commerce, tom. ii. col. 1049.

way, which disgusted the persons interested in this company so far, that they declined continuing this commerce (44). A third *China* company was, however, set up, by letters patents dated *February* 19, 1713, which was altogether independent of the *East India* company, and

was to continue fifty years from the month of *March* 1715. They sent two ships to *China*, one of which returned to *Ostend* in 1718, as the other did the same year to *Genoa*. However, in 1719, this, with many other companies, was finally absorbed in that of the *Indes* (45).

(44) Histoire de la Compagnie des Indes p. 93, 94.
Commerce, tom. ii. col. 1084, 1085.

(45) Dictionnaire de

tion to their respective interests in its capital : that a general state of their affairs should be immediately laid before them ; and that they should be allowed to chuse a committee of five out of their own body, without whose consent, or at least without the consent of the majority of them, the directors should be restrained from borrowing *. It does not appear that this had any good effect ; for in 1708 they became in a manner absolute bankrupts ; so that the king, by an arret, stayed all prosecutions at law against them for debt ; and, that the trade to the *Indies* might not intirely cease, granted his permission for the company to enter into a treaty to lease out their privileges, upon the best terms they could, to any private persons who should be inclined to contract with them † (Q.).

But, finding that impracticable, have recourse to the former method of granting licences.

In pursuance of this scheme, and the concession before-mentioned, they granted leave to M^r. Croizat to fit out two ships in the name of the *East India* company, upon condition that he paid them fifteen *per cent.* upon all the goods imported under this privilege, and two *per cent.* upon all the prizes they should make beyond the line ; with a farther reservation, that the company might be at liberty to bring home, on board his ships, ten ton of whatever commodities they pleased, without paying freight. It is reasonable to believe, that they found from this expedient some relief, which induced them to extend their project ; and, for the preservation of their servants in the *Indies*, who by this time were above ten

* Histoire de la Compagnie des Indes, p. 85.

† Histoire des Indes Orientales, par GUYON, tom. iii. p. 189.

(Q) The pretence for obtaining this edict was, the appointment of a general assembly of the proprietors on the first of *January* 1709, in which it was presumed some method might be fallen upon to retrieve their affairs ; and this made way for the licences, as well as for another expedient, founded on the favour of the crown, which permitted the company for once such an importation of piece goods as might enable them to pacify the most clamorous of their creditors, and gain them

leisure to consider what next was to be done. All these expedients, though at first sight they appear to be marks of bounty and favour in the administration, yet in reality are so many instances that commerce is not natural to this country ; and that, where so much care is necessary to defend it from ruin, it can hardly ever thrive as in other countries, where the people have a natural turn thereto, and enjoy the blessing of a milder constitution (46).

millions in debt, they sacrificed themselves^c. For, in the year 1712, they entered into a treaty with some private traders at *St. Malo's*, by which they yielded up to them all their privileges as a company, upon the best terms they could obtain; and this with a view to supply such as were employed by them in the *Indies* with sums sufficient to keep under the interest of their debts, and thereby prevent all things from falling into confusion^d. A miserable situation this, and yet the company found themselves unable to undertake any thing upon their own bottom; so that on the expiration of their own privileges, by the elapsing of their term about the time of the king's death, they warmly solicited a renewal of them, not from any hopes of reviving their trade, but purely with an intention to renew their agreement with the merchants of *St. Malo's*, that they might gain so much as might preserve their settlements, and not suffer such as they had employed to be utterly undone in their service^e (R). This naturally leads us to the *Indies*, where we shall resume the history of the French

^c Dictionnaire de Commerce, tom. ii. col. 1049. ^d Histoire des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 193, 194. ^e Histoire de la Compagnie des Indes, p. 87

(R) It is not easy to conceive how these merchants of *St. Malo* could carry on their commerce to the *East Indies* with any considerable profit, if we reflect on the many inconveniencies to which they were exposed; for, besides the hard agreement made with the company, they laboured under a variety of restrictions. To mention only a few subjects of the *Mogul* made no distinction between them and the *East India* company, the debts of which were so large, that these private traders durst not send any ships to *Surat*, for fear of having their effects seized; they were likewise precluded from sending any vessels to *China*, on the score of the new company erected for carrying on that commerce; and, in consequence

of the treaty of *Utrecht*, they were prohibited from sending any ships into the *South Seas*; which was one great point they had in view, and might certainly be considered as capable of turning more to their advantage than all the other powers that were left them (47). But it seems that all these, and many other disadvantages, were balanced by this favourable circumstance, that private merchants only were concerned in this commerce, and managed their own money and their own affairs as they thought fit; so that they could go on with more vigour and less expence, make whatever changes they thought convenient, and reap all the benefits of the company's privileges, without being subjected

French affairs, from the miscarriage of their design upon the island of *Ceylon*, down to the same period we arrived at in the history of the company, that is, to the determination of the fifty years granted by the original edict of creation, and without which previous detail what we are now about to relate would have been extremely embarrassed and perplexed, if not absolutely dark and unintelligible.

S E C T. IV.

History of the Company's Concerns in the Indies; Manner in which they acquired the Town and Fortrefs of Pondichery. Description of that Place, and every thing belonging to it; Pains taken to preserve and fortify it. Excellent Behaviour of those intrusted with the Company's Affairs in the East, by whom all their Possessions are maintained, and some Degree of Credit kept up abroad, though wholly lost at home.

An account of the company's affairs in the Indies and in what manner they acquired Pondichery.

IN the very beginning of the year 1674 Messieurs *Baron* and *De la Haye*, directors of the *French East India* company, finding themselves blocked up in the city of *St. Thomas*, with the small remains of that large force which had failed from *France* on the expedition against *Ceylon*, and foreseeing that it would be a thing impracticable for them to hold out long, resolved to procure, if possible, a safe retreat; and, for that purpose, employed *Mr. Martin* to treat with *Chircam Louli*, governor of the adjacent country for the king of *Visapour*, who had shewed himself at all times a friend to their nation, for any place that he should judge proper to answer this necessary end^k. Accordingly *Mr. Martin* repaired to *Pondichery*, and found no great difficulty in obtaining leave from the governor to fix there upon reasonable terms. The town of *St. Thomas* being surrendered, the two directors marched thither with their small forces, where they continued till the beginning of *May*, and then left *Mr. Martin* in possession of

^k *Histoire des Indes Orientales*, tom. iii. p. 213.

to those incumbrances which inevitably attend on public companies under the influence of a minister (48). A lesson that ought to be regarded, and for the sake of which the pains taken in explaining this matter are certainly well bestowed.

(48) *This appears from their not being obliged to throw up their contract.*

- the place, with a garrison of sixty men, exclusive of those on board the *Vigilante* frigate which remained in the road; intrusting him likewise with the money and effects belonging to the company, which were pretty considerable ¹. Mr. *Martin*, considering that this wealth was of no service to him, and the danger to which he might be exposed with so small a garrison, if it remained in his possession, very wisely lent the greatest part of it to his friend *Chircam Lsudi*, at the interest of one and a half *per cent. per mensem*; by which he made him his fast friend, and also procured wherewith to support his garrison without breaking in upon the capital. He then wrote an account to the company of his situation; and that, if they had any demand for piece goods, they might be as conveniently furnished from thence with those manufactures, to the amount of two hundred thousand crowns a year, or more, as from any other place upon the coast; which was the most agreeable news at that juncture he could have sent, and suited exactly with the report they had received from their directors at *Surat*: that, considering how small a force they had in the *Indies*, they could not form an establishment any-where more safely or more commodiously than at *Pondichery*; which they were the better able to affirm, as they had taken all possible pains to acquaint themselves with its advantages during the time they resided there ^m (S).

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¹ Dictionnaire de Commerce, tom. ii. col. 7, 0, 791. ^m Histoire des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 213, 214, 215.

- (S) The reader may possibly think what we have advanced in the text invalidated by what we find affirmed, on their own knowledge, by some who have made voyages thither; who complain, that the climate is very indolent, the soil barren, provisions scarce, the situation on the land side very inconvenient; as the road is open, without defence, and the landing extremely uneasy; from all which they conclude, that it is very difficult to say what the motives were that determined the servants of the company to make choice of this place (49). We have shewn what were their motives; they were in immediate want of a place, and this was the best that could be had. If most of those complaints were well founded, in 1693; we shall find, from the subsequent account of this fortress, with how much industry and skill competent remedies have been applied; but it must be always remembered in what situation things were when Mr. *Martin* fixed himself here, and how very

(49) *Journal d'un Voyage fait aux Indes Orientales, par M. D. Quénou, t. m. ii. p. 1, 2.*

The soil or inheritance of Pondichery purchased of the king of Visapour.

IT was for these reasons that the *French East India* company directed Mr. *Martin* to procure that place for them on the best terms he could; with which order he complied exactly. This gentleman obtained from the before-mentioned governor, who first gave him leave to settle there, a licence to fortify and to secure his people and effects in the best manner he could: which he accordingly did, and settled under the protection of his factory a little *Indian* village of about forty houses, in which those who wrought for the company lived quietly and happily. Things had not remained long in this condition before he found his small establishment threatened with total ruin; for the famous *Seva-Gi*, falling, with a vast force, into that part of the country, endeavoured to overwhelm him, as a dependent upon his enemies. However, Mr. *Martin* supplied by prudence what he wanted in force; and, by a timely application, brought about a treaty, which was managed on his side by an *Indian* prince, whose friendship he had secured, which ended in a licence from *Seva-Gi* to trade in his dominions, for which he paid one thousand six hundred rupees. This was in the year 1680; and he had the year before purchased the territory of the king of *Visapour*, whose inheritance it was; so that now he was tolerably secure, only he was apprehensive that the son of *Seva-Gi*, who was become sovereign of the place by right of war, might take it amiss if he presumed to raise a regular fortification without his consent; which he obtained in 1689, and then put it in a posture of defence.

This settlement taken by a powerful fleet and army employed by the Dutch.

THIS was a very timely provision; for the *Dutch* began to be extremely disturbed at the flourishing condition of this little colony, and offered very large presents to the *Rajah*, in whose dominions it lay, in case he would dispossess the *French*. But the *Indian* prince, who was also son to *Seva-Gi*, rejected these offers with contempt. He said, "the *French* had fairly purchased that settlement, for which they paid a valuable consideration, and that therefore all the money in the world

" *Memoire dans les Archives de la Compagnie des Indes, num. 1.*

little it was in his power either to have changed his quarters, or to attempt any great matters; for, many years after he made his residence at *Pondichery*, what he did was indeed very wonder-

ful; and we may certainly ascribe to his prudence, moderation, and diligence, the preserving for the *French East India* company any place whatever on the coast of *Coromandel* (50).

"should never tempt him to dislodge them." The *Dutch*, however, resolved to carry their point; and, the war having broke out between them and *France*, they made dispositions for attacking it by force; which they did in 1693, when they came before the place with a squadron of nineteen sail, landed an army of between two and three thousand men, with a fine train of artillery, and six mortars. To make their conquest the surer, they applied to the new Rajah, who was not of the same temper with the old one; and, for about twenty thousand pounds of our money, purchased the whole district. They then invested and attacked the place; which, after a good defence, Mr. *Martin*, who was still director-general for the *French East India* company, surrendered, upon very honourable conditions, on the sixth of *September* 1693, as we have already acquainted the reader in a former section P (T).

THIS stroke, which seemed to put an end to the company's authority in those parts, proved, in its consequences, *restitut. an*

• *Histoire des Indes Orientales*, tom. iii. p. 231, 232. P *Memoire dans les Archives de la Compagnie des Indes*, num. 1.

(T) As the preparations for attacking this fortress could not be made without the governor's having intelligence of them so long before the siege began, he took the necessary precaution of sending the women, children, and other useless mouths, to the city of *St. Thomas*, where they were very kindly received, and very charitably entertained, by the *Portuguese* (51). The town was very far from being regularly fortified; or the garrison in any degree of proportion to the force that formed the siege; for which reason, tho' the governor Mr. *Martin* had taken care to be supplied with ammunition and provisions, as well as to throw up some new works, yet he did not think fit to let things come to extremities; but, hav-

ing made such a defence as might justly intitle him to honourable terms, he surrendered upon articles that were for the company's benefit, and to his own credit (52). The garrison was permitted to march out with all marks of honour; vessels were provided to transport them to *Batavia*, from whence they were to be sent into *Europe*; and the governor was permitted to send for his wife and grand-daughter from *St. Thomas*, without subjecting their baggage to any search. The governor's conduct was so well approved at home, that he was not only continued in his former employments, but the king was also pleased to honour him with the order of mount *Carmel* (53).

(51) *Lettres edifiantes et curieuses*, tom. xv. p. 190.
Compagnie des Indes, p. 71.
 p. 246.

(52) *Histoire de la*
Compagnie des Indes, tom. iii.
 p. 112.

of it, the
director-
general
Martin
put Pondi-
chery in-
to a good
state of
defence.

the happiest thing that ever befel them. For the *Dutch* were no sooner in possession of the place, than they raised new walls, erected seven regular bastions, and whatever else was necessary to render it one of the completest fortresses in the *Indies*, on account of its excellent situation, and to keep out the *French*. In 1696, upon the conclusion of a general peace, the place was restored to the *French*, who thereby acquired the property of *Pondichery*, and all those fine new fortifications, for so trifling a sum as five thousand pounds, which they paid to the *Dutch* governor upon his delivering up all that he possessed; which probably he would never have done, if he had not been compelled thereto by the orders of the States General, who, as they were great gainers by that peace in *Europe*, would not perplex themselves with the disputes between the two companies⁹. As soon as the news of this was brought into *France*, the *East India* company received orders from the government to put that place into such a condition, as that, in case of a second war, they might not lose it as they had done before; and, to enable them to do this, a squadron was sent from *France*, with two hundred regular troops for the augmentation of the garrison, several able engineers, a vast quantity of military stores, and whatever else was requisite to secure *Pondichery* from any future attempts of the *Dutch*. The *Sieur Martin* was again intrusted with the command of the place, which in the space of four or five years he so changed, as that it was scarcely to be known. He not only completed the fortifications according to his instructions, and assembled a good garrison of between seven and eight hundred men, but built one hundred new houses, and laid out a regular plan for a large town, into which, by his own prudence and good management, he drew, within the space of five years, more than fifty or sixty thousand inhabitants; so that in the year 1710 it was become one of the most considerable places in the *Indies* in the hands of the *Europeans*; and, if the affairs of the company in *Europe* had kept pace at all with the improvements made by this gentleman in the *Indies*, the *French* company, in point of trade, might very soon have been in some measure upon a level with their neighbours the *English* and *Dutch*. V.

How-

⁹ Dictionnaire de Commerce, tom. ii. col. 791.
des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 247.

¹ Histoire

(V) What chiefly attracted more especially weavers, dyers, the natives of the country, and painters, and other manufacturers

HOWEVER, this was so far from being the case, that both this gentleman and succeeding governors were obliged to find means to support themselves; the factory and town by the trade carried on in it, and by the industry of the *Indians* settled there; in which they were so fortunate, that, while the company was daily declining, every thing carried the face of plenty and prosperity there, and none knew or felt any difficulty but the governors and their council, who yet were never tempted to oppress the people with taxes, or to endeavour to make their own circumstances easier by laying part of the load upon others. It is true, that when the town grew too large for the old fortification, it was found necessary to surround it with a new wall; but how clear forever that necessity, and however advantageous for the people, such an improvement might be, yet the governor found it absolutely

The town enlarged, and a new wall erected round it at the sole expense of the inhabitants.

turers, to settle at *Pondicherry*, was, the freedom as well as protection which they enjoyed, and the ready sale they had for their goods. It is true that the *English*, *Dutch*, and *Dan*s, had forts and factories at no great distance, where they would have been as welcome, and lived with equal security, but not upon so easy terms, or in such intire liberty. We may in some measure ascribe this mild and equitable administration to the temper, experience, and probity, of Mr. *Martin*; but we ought likewise to consider, that the *French* were the latest comers, that they were weaker, and that they had a great interest in procuring the natives to settle under their fortress (54). It may be wondered how they found means to keep the *Indians* employed, and to keep the terms of payment with them in a pretty tolerable manner, notwithstanding the small assistance they derived from *Europe*; but, as their own subsistence, as well

as the maintenance of the place, depended intirely on the right management of this point, they chose to act as factors for all strangers that would employ them; and by this means they lived upon good terms with their neighbours, and at the same time kept their subjects busy; and, tho' their profits were but small, yet still they were somewhat, which, to people who had scarce any other dependence, was a matter of such moment, that we may easily account from thence for their exact justice, and all their other good qualities, by which they recommended themselves so strongly to the natives of all religions (55). We may guess, in some degree at the consequences of these prudent regulations by the rents accounted for to the company from 1685 to 1710; which, notwithstanding the interruption suffered by the conquest of the *Dutch*, amounted to eight hundred thousand livres (56).

(54) *Mémoires Historiques sur les Mœurs des Indes, par P. N. Giffart, tom. ii. p. 280.* (55) *Ibidem, préface, §. 1. et 2.* (56) *Histoire des Indes*

Centales, tom. vi. p. 247.

impracticable to detract the expence without the assistance of the inhabitants. In order to procure this, he acted with equal integrity and caution; for, having first ordered the wall to be marked out, and part of it to be erected at each end, he thereby shewed his people at once the advantages which would be derived from such a fortification, and the expences that would attend it; so that when, in order to complete his design, he imposed upon the inhabitants a capitation tax of two pence a month, they were satisfied as to the end, and the sum raised by this imposition; and therefore, instead of murmuring or complaining, they paid it with the greatest cheerfulness, and gave the governor hearty thanks for the care he had taken of their interest^a. By this the reader may clearly see, that though the *French* pride themselves so much at home on the grandeur and absolute power of their king, and talk in so high a strain of his conquests, yet they affect quite another language in the *Indies*; for they value themselves there upon their justice and moderation, their having purchased the small territory which they possess, their having lived upon good terms with their neighbours, and their establishing so large a town, and acquiring so many thousands of subjects, purely by the equity and mildness of their administration. This fact, which is equally true and strange at the same time, plainly demonstrates, that common sense directs all to think the same way, and that the great difference of opinions, and what we call the temper and dispositions of nations, arises purely from accidents in education and government. Independent of these, reason is every-where the same; which shews the reality and certainty of the laws of nature, to which all men return when the influence of power, and other accidental restraints, are removed^b. As we have shewn by what course of events this fortress of *Pondichery* is become the chief seat and capital residence of the *French East India* company, it will be necessary to give the reader a more particular description of it.

A particular description of the town, its walls, and magazines.

THE town, then, of *Pondichery*^a is situated in the province of *Gingy*, on the coast of *Coromandel*, in the latitude of twelve degrees north, and in the longitude of one hundred degrees thirty minutes, that is, seventy-eight degrees east from the meridian of *Paris*. It stands at the distance of one hundred yards from the sea-shore, and has nothing more than a road before it, so that they are obliged to carry all their

^a Dictionnaire de Commerce, tom. ii. col. 791.
des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 247, 248.
dans les Indes Orientales, par LULLIER, p. 33.

^b Histoire
^c Voyage

goods in boats for a full league" (X). The magazines of the company, and of private persons, are both numerous and magnificent,

" Journal d'un Voyage fait aux Indes Orientales, par Mous. Du QUESNE, tom. ii. p. 161, 162.

(X) The trouble and danger in landing is much insisted upon by some of the *French* writers of voyages, who differ as to the name of the boats made use of for this purpose, one calling them *Chelingues* (57), and the other *Dingues* (58). The former of these writers describes them thus (59). " Vessels (says he) " cannot anchor nearer than " half a league to the shore, " which is very low, neither " is it possible for either shallop " or small boat to row with " safety nearer than musket- " shot; because the sea breaks " with so much violence, that " nothing could save them if " they went closer. The black " people of the country come to " take such as are desirous of " going on shore, with their " baggage or merchandize, in " great flat boats, which are " called chelingues; the sides " of which are very high. " These boats are made of thin " planks not nailed, but barely " sewed together with cords, " without so much as bitumen, " tar, rosin, pitch, or oakum; " so that the water comes in on " all sides, and that to such a " degree, that passengers run " the hazard of being drowned, " and goods being spoiled, eve- " ry moment. I cannot tell " why the company have not " made a quay, since it would " certainly save all the expence " of these chelingues, and put " peoples lives and goods out " of danger; for these boats " are so very insecure, that two " men are constantly employed " in throwing out the water " with large leather buckets; " there is another at the helm, " and six labour at the oars; " so that the wages of nine " men in each of these boats " would be saved by the com- " pany's being at the expence " of a quay. They say indeed, " that all this coast is a quick- " sand, upon which it is impos- " sible to lay any foundation." One would think this answer might have satisfied the gentle- man; but he is, notwithstand- ing, very positive that a quay might be made; and add, he would undertake to do it at the hazard of his head. How- ever that matter be, this incon- venience appears to be a com- mon complaint upon this coast, as the reader will see from what Mr. Lockyer has said on the same subject with respect to the *Eng- lish* settlement at *Madagasc*, or *Fort St. George* (60): " Here " being a very high surf, which " sometimes breaks a great way " from shore, our *English* boats " are of no use for landing or " shipping off goods. For this

(57) *Journal d'un Voyage fait aux Indes Orientales, par M. Du Quesne, tom. ii. p. 162.* (58) *Voyages dans les Indes Orientales, par L'abbé, p. 29.* (59) *Journal d'un Voyage fait aux Indes Orientales, par M. Du Quesne, tom. ii. p. 161.* (60) *A count of the Trade in India, p. 11.*

magnificent, as far as any thing of that nature can be so. They have a large and beautiful market-place, six fine gates, eleven battions for the defence of their walls, a regular citadel well fortified, upwards of four hundred cannon upon their works, besides a good train of field pieces, bombs, mortars, and other military stores, in their arsenal *. The governor has a very fine house, with convenient offices, and whatever else is requisite for the service or credit of the company. On the west side of the town the company have a fine garden, beautifully laid out into public walks, and whatever else may contribute to the satisfaction and pleasure of the better sort of inhabitants; adjoining to which garden there is a fine house richly furnished, made use of for the reception of foreign princes and ambassadors, who, whenever they resort thither, are treated with infinite respect, and all their expences defrayed by the company; which has been found a wise and useful contrivance, of much more consequence to the interest of their commerce than the expence it occasions †. The other public buildings consist of a large convent of the Jesuits, where they have usually twelve or fifteen priests, who, besides officiating in that character, keep school, and instruct the children of the inhabitants in reading, writing, mathematics, and whatever else may be of use in civil life; for, as to the learned languages, they trouble not themselves about them, and indeed they would be of little service in this part of the world. There are, besides that of the Jesuits, two other convents, but not so considerable by any means as the former, which is the case throughout the *Indes* ‡ (Y).

THE

* Histoire des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 253, 254. † Voyage dans les Indes Orientales, par LUTIER, p. 67, 98, 99. ‡ Memoire dans les Archives de la Compagnie des Indes, num. 1.

end, therefore, they have *Mushoolas*, large flat bottomed ill shaped boats, not tailed as ours, but sewed together with coyr-twine, whence they are so pliable, that the planks never start with the most violent shocks. their hire is six *Fanbams*, or eighteen pence a trip; but the company has seven boats *per Pagoda*, which is thirty six *Fanbams*, and is money dearly earned, two or three *ruins* a day being the

“ most ten fellows can make;
“ however, they are merry birds,
“ howling out an *Ela, Yela*,
“ as chorus to their songs, at
“ almost every stroke.” The reader will be hereafter informed in the text, that, supposing it possible to remedy this inconvenience at *Pondichery*, it is doubtful (at least in her present circumstances) whether the *French East India* company would think it expedient.

(Y) It cannot but be agreeable

THE houses of the town are as regularly laid out as if it *The great extent, and* had been all built at once, though it is now near four leagues *extent, and* in extent. The *Europeans* build with brick; but the *Indians, yet exact regularity,* and other nations, use only wood, in that manner which we *regularity, of the place, with* call lath and plaister; for the latter they have the best in the world, which is composed of all sorts of shells ground to

able to the reader to be informed of a very singular act of dexterity by which the Jesuits preserved this noble convent of theirs at the time *Pondicherry* was taken by the *Dutch*, though they very well knew, that, by saving this edifice, the place must be lost (61). The church of the Jesuits was seated on an eminence that overlooked the citadel; and it was therefore easily foreseen, that, when once the enemy became masters of this place, *Pondicherry* must soon fall into their hands: The governor posited as many men as he could spare on this important spot for its defence, and likewise directed the church to be undermined, that, if the *Dutch* became masters of it, it might turn little to their advantage, and nothing to his detriment. The place, as he foresaw, was very soon attacked; the officer who commanded, and most of the men that were there, killed in resistance, after which the *Dutch* presently took possession. The business then was to spring the mine; but, to the amazement of the governor, the powder would not take fire. The soldier who was sent on this service applied the match over and over to no purpose; and at length threw a small quantity of dry powder he had with him upon the train,

which scorched his face and his hands when fired, but without producing any other effect; the powder being so thoroughly mixed with oil, that it was impossible it should take. The success of this contrivance to save the church obliged the governor to surrender. The suspicion fell strong upon the Jesuits, and it was soon reduced to a certainty; for the very person they employed, and who fled for fear of discovery, returned after the *Dutch* became masters of *Pondicherry*, and had restored this church, at the request of the Reverend Father *Tachard*, to its original owners; by which the whole secret came out. The same reverend person, returning soon after to *France*, acquainted the ministry with the whole affair, magnifying the detriment the public had sustained from the method taken to save this building; but at the same time he was pleased to give the credit of this contrivance to the *Capuchins*, whose church he affirmed it to be; but unluckily the superior of that order returned likewise, and set the whole affair in its true light, as we are informed by an author whose veracity is above suspicion, and who has been a confessor, and almost a martyr, to the arts of these exquisite politicians.

(61) *Mémoires Historiques sur les Missions des Malabars, par F. Norbert, tom. ii. p. 223.*

the number of houses and people. powder, and wrought up into a kind of paste, which, when exposed for some time to the air, becomes altogether as white, and almost as hard, as stone. These houses are one story only, and are usually eight yards in front, and six in depth; and yet fifteen or twenty people live in them. They are but very indifferently lighted, so that it is not easy to conceive how they are able to dispatch their business in them. Their roofs are all flat, for the conveniency of lying upon them, which they do almost naked, agreeable to the custom of the country; for *Ponlichery*, lying in the torrid zone, is extremely hot, though the climate is found by experience very wholesome. One thing is very singular; and this is, that it never rains, except seven or eight days, at the most, towards the end of *October*, which falls out constantly and regularly, and is therefore the more extraordinary^a. The native *Indians*, or, as they are called here, *Gentiles*, or *Gentoos*, are most of them weavers or painters; and, though the best workman cannot earn above two pence a day, yet upon this he is able to subsist himself, his wife, and his children, their principal food being rice boiled in water, or wrought up into a paste, and baked upon the coals. The adjacent country is extremely well cultivated, and produces rice in abundance; so that there is hardly a place in the *Indies* of greater plenty, or where they have flesh, fish, and fowl, on more reasonable terms; and this notwithstanding they have no other water than what is derived to them from the overflowing of the *Colram*, and other great rivers, which they preserve in lakes or ponds, and draw it for use through their plantations in artificial canals, after the same manner as in *Egypt* (Z).

THE

^a *Lettres edifiantes*, tom. xv. p. 19. *Histoire des Indes Orientales*, tom. iii. p. 250. ^b *Memoires dans les Archives de la Compagnie des Indes*, num. 1.

(Z) The reader has seen, that, when *Pondichery* was first in possession of the *French*, great complaints were made of its wanting almost all the conveniences of life, and even those two great necessaries bread and water (62). However, these complaints were a little louder than they need have been, since there is actually a river that runs through the town; and, though the adjacent country be naturally barren and sandy, yet, through the industry of the natives, assisted by the skill of *European* engineers, water is so copiously and equally distributed, that they raise vast quantities of rice, great plenty of fallowing,

(62) *Journal d'un Voyage fait aux Indes Orientales, par Du Rofne*, tom. ii. p. 162--165.

THE governor, who is also director-general for the company, as he is lodged in a fine palace, so, on all public occasions, he makes a figure suitable thereto in every respect. He has twelve horse guards cloathed in scarlet-laced with gold, and an officer, who has the title of captain, commands them. He has also a foot guard of three hundred men, natives of the country, called *Peons*; and, when he appears in public, he is carried in a palankin, very richly adorned with gold fringe. But all this pomp and state is displayed only on proper and particular occasions, upon the receiving of princes or ambassadors; at other times his guards are employed in the necessary service of the company, and earn to the full the wages they are paid; for there are very few settlements better regulated than this, which the reader will more easily believe when he is told, that, according to the last account taken of the inhabitants of this place, there appear to be in it no less than one hundred and twenty thousand Christians, *Mohammedans*, and *Gentiles*; a thing altogether incredible, if the fact was not supported by testimonies not to be disputed. There cannot be a place better seated for trade than *Pondichery*, being in the midst of the *European* settlements on the coast of *Coromandel*, and having all the bay of *Bengal* open before them; so that the company's magazines are full of all the commodities and manufactures not only of the coast of *Coromandel*, but of other parts of the *Indies*, as *Bengal*, *Surat*, and the coast of *Malabar*, as also of such as are imported from *Per-*

Magnificence of the governor on particular occasions, and the manner in which commerce is carried on from thence thro' the Indies.

abundance of *Indian* fruits and *European* vines are cultivated there with such success, that they bear twice a year; and, though it must be allowed that the fruit does not come to such full perfection as to admit of making wine, yet the grapes have a good taste, and are very wholesome and refreshing (63). The large account which we have given in the text is extracted from a memorial sent to the *French East India* company, which is allowed to be very exact by those who have visited that fortress lately (64). We

must also consider, that different countries and climates demand quite a different manner of living; and it is in furnishing what is necessary and convenient for that way of life which best suits these, that plenty really consists; for to expect what would be so in *Europe* upon the coast of *Coromandel*, is absurd and unnatural, and therefore those who visit such places, in a voyage to the *Indies*, stay there but a little time, and are unacquainted with the manners and customs of the place, are by no means proper judges (65).

(62) *Histoire des Indes Orientales*, tom. iii. p. 251, 252.
des Indes Orientales, par Lullier, &c.

(64) *Voyage dans les Indes Orientales*, par Lullier, &c.
 (65) The reader will discern the truth of this by comparing books of this kind with each other.

sia, and the coasts of the *Red Sea*; and here likewise are their warehouses for all sorts of *European* commodities, which are conveniently transported from thence, as occasions require, to the several markets in the *Indies* *. The staple trade, however, of the place, is esteemed to be piece goods, of which the finest are made in the neighbouring kingdom of *Golconda*, and the best painted here; they likewise have great quantities of silk raw and manufactured, gold and silver brocades, perfumes, spices, and diamonds, in which they are said to have made a great progress of late, and for which it is certain they are very conveniently situated, as being at a small distance from the finest mines in the *Indies*, and by having amongst them persons as well skilled in jewels as any in the world (A). The *French East India* company, therefore, can
neither

* Dictionnaire de Commerce, tom. ii. col. 750. Memoire dans les Archives de la Compagnie des Indes, num. 1.

(A) The finest diamonds in the *Indies* are found in the kingdoms of *Visapour*, *Golconda*, and *Bengal*, from all which the *French* settlement of *Pondichery* is at about an equal distance, which does not exceed an hundred leagues. The most common method of coming at these precious stones is, by purchase from the natives, who bring them with great secrecy to those in whom they have a confidence; but seldom, if ever, above one stone at a time, which they sell as dear as they can (66). It is said that great caution is requisite in dealing with these people, with whom civility will do much, but flattery nothing at all, the *Banyan* merchant esteeming complaisance a shrewd sign of insincerity. It is requisite to make a hard bargain, and not to give a good price, in hopes of being better used an-

other time; for the *Banyan* will deal always upon the same foot, and, rather than sell an *European* cheaper than he did before, will find another chapman (67). These stones are sold for ready money, and of the newest coin. A fair reputation is the best method of attracting *Indian* merchants, who never deal but with those whom they esteem to be men of probity. We are told that the Jesuits drive a greater trade in jewels than either the *English*, *French*, or *Dutch*, or *Danes*; and it is very positively asserted, that, using the dress, the language, and the customs, of the *Banyan*, they frequently travel to the diamond mines with them, and make large purchases upon the spot (68). It may seem a little strange how these reverend fathers get their stones to *Europe*; but, with respect to this, we have a very

(66) Bernier, Tavernier, Lallier, &c.
des Indes Orientales.
p. 62.

(67) Information pour le Commerce
(68) *Esquisse* Annales des Provinces Unies, tom. i.

neither be blamed for their choice of this residence, which, all things considered, is the fittest for them of any in the *Indies*; or for the pains and expence they have bestowed about it, amounting, in the whole, about forty years ago, to about eight hundred thousand livres, or forty thousand pounds sterling. Since they have rendered it so strong and so commodious, that it might easily drive ten times the trade they ever had in this part of the world ^d.

One disadvantage it has, and that too very considerable, *The great* which is, the want of a port, for there is, as we have more *inconvenience of* than once observed, only a road before *Pondichery*, and that none of the best, the flux and reflux of the sea is not above a foot or two at the most, the landing very difficult and troublesome, ships not being able to come within a less distance *than half a league of the place; so that every thing with respect to lading or unlading must be performed by boats al-* *balanced.*

^d Dictionnaire de Commerce, tom. ii. col. 61, 62.

singular story from a man of honour, and of their own communion, which will at once instruct and entertain the reader. These reverend persons, conforming to the mode of the country, wear the *Portuguese* shoes, with large wooden heels; and it so fell out, that a *Moor*, whom they had converted at *Surat*, in a pious fit of humility, was very desirous of cleaning these holy men's shoes; but, being apprehensive that the fathers would not permit it if he had desired their leave, he with great secrecy took away two pair of shoes; and, retiring to a private place, fell to rubbing them very assiduously. He had not been long at his labour before he heard something rattle in their heels, which the poor superstitious creature took for an evil spirit; and roared out so violently, that the *Portuguese* came to see what was the mat-

ter, to whom he told his story; upon which this old Christian, who was better acquainted with the Jesuits than the *Moor*, ripped off the heel pieces, and took out four neat iron boxes, made exactly in the form of wooden heels, in which were twenty rough diamonds of great value. The reverend fathers, being informed of what had happened, applied themselves to the *Portuguese*; and, partly by threatening him with the inquisition upon his return to *Goa*, partly by good words, and a reasonable present in ready money, recovered their diamonds; but the *Moor* made such a noise about the iron boxes and flint stones, as he took them to be, that all the traders of *Surat* were let into this secret, and the Jesuits in all probability obliged to have recourse for the future to some new invention (69).

(69) *Journal de Voyage fait aux Indes Orientales, par D. ...*
p. 123, 124, 125.

ways, with much trouble, and very often not without danger: yet even this situation, or rather this disadvantage in its situation, was very serviceable during the time that the *Sieur Martin* was director-general there; since, if the landing had not been both difficult and dangerous, the place, no doubt, had been taken and demolished in the last general war, during the reign of *Lewis XIV.* as well as in the first, or battered or bombarded by the *English* and *Dutch* fleets, if that had been practicable. For we must put the reader in mind, that, notwithstanding we have proceeded in the description of *Pondichery* almost as low as the present times, that we might shew its augmentations and improvements at one view, yet we are advanced in our history no farther than the beginning of the present century, at which time the sovereign council of the *Indies*, as it was called, was suppressed at *Surat*, because indeed it could subsist there no longer, and that swelling title conferred on those who had the direction of the company's affairs at *Pondichery*, which was made the seat of the director or governor-general of the *French* company by letters patents dated in *February 1701*, by which the factories at *Ougli*, *Ballezor*, *Kasumbazar*, *Cabripatan*, *Masulipatan*, and others, in the kingdoms of *Bengal* and *Golconda*, were put under its direction, which, though it might seem an augmentation of honour and power, was in truth a new burden upon those who had the management of the company's affairs for above twenty years^c.

How the governor, garrison, and the company's servants, supported themselves in this place.

In this space of time, as the reader has already seen from the history of the company, her affairs were continually declining from bad to worse, so that it is really matter of amazement how the servants of the company contrived to keep so many places as they did, not only with very little but almost without any assistance. The cheapness of the country, and their entertaining for the most part natives in their service, was a great help; to this they joined what little trade they carried on to the adjacent ports in the *Indies*; they likewise availed themselves, in their distress, by making up cargoes for the *English* ships, who bought without scruple where they could have them cheapest; then came the private traders with the company's licence, whom they also supplied: but all these contrivances could not keep them out of debt, or even help them to sums sufficient to keep down their interest, and thereby preserve some little credit to serve them upon emergencies; inasmuch that they were pitied by the wise and better sort, and laughed at and contemned by the generality

^c *Histoire des Indes Orientales*, tom. iii. p. 182, 183, 184.

of the rest of the *European* nations, who saw with no small satisfaction how mean a figure the *French* made in the east, and with what inexpressible trouble they kept up factories that turned to no manner of advantage¹.

BUT this, however, is very remarkable, that the company, which had been plundered and abused while she had funds, and was able to send supplies, was now served with great integrity, and with all imaginable diligence, when there was no other reward to be hoped for than fair words, and ample acknowledgements of their honour and fidelity. It is also worthy of notice, that all this time the town of *Pondichery* was gradually increasing, and, from four or five hundred inhabitants, came within that period to have between seventy and eighty thousand, merely from the mildness of the government, and the personal virtues of the *Sieur Francis Martin*, the founder of this settlement, and who lived to see it, and all that depended upon it, in a flourishing condition, while himself and his masters would have thought it a great felicity to have been barely even with the world, and not worth a groat. Some expectations, no doubt, they had upon the peace; but when they found that this produced nothing, and that it was not altogether certain whether the company had interest enough to procure a longer term, we may very reasonably believe that they lost all hopes, and began to apprehend that they should be abandoned in the same manner that some of the *Portuguese* colonies were, when the affairs of that nation fell into confusion².

BUT as the seeds of destruction are often sown, and take deep root, in the time of apparent prosperity, so penetrating people, and those who are allowed to be the most capable judges of things of this nature, have been of opinion, that the *French* commerce had never lifted its head again in the *Indies* but for certain advantages which accrued to the company in this time of her humiliation; for, as they never had any power, from the time of their settling at *Pondichery*, but what was produced by their address, this hindered that fierceness and haughtiness from appearing which quickly renders the *French* nation suspected, and in process of time insupportable, in foreign countries. By their remaining for so many years in this depressed condition, which obliged them to study the tempers of different princes, and the disposition of various nations, they really acquired a settled habit of affability, moderation, and equity. They shewed all possible respect to the *Indian*

An extraordinary instance of probity in those who were then intrusted.

How many and great advantages accrued to the company from this circumstance.

¹ LOCKYER'S Account of the Trade in India, p. 277. 279. 286.

² Histoire des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 247.

kings and princes, their neighbours, and to all their great officers who came into those parts with forces; by which they obtained the friendship of all, and very singular marks of esteem from some of them^b. They frequently did good offices both to the natives and to the *Europeans*, by which they acquired the good-will of the former, and softened the resentment of the latter; who, making use of them in their factories, as agents and brokers, not only forbore giving them any disturbance, but also gratified them for their services. They protected the people who had settled under the fortresses of *Pondichery*, the works of which they were continually improving, and kept parties constantly abroad to scour the roads from banditti, marauders, and other plunderers, with which the country was infested; and by this means attracted a sober, harmless, and industrious race of people, to settle in their territory, where they were sure of enjoying in peace the fruits of their labour, tho' that seldom rose higher than a bare subsistence, with which, however, they were easy and contented^c.

It is by
this con-
duct gain-
ing a high
reputation
with the
inhabit-
ants of the
country.

By this manner of living in the *Indies* for the space of full fifty years they attained, and that very deservedly, a fair reputation, their fortress and their vigilance securing them from surprises or oppression, as their poverty defended them from envy, and their politeness from those insults to which otherwise that would have exposed them. Yet these were but inconsiderable benefits in comparison of that knowledge they acquired of the interior part of the *Indies*, by the facility which their intercourse with the natives gave them in passing from one court to another; so that in this space of time there were multitudes bred up amongst them who had a more perfect acquaintance with the inland traffick, the places from whence the richest goods came, and where the best manufactures were made, than could possibly be obtained by those who resided always in their own settlements, and who had not either the opportunities or the temptation to undertake any such new journeys^d. By this means likewise many in quality of itinerant merchants and jewellers found means to pick up small fortunes; and, returning into *Europe* on board the *English* or *Dutch* ship, became afterwards the instruments of that private trade which was carried on by the company's licence at *St. Malo's*. All these, though circumstances very little considered at a time when the company's affairs were so low, that they were constrained to let their privileges to-

^b Histoire de la Compagnie des Indes, p. 80. Histoire des Indes Orientales, tom. II. p. 103.

^c Mémoires dans les Archives de la Compagnie des Indes, num. 1.

^d Lettres

édifiantes, tom. XI.

save their servants from starving, yet contributed afterwards to the carrying on the affairs of their trade with more ease, less expence, and consequently larger profit, than any other nation trading to the *Indies* ¹ (B).

BEFORE we part with this subject, it may not be amiss to observe of how great consequence perseverance is in a concern of this nature. The *Portuguese* came into the *Indies* with a small force, which quickly became superior to any thing that could be opposed to them; so that, using the advantages that conjuncture gave them, they became as it were at once lords of the *Indies*. The *Dutch*, driven by despair, and having chiefly the spice trade in view, fell upon that part of the *Portuguese* settlements where they were weakest; and the rich cargoes which they carried home to a country where many had money, and many more had none, but were willing to

Of what consequence perseverance is in points of this nature to a nation.

¹ Histoire des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 369.

(B) This humour of travelling from place to place, and endeavouring to recommend themselves to such as are at the head of public affairs, where ever they come, is very natural to the *French*, and has been also very useful to them, notwithstanding it has been ridiculed under the notion of levity and vanity by some of their neighbours. It is in consequence of this disposition that they make a greater progress, and gain a better footing, in almost all countries where they come, than any other nation. It is a proof of this that some of the best descriptions, and most accurate accounts, that we have of the *East Indies*, were written by *Frenchmen* who went thither in a private capacity, and chiefly with a view to make their fortunes. It is from the same turn of mind that we find them so ready to embrace settlements of any kind, posts either civil or

military in the courts of eastern princes, which makes them and their nation better known to many of these little potentates than any other. While the kingdoms of *Visapour*, *Golconda*, and *Bengal*, subsisted, there were always *Frenchmen*, or at least persons in the *French* service, that were residents in, and had considerable interests with, those courts (70); and, since they have been swallowed up by the power of the *Mogul*, the *French* have taken care to maintain the like correspondence with his nabobs, and have besides very assiduously cultivated a friendship with all the *Indian* rajahs, or princes, great and small, dependent or independent of that empire; which has turned highly to their advantage, as the reader will see in the sequel of this chapter, and as indeed we are continually taught by the advices we receive from those countries (71).

(70) Tavernier, Bernier, Carre, *Diction formation, and Jour. As. S. memoirs of p.*

(71) *Fr private the Indies.*

do any thing to get it, easily excited that spirit which bore down all before it, and established a sovereignty in the *Indies*, vastly greater and richer than their possessions in *Europe*^m. The *English* trade was carried on in a middle way, without any tincture of the *Portuguese* haughtiness, or the *Dutch* selfishness. All these nations, when they came thither, had been for some time used to trade, and were well able to be at the charge of their first establishments. But it was otherwise with the *French*; they came last, when the trade of the *Indies* was almost engrossed by other people, who had wealth and experience on their side; found great difficulties in fixing themselves at all, and, when fixed, found little support from home: yet, by bearing with and struggling against these difficulties; by long-sufferings, and a resolution to remain there as long as it was possible, which, by the practice of a variety of expedients, they rendered practicable, not only contrary to the expectations of others, but perhaps also of their own; they have carried their point; which shews, that there are no obstacles that patience will not overcome, and no nation but what may be taught patience, since certainly that is not among the number of virtues for which the *French* are famousⁿ (C).

S E C T.

^m Sir WALTER RALEGH's Discourse of the Invention of Ships, &c.
ⁿ 'Testament Politique de Monsieur DE LOUVOIS, p. 439, 440.

(C) The great and enterprising Mr. *Louvois*, whose work we have cited in support of what is advanced in the text, thought apparently in this way; and, though he did not live to see any very great points achieved either in the *East* or *West Indies*, yet he ventured to foretell the king his master, that the *French*, by their perseverance, would carry their point at last, and distinguish themselves in commerce as well as in negotiations and war. He acknowledged that this prophecy might very possibly expose him to be laughed at whenever it

came to be known; but, notwithstanding this, he was positive, that, in process of time, those that laughed would find their mirth spoiled by his countrymen, who would attempt and succeed in overturning the settlements, and encroaching on the dominions, of other powers in *Asia* and *America* (72). He confesses that to his time they had not been very fortunate in these endeavours; but he comforts his master and himself with observing, that these are enterprises which are seldom prosperous in the beginning; and compares the progress of a

(72) *Testament Politique de Monsieur de Louvois*, p. 439, 440.

S E C T. V.

The State of the Company's domestic Situation at the time of the Demise of Lewis XIV. On what Terms, and with what Views, the Regent Duke of Orleans took up the Concerns of this and other Companies; and what were the real Ends proposed by that Consolidation to which he gave the sounding and specious Title of the UNION, that a Revival of Credit might in some measure result from the Name.

WE must now return again to France, from the history of *The domestic* their difficulties abroad to that of their endeavours at *the history* home. Upon the demise of *Louis* the fourteenth, the founder of *the French* this company, and their kind protector and patron, thro' *East India* his whole reign the administration of affairs devolved upon, *company* or at least was assumed by, the Duke of Orleans, with the *resumed* title of Regent; a prince of great parts, and who, at his *from this* entrance on the government, affected whatever might procure *period.* him the character of being a lover of peace, a friend to the people, and the guardian of commerce. To him, therefore, as was natural, the distressed company applied for an additional term; the renewal of their privileges in that state in which they stood, was all that they desired; to have them augmented, was what they never hoped; for though, before the death of the king, they had obtained a prolongation for ten years, to be accounted from the first of *May* 1715, yet this, like most of the royal favours they had received, was of very little use, since they had no funds left for carrying on their commerce; and, besides, the new term was so short, that it added very little to their credit at home or abroad.

rising naval power to that of a journey even in his mind, he strong man walking upon a bad will sooner or later overcome road, where though he may all difficulties, and reach the often trip, and sometimes fall, place to which he is bound. may find himself embarrassed in These suggestions and reflections craggy paths, and forced to of a *French* minister, who died so long ago (73) as *July* 16th, bear scratches and blows in passing through thickets and close 1691, are not a little extraordinary, and the reader cannot woods, yet, keeping up his spirits, and pressing on, stopping now-and-then to take breath, a very strong impression upon and keeping the issue of his his successors.

(73) *Histoire Chronologique du dernier Siècle*, p. 223.

It was from the duke regent that they expected more solid assistance, and such helps from the treasury as might enable them to revive their trade. But the regent and his ministers were in sentiments quite opposite to those the company had flattered themselves with; and, instead of being at all inclined to part with money for other people to employ in trade, they were contriving how to make use of the sound and reputation of commerce to fill the king's coffers, to pay off the debts of the crown, and to discharge the loads which lay on the government, and upon the shoulders of the nation, by that series of contrivances which are still known in *France* by the name of *THE SYSTEM*^o.

How the regent Duke of Orleans made this and other companies subservient to his schemes.

It was with this view that the regent shewed so much favour and kindness to the *West India* company, and established its capital at one hundred millions, and thereby procured an opportunity of lessening that immense quantity of incumbrances which the long war had made necessary. But when the *East India* company came to represent the condition they were in, and sue for assistance, they soon found that they had to do with those who understood their affairs as well as themselves; and therefore, instead of governing them, as they had done former ministers, they were forced to put themselves intirely into their hands, and trust to their generosity and discretion^p. The consequence of this was very probably what they had not foreseen, since it proved to be the dissolution of the company in effect, by uniting them with that of the *West Indies*, which also swallowed up others; and this with a view of immediate benefit to the government, and perhaps a remote prospect to the advantage of the *East India* commerce, the state of which was now laid open to the very bottom, and the whole brought to public view, that the world might be induced to believe the squandering such large sums, the feeble progress, and at length absolute decay, of their traffick, was owing to mismanagement; which being corrected, a correspondence with the *East Indies* might become as beneficial to *France* as it evidently was to *England* or *Holland*^q. If we consider this revolution in the company's affairs, and the dissolution of their privileges, in a strict and absolute sense, we must look on the new establishment as the fifth *East India* company erected in *France*; but if reflecting upon other circumstances, such as carrying over the effects

^o *Histoire de la Compagnie des Indes*, p. 335. *Histoire des Indes Orientales*, tom. iii. p. 195.
^p *Histoire de la Compagnie des Indes*, p. 114.
^q *Dictionnaire de Commerce*; tom. i. col. 1261.

and debts of the old company to the new one, and some other particulars that will be hereafter mentioned, we are content to receive it in a more restrained acceptation, then it will be no more than a continuance of the old company, or at most a revival (D).

THIS

(D) In the latter part of the reign of *Louis* the fourteenth, when the public revenues of *France* were anticipated for several years; when the debts of the state were swollen so high, that new denominations were introduced into the computation, and they reckoned not only by millions, but milliards; and, when the wisest men thought all things most desperate, Mr. *Desmaretz* had the direction of the finances, who had been the disciple of Mr. *Colbert*, and, which posterity will hardly believe, found means, to the very death of his master, to maintain something like public credit. But, on the king's demise, he withdrew, and left the direction of all things to those enterprising spirits which the Duke Regent brought into employment (74). The first great measure they struck out was, a kind of political inquisition, by which all who had interfered in any manner with public money were called to a most rigorous examination; the very fear of which deprived many of their senses, and some laid violent hands upon themselves: yet, after all, this flaming tribunal produced nothing more than confusion, and the regent was forced to have recourse to milder methods (75). At this juncture Mr. *John Law*, a native of *Scotland*, who,

by the exercise of his great abilities, had raised a considerable estate, offered his service; and proposed, with many improvements, a project which he endeavoured to set on foot in his own country twelve years before. His scheme was accepted; a new establishment erected, and prodigious quantities of old securities, being liquidated, were discharged by bank bills; which, in consequence of that establishment, and his management of it, had such an effect as could scarce have been expected. The *Mississippi* company, of which we shall speak particularly in the succeeding note, was next erected, which by degrees was to be charged with the whole foreign commerce of the kingdom, and the cash of this company was to be kept by the bank. This, in few words, as a very able writer well observes, explains the theory of the system, which was so much magnified by the creatures of power, that, when this new company changed its title for that of the *Indies*, with an augmentation of its capital, the new actions sold for one thousand and forty *per cent.* and the old ones for eight or nine hundred livres more (76). Mr. *Law* was comptroller-general of the finances, director of the bank, and inspector-general of the company of the *Indies*, so

(74) *Histoire du Visa*, tom. i. p. 3.
tales, tom. iii. p. 367, 368.

(75) *Histoire des Indes Orientales*, tom. i. p. 24, 25.
(76) *Histoire du Visa*, tom. i. p. 24, 25.

In the pre-
amble to *West* and *East India* companies, as well as of the rest of the
the edit^s of societies comprised therein, and gave to the whole the compre-
UNION, henfive title of the company of the *Indies* (E). In the pre-
amble

† *Histoire des Indes Orientales*, tom. iii. p. 195, 196, 197.

long as the rage of stockjobbing prevailed; but when the bank-bills lost their credit, and the actions of the company began to decline, he was obliged to leave the kingdom privately, after losing all his places. This rotation of things happened between 1717 and the close of 1720 (77). There is no doubt that the principal, or at least primary view of the court, was, to free themselves in some measure from that load of debt which it was impossible to discharge; and, when this was in some degree effected, *Messieurs Paris*, and other antagonists of *Mr. Law*, contrived, as the reader will see in the text, the gradual delivery of the company of the *Indies*, and the establishing its trade upon a regular and practicable basis. We have in this note anticipated much of the succeeding history, in hopes of rendering so complicated an affair in some degree perspicuous.

(E) All the *French* authors of any degree of eminence, who have written upon the subject of commerce, acknowledge the famous Cardinal *de Richieu* for its founder, and the celebrated *Colbert* for its restorer (78). The cardinal had countenanced several undertakings for carrying on and improving the *French* com-

merce on the coast of *Africa* and the *West Indies*, none of which had any tolerable degree of success, that is, they were very far from turning to the profit of those who were concerned in them, notwithstanding all the privileges, immunities, and encouragements, they received from the crown; so that to the eyes of the generality of mankind, and even to the greatest part of speculative politicians, they seemed but so many commercial illusions. But to the penetrating view of *Colbert* they appeared in quite another light; for he clearly discerned that it was to these illusions *France* owed the possession of those dominions which she had in different parts of the world; and though these were but very small and inconsiderable, yet he judged the preservation of them to be a point of great importance; and it was this that induced him, at the same time that he set up an *East India* company, that is, in 1664, to set up a *West India* company also, in hopes that the time was come in which the *French* might make as great a figure in foreign commerce as their neighbours (79). But as the foresight even of the wisest men is far from being intallible, so this *West India* company came to nothing;

(77) *Histoire des Indes Orientales*, tom. iii. p. 367.

rine et sur le Commerce, p. 87. 1. 11.
Indes, p. 107.

(78) *Essai sur la Ma-*

(79) *Histoire de la Campagne des*

amble of this edict we have a succinct history of the trans-^{the reasons} actions upon which this union was built; for therein it is ^{for sup-} said, that the king, having principally applied himself to the ^{pressing the} restoring the commerce of the kingdom, and thereby repair-^{old compa-} ing the losses occasioned by a very long and expensive war; ^{ny are as-} and, having already had the pleasure to see the circulation of ^{signed.} money wonderfully quickened by the establishment of the *West India* company, his Majesty had from thence been led to look into the state of the old companies erected before his accession

and the like issue attended many other new companies, some of lesser, some of larger extent, that were set up with plausible appearances, and continued from time to time, with such alterations as were judged requisite, and which, notwithstanding they were well contrived, and wanted no assistance that the ministry could give, yet proved in the end feeble and ineffectual (80). In the mean time, however, by the assistance of some or other of these companies, several establishments were made on the coast of *Africa*, the *French* colony in *Canada* preserved and augmented, several islands in the *West Indies* settled, a part of *Hispaniola* or *St. Domingo* reduced, and at length a new establishment formed on the famous river of *Méshafipi* or *Mississippi*, that is, in the language of the country, *the Great River*, deservedly so called, since it has a course of eight hundred leagues, and is navigable to within eight leagues of its source (81). This establishment, like all the rest, struggled in its infancy, that is, from about the year 1669 to the end of the last century, with almost insurmountable difficulties;

and had been at last utterly lost, but for the public spirit of the *Sieur Anthony Crozat*, who, having acquired by many years indefatigable application to commerce a very large fortune, engaged in its support, and procured letters patent, dated *September* the 14th, 1712, by which he was enabled to undertake what he thought necessary for promoting the interests of his country in that part of *North America* which is now styled *Louisiana*, in which he was somewhat more fortunate than his predecessors (82). When therefore it was found necessary to the carrying on of the *SYSTEM* to frame some new commercial settlement, to which the most dazzling advantages were to be ascribed, this was fixed upon, and the *Sieur du Crozat* having resigned his letters patents which had still ten years to run, the king, by his edict dated in the month of *August* 1717, and registered in parliament on the 6th of *September* following, erected a new trading society, under the title of *Compagnie d'Occident*, the company of the west, or, as it was commonly called, the *Mississippi* company, the capital

(80) *Dictionnaire de Commerce*, tom. ii. col. 1051—1060.
graphie Moderne, par *Abraham Du Bois*, p. 857.
Commerce, tom. ii. col. 1063.

(81) *Géographie*
 (82) *Dictionnaire de*

accession to the throne, and in particular into that of the *East India* company, which he had found to be most deplorable. In the space of fifty years they had notwithstanding repeated assistances from the crown, managed their affairs so indifferently, as to be obliged to abandon their commerce intirely, and to take up with such trifling advantages as could be obtained by letting out their privileges. The king declared he was satisfied that this did not proceed at all from unfurmountable disadvantages in the nature of that commerce, but from the mistakes and ill conduct of such as had been intrusted with the management of the company's affairs, who, in the first place, had made their bottom too narrow, and had undertaken the traffick of the *Indies* upon too small a capital. That, in the second place, to keep up the credit of their own administration, and to countenance their taking such considerable salaries to themselves, they had made large dividends when there were no profits; and having, by this means, exhausted the company's stock, they carried on their trade by borrowing as much money as they could at very high interest. That, however, the king his great grandfather having always protected and encouraged this company, and even granted them a new term towards the end of his life, they might have enjoyed it, or at least have drawn all the profits from it they could, if their conduct had not become so flagrantly bad that neither the glory of the king, nor the interest of his people, would permit him to overlook it any longer * (F).

ON

* This is precisely an extract from the preamble mentioned in the text.

of which, by an edict registered in parliament the last day of the year before mentioned, was fixed at one hundred millions (83). To this company, besides the original concession of the country styled *Louisiana*, reduced into the form of a province, and described by that edict, there was quickly added the exclusive contract for castors or beavers skins from *Canada*; and in 1718 the company of *Senegal*, and the slave trade; to which in 1719

fell in likewise the *East India* and *China* companies, from the motives which are set forth in the text (84).

(F) In this, as in all papers of state, there is a mixture of falshood and truth; some things are exaggerated, and some extenuated, that the whole of the king's proceeding might wear a more plausible appearance. The raising the credit of the company of the *Indies*, in order to the augmentation of its capital, was

(83) *Histoire des Indes Orientales*, tom. iii. p. 195, 196.
Journal de Commerce, tom. ii. col. 1065, 1066.

(84) *Dispo-*

ON the one hand, there were continual complaints from the *Exclusive Indies*, that the company had borrowed vast sums of the *Gen- grants* *made to the* *new com-* *pany of the* *Indies, and* *an immense* *capital* *created.* *tiles*, without paying them either capital or interest, having, in the space of sixteen years, not sent so much as a single ship to *Surat*. On the other, the private merchants carrying on this commerce in the name, and under the authority, of the *East India* company, were so cramped and oppressed by the duty of ten *per cent.* and other gratuities to the company, that they were unable to pursue their trade with the same spirit and advantages which are enjoyed by the subjects of other nations; and, besides, being afraid to go to *Surat*, on account of the danger they were in of having their ships seized for the company's debts, they found themselves obliged to purchase most of the *Indian* commodities and manufactures, which they brought into *Europe*, from foreigners, at a very high price, and this equally to their own and the nation's disadvantage. For these reasons, and others of the like nature alledged against the *China* and *African* companies, his Majesty declares, that the privileges of all those companies are by this edict of his, dated in the month of *May* 1719, revoked, extinguished, and suppressed. He granted at the same time to the new company of the *Indies* an exclusive privilege of trading from the *Cape of Good Hope* to the utmost extent of the *East Indies*, as also to the islands of *Madagascar* or *Dauphine*, of *Bourbon* and of *France*, the coast of *Soffala* in *Africa*, the *Red Sea*, *Persia*, the dominions of the *Mogul*, of the king of *Siam*, and of the emperors of *China* and *Japan*, as also of the south seas, from the streights of *Magellan*, or *La Maire*, to the *East Indies* that way: for-

the primary and principal design of the court, and the promoting the *French* commerce to the *Indies* only a colour and pretence; the making dividends, when they had it not in their power, might be a wrong measure, but was not to be attributed wholly to the directors, since they were compelled to it by the general assemblies of the proprietors (85). This false step was the real cause of the debts incurred in the *Indies*, and of their borrowing money at high interest. But it was necessary

to make their errors and misconduct appear as flagrant as possible, in order to qualify so strong a step as that of dissolving the company that had been so lately continued; which, if duly weighed, might have been esteemed a dangerous precedent in respect to the new company of the *Indies*, which could receive no higher sanction from the crown than that which had been cancelled in respect to the *East India* company by this edict of union.

bidding all the rest of his subjects these several trades, under pain of the confiscation of their vessels and effects[†] (G).

In what manner the former companies were consolidated therewith, and their privileges continued.

He likewise grants to this company the possessions and effects of the other companies, at the same time charging them with all the just debts which those companies had contracted, and were liable to. The better to enable them to discharge those debts, and to carry on the vast trade granted them by this edict, he created in their favour twenty-five millions in new actions, to be purchased only for ready money, "on the same terms that the *West India* company possessed one hundred millions in actions, and with the like privileges and advantages in every respect. He likewise granted full licence and authority to import all sorts of manufactures of silk, silk and cotton, gold and silver stuffs, dyed cottons, as also painted and striped; on condition, however, that none of these shall be vended in his dominions, but be sold and disposed of to foreigners, for which reason they were to be deposited in magazines under double locks, the keys of one to be kept by the farmers-general, and the other by the directors of the company, for the better preventing frauds and collusions. He likewise grants them leave to import all sorts of white cottons, raw silks, coffee, drugs, spices, metals, and whatever else the *East India* company might have imported under their privileges, arising from the several edicts of the late king his great-grandfather[‡] (H).

S E C T.

[†] *Histoire de la Compagnie des Indes*, p. 114.
des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 203, 204.

[‡] *Histoire*

(G) The reader is not to expect here a particular account of all the concessions made to the perpetual company of the *Indies*, and the prodigious favours heaped upon her in a short space of time, that she might the better answer those ends for which she was erected, and this for two reasons; first, because many of these concessions no longer subsist; and, next, because they have no relation whatever to our subject, which by no means requires that we should explain all

those operations in respect of this company which barely regarded the finances, but those only that are so connected with the history of the *French East India* commerce, that they cannot be separated or omitted without running the hazard of rendering that intricate or obscure (86).

(H) The reader will perceive, that by this time they had totally overcome all their old prejudices in *France*, and were content to follow the maxims of the

(86) If the curious reader desires to be acquainted with these, he may consult the *Histoire de Vifsa*.

S E C T. VI.

Upon the Incorporation of all the old trading Societies, the Grants formerly made are confirmed, extended, and made irrevocable, in the new one, which is therefore stiled the PERPETUAL COMPANY OF THE INDIES, which from the Beginning, and in its Nature and Operation, is a mere Creature and Engine of the State, which affords it not only Countenance and Protection, but actually provides for its Subsistence.

THIS edict had all the effects, and even more than was expected; and such an eagerness there appeared of subscribing to this company, that, instead of twenty-five, the subscriptions amounted to fifty millions, which encouraged the French ministry to venture upon some new regulations, which were made public by an edict of the month of June in the same year: the principal of which was, that they should take off four times the number of old actions to be intitled to the new; so that, in order to purchase five thousand livres of the new actions, the subscribers were obliged to take twenty thousand livres of old ones. The great end the government proposed, was, to find the means of calling in and suppressing that immense quantity of paper-money which was such a burden on the state; and, to this end, annuities to the value of twenty-five millions were created; which not answering that intention, the new company of the *Indies* offered

All these declared irrevocable, and the new establishment, filed the PERPETUAL COMPANY OF THE INDIES.

maritime powers, in suffering the company to bring whatever commodities she thought expedient from the *Indies*, notwithstanding the wear of them was prohibited in *France*; since it was absurd to restrain them from a commerce with other *European* nations, in goods which might be bought at the *English* or *Dutch* sales, even if all the former restrictions had been continued. Yet we must not suppose that all these immunities and privi-

leges were any more inviolable than the concessions before-mentioned; on the contrary, they have been altered, augmented, or restrained, as the circumstances of things required; which it is fit should be mentioned, in order to keep the judicious reader's eye fixed to this point, that commerce is subject to a great variety of regulations in this country, and remains under perpetual dependence on the state (87).

(87) *Titres de la Compagnie des Indes concernant ses diverses Concessions & Privilèges, & son Administration générale, depuis 1719 jusqu'à présent, à la suite de l'Histoire de la Compagnie des Indes.*

Conquests, Settlements, and Discoveries, of B. XIV.

their assistance, and undertook to discharge them at the rate of fifty millions in every month; so that the whole load of this paper, amounting in the whole to near sixty millions of our money, was to be extinguished by the end of *July 1721* *. In consideration of the zeal manifested by the company in this proposal, the king was pleased, by his arret dated in the month of *July 1720*, to change the terms on which they held their privileges, and to declare them perpetual, restraining himself and his successors from ever treating them as other companies had been treated, in order to their establishment; and thus this company acquired that title by which they are now known in *France*; viz. THE PERPETUAL COMPANY OF THE INDIES †, with all the privileges of the other four companies confirmed to them for ever (I).

IN

* Dictionnaire de Commerce, tom. iv. col. 1072; Histoire des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 209, 210.

(I) In this edict, which is penned with peculiar pomp and perspicuity, and said to be made by advice of the Duke Regent, the Duke de Chartres, the Duke of Bourbon, and the Count de Charolois, the Prince of Conti, the Count de Toulouse, and other peers of *France*, and of the certain knowledge, full power, and royal authority, of the king (88), it is declared, in the first article, that the grants therein after-mentioned are in consideration of the company's discharging and taking up billets to the amount of six hundred millions, if so great a sum shall be standing out. In the second article, those billets are ordered to be burnt in proportion as they are brought in. In the third, the company is confirmed in her perpetual right to an exclusive commerce in, and sole government of, the province of *Louisiana*; and yet that has been taken from the company long

ago. In the fourth article, the company's right to a certain duty upon caltots, in lieu of their exclusive commerce in them, is confirmed. In the fifth, the cession made to the company of the rights, privileges, and establishments, belonging to that of *Senegal*, is likewise confirmed, as in the sixth and seventh articles are their titles to the exclusive trade of the *East India* and *China* companies, and to all the effects of both those companies at home and abroad, subject to their debts. By the eighth article, a perpetual bounty of fifty livres for every ton of commodities or manufactures of *France* exported, and of seventy-five livres per ton of goods and manufactures exported from the *Indies*, are confirmed to the company. The ninth article settles the several kinds of piece goods, which, though prohibited to be worn in *France*, the company may import; and regulates the

(88) *Histoire des Indes*, tom. iii. p. 209.

IN two years time more it was settled and declared, that, *This new* in consequence of the annuities granted and assigned to the *settlement* company from the crown, they should be able to divide annually the sum of ten *per cent.* which should be paid punctually for ever; in consequence of which the directors were to be at full liberty to export and import what they thought proper, without being accountable annually to their constituents, because the dividends were to be regular and certain; and they were to manage things so, as that the deficiencies of one year might be made up by the profits of another. This last provision regards the *East India* trade, and not the value of the company's actions, considered as a kind of property to which an annuity from the public is annexed; for, according to this new model, the company of the *Indies* comprehended as well the public credit, by taking into a participation of her capital such as had claims upon the state, and all the extensive commerce of the kingdom; having not only all the power of the *East India* company, but also of the *West India*, and other suppressed companies erected in her. In these two capacities the rule of conduct prescribed by the government was very different, and yet upon the whole very rational, or at least very plausible; for, as public creditors, they were enabled to pay a fixed and settled dividend upon their actions; but, as a trading company, they were not bound to give any account, because, under the circumstances that things then were, it must have been under very discouraging incumbrances, which it would require pains and time to overcome; and the dividends paid to the actionists in the mean time, though in another capacity, was thought sufficient to make them easy till

† *Histoire de la Compagnie des Indes*, p. 111. *Histoire des Indes Orientales*, tom. iii. p. 210, 211.

manner in which they are to be kept and disposed of. The tenth grants them the liberty of importing for use and consumption in the realm, from the countries of their concession, all kinds of white cotton, raw silks, coffee, drugs, spices, metals, and other merchandizes, not prohibited, under the usual duties. The eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth articles, regard the manner in which their concerns with the

proprietors and creditors of the dissolved company shall be settled. The fourteenth grants them to perpetuity all the rights, privileges, and exemptions, of the old *African* company, which however do not remain in their hands. This edict is sealed with the great seal of *France*, on green wax, registered in parliament, and approved in council.

the face of their commercial affairs should wear a better aspect, and might bear to be exhibited without a veil * (K).

The great political secret in the construction of this new and wonderful structure.

IT is not a little uncertain who was the real author of this new system, very different from those that were made use of to amuse the *French* nation, and indeed all *Europe*, while that strange humour of stockjobbing lasted, which might be truly stiled a political madness, of which however the government availed itself highly, and, by the edict of union, drew out of that chaos without form or order this new and beautiful structure, which has been so truly beneficial to the public credit and commerce of *France*. To the perfecting of this, however, some farther strokes were found necessary, and were accordingly in due time very dexterously applied. The capital of the present company of the *Indies* was, as we have before observed, composed of the original capital of the *West India* company, and of twenty-five millions added thereto upon the union of the *East India* company; but it was found requisite, in order to settle all on a just foundation, that the king should make a revision of the actions possessed by the proprietors of this company, in order to distinguish between such as had acquired their property fairly, and by purchase, and such as had thrust themselves into the company's books only to serve

* *Dictionnaire de Commerce*, tom. ii. col. 1073. *Histoire des Indes Orientales*, tom. iii. p. 211.

(K) It would require a particular treatise, and that of no inconsiderable length, to enter into a complete discussion of all the transactions and operations of the company within this period, during which they were made the engines for liquidating, adjusting, and cancelling, those immense demands which private persons had upon the state, and with a view to which the company of the *Indies* had been obliged to expose her credit, and to consent to a conjunction with the bank; which was fatal to one, and was very near being so to both establishments. But the administration saw so clearly the necessity of

sustaining the company of the *Indies*, and had so probable tho' so distant a prospect of reviving foreign commerce by her means, that they neglected nothing which could be possibly contrived to keep up the spirit of the actionists, and to lay a foundation for public credit, by extricating this society from all difficulties, and this by degrees, and through the intervention of a variety of methods, in which the absolute power of the crown had a large share, was in a great measure effected, and people in general began to have a good opinion of property vested in this capital (89).

(89) *Dictionnaire de Commerce*, tom. ii. col. 1072.

their

their own purposes by stockjobbing. It was in consequence of this revision that, by an edict in the year 1723, the king fixed the actions of this company to fifty-six thousand, and which formed a capital of one hundred and twelve millions for their dividend, upon which they had a yearly revenue assigned them of eight millions four hundred thousand livres ^a.

By another arret in 1725 five thousand of these actions were cancelled and burnt, so that the capital of the company, by this means, was reduced to fifty-one thousand actions, and their dividends secured by the annual payment of eight millions from the farmers general of the farm of tobacco, the exclusive, perpetual, and irrevocable privilege, of vending which had been granted to the company in 1723, and confirmed to them in 1725, together with the profits arising from the furs imported from *Canada*; so that the fund for the payment of their annual dividends was as effectually secured as it was possible a thing of that nature could be in *France* ^b. As for the commerce of the *Indies*, it was assigned to them as a collateral advantage not to be touched for the present, but to be employed in strengthening the funds for restoring and maintaining that important trade, discharging all the incumbrances thereon, and putting it in a condition to become as certain a security for the payment of still higher interest to the proprietors than they have hitherto received; it is therefore no difficult thing to apprehend, that, upon so fair a prospect as this, the actions of the company of the *Indies* rose into higher credit both at home and abroad than any thing of that kind had ever done in *France*; more especially when people found by experience, that dividends were regularly paid, and the funds upon which they were assigned certain and stable (L).

BUT

^a Dictionnaire de Commerce, tom. ii. col. 1080. ^b Histoire des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 373.

(L) The perpetual company of the *Indies* having so well answered the intentions of the government, and public affairs being now in a more settled condition, it was a very wise and prudent resolution to put this company, with which almost the whole foreign commerce of *France* was intrusted, upon such a basis, as might remove, in the highest degree possible, all apprehensions, and even suspicions. In order to this, the king, by his edict, read and published while his Majesty was sitting on his bed of justice in parliament, consisting of nineteen articles, gave the highest sanction to their affairs that the most absolute authority could confer; and as it was foreseen, that nothing could turn

Which, notwithstanding, were not

BUT to return now to what is more properly our subject, and inquire how the commerce to the *East Indies* was bettered by these projects and contrivances. It is very certain that those who were intrusted with the direction and management

turn so much to the advantage of this establishment, as convincing the world, that, whatever it had been, it was now, and was ever to remain, a trading company, without intermeddling with any other matter, or embracing any other project. The eleventh article of that edict was conceived in the following terms (90): "As in confirming the company of the *Indies* in her privileges of commerce, which can never turn to the advantage of the state unless they occupy her whole care, and are intirely directed with that view; our intention is, that the said company shall promote and improve the commerce of our kingdom, without interfering in any manner with that of private merchants; we therefore declare, that for the future the said company shall pretend to no other exclusive privilege whatever than what are expressed in, and confirmed by, the present edict. As it is also known to us from experience, that in the same proportion the establishment of this company is useful and necessary while intirely occupied in the management of those important colonies, and other considerable branches of commerce which we have conceded thereto, it would be contrary to all good order, to our in-

terest, and to those of the company, if she should meddle in any manner whatever with our finances; we therefore, in the most express terms, forbid and prohibit the said company from interfering with our affairs or finances at any time, it being our will and pleasure, that she shall be and remain conformable to her institution, purely a trading company, yielding her application solely to the support of the concerns committed to her care, so as to improve, by her wisdom and oeconomy, the effects of our subjects interested therein; without permitting that the funds of the company of the *Indies* shall, upon any occasions whatsoever, be applied to any other use than that of her commerce." To complete this settlement, the king, by another edict consisting of thirteen articles, exonerates the company of the *Indies* from all former transactions whatsoever, cancels all engagements with the crown that might turn to her prejudice, and declares null, void, and annihilated, all pretensions grounded upon the operations preceding that edict, which, as well as the former, bears date in the month of *June* 1725 (91), and, together, are considered as the fundamental charters of the perpetual company of the *Indies*.

(90) *Histoire des Indes Orientales*, tom. iii. p. 376.
Commerce, tom. ii. col. 1087, 1088, 1089.

(91) *Dictionnaire de*

of the company's concerns had a far greater weight of business *in such a* upon their hands than those who had the care of the *East In-* *situation* *dia* company's affairs. It was likewise very certain, that they *as enabled* acquired nothing by the grant of all that the other companies *them to* possessed, since they were charged at the same time with all *carry on* their debts, which rose to a much higher sum than the value *their trade.* of their effects; and it was farther certain, that the purchase-money of their actions did not remain in the company's hands, but went into those of the government, who indeed seemed to have a title to it from the funds established for paying interest on the whole capital; yet, after all, this scheme was very well contrived, perhaps was the very best upon which the public credit and commerce of that kingdom could be established.

WE shall shew this in a very few words. It has already *The means* fully appeared, that little or nothing could be done for sup- *of doing* porting the trade to the *East Indies* but by the government, *which they* and therefore the *French* ministers very wisely thought it was *were to* as well to take it immediately into their own care, and to ad- *expect in-* vance the sums requisite to maintain it, as to let other people *tirely from* manage it; and then from time to time to indemnify them *the public* from losses, which perhaps might proceed from their own ma- *treasury.* nagement. With the like prudence they reflected, that, con- sidering the state of things at that time, immense sums of money would be necessary to set them right; and that, if this came to be known, the proprietors would grow uneasy and suspicious, and therefore they took care they should not be troubled with accounts which could be no hardship, while they received regularly a reasonable dividend; and, lastly, they foresaw, that when the commerce was put upon a proper foot, so that some profits arose from it, it would be highly requisite to suffer these to accumulate for some time, that a proper stock might be raised as well in *Europe* as in the *Indies*; which they knew could never be done if the proprietors had an insight into their own affairs, because a majority of them would be always for a present dividend, without troubling themselves about what might happen for the future; against all which evils they took care to be guarded, in a manner with which every body was pleased at first, because they had nothing immediately to hope, and because very few penetrated the meaning of those precautions, which, in another country indeed, how just and necessary soever they might be, could not well have been taken.

^c Histoire de la Compagnie des Indes, p. 154.
des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 374, 375.

^d Histoire

The first
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plied at
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BUT, notwithstanding all these prudential methods, the ministry were very sensible, that, unless something was speedily done that might carry the aspect of reviving this trade, and reviving it with effect, suspicions would quickly arise, and murmurs speedily follow; and therefore, while they had money in their hands, they judged it best to enable the company of the *Indies* to do something extraordinary, so as to answer the high idea that had been conceived of the advantages that were to flow from this great revolution. Accordingly, towards the end of the year 1720, three ships were fitted out, which, besides carrying a large cargo of *European* commodities and manufactures, had on board a great quantity of silver in specie and bullion^c. This was certainly very judicious; it raised the credit of the company in *Europe*, augmented the value of their actions, and excited a general expectation of what this would produce. The ministry, however, who were extremely well apprised of the true state of things, could not flatter themselves with much hopes; they very well knew, that not only this, but much more must be done, only to put things in motion, to recover some little degree of credit, and restore honour to the nation, and respect to the *French* flag in the *Indies*. They set, however, the best face upon the matter they could, and treated the business as done when it was but just undertaken; the directors likewise ordered improvements to be made, and magazines to be erected, at *Port L'Orient*, as if vast returns were to be made; and, though this was a measure attended with expence, yet, as it might be some time or other necessary and useful, as well as for the present very expedient, they were fully enabled to act in a proper manner^f.

^c Dictionnaire de Commerce, tom. ii. col. 1073.
des Indes Orientale., tom. iii. p. 867.

^f Histoire

S E C T VII.

The great Efforts produced by these wise Regulations, which by degrees brought about Two Establishments which hitherto had been judged impracticable in France, an effectual Commerce with the Indies, and public Credit. Upon the breaking out of the War with Great Britain in 1744, the Court being no longer in a Condition to supply the Sums necessary for the Support of the Company, the State of their Affairs is laid open to the Proprietors, which has an unexpected bad Effect on the System that had been hitherto so well conducted.

AS those who were intrusted with the company's concerns *These have* in the *Indies* could know nothing of this mighty change *a great* in their affairs at home, so, when they received this news, *effect on* and those ships, they could not but be extremely astonished, *their af-* These supplies, which exceeded their hopes, their wishes, *fairs in* their conceptions, came as it were out of the clouds; and, *the Indies,* coming also backed with assurances of a regular correspondence for the future, it is easier to imagine than express how *which af-* much they were transported. However, as they made an *terwards* honest use of what they received, and began to discharge *sink lower* their debts in several parts of the *Indies*, the best part of it was soon absorbed, and consequently they were able to make but slender returns to *Europe*. Their sanguine expectations met with a sudden and severe check; for the downfall of the SYSTEM, as it was stiled in *France*, happening soon after those ships sailed, the directors were disabled for two years from complying with their promises, or so much as sending a single ship; which exposed their servants in the *Indies* to railery and ridicule from other *European* nations, unhinged their credit again, and threw them into so sad a situation, that it may be truly affirmed the *French* were never in so bad a plight as in the year 1723, from the very time that they first settled in the *Indies*. Such strange and surprising changes, than which nothing can be more contrary to the nature of commerce, must have had a dismal effect; the rather, because the director at *Pondichery*, and those who were intrusted with the management of other factories, could not, at that distance, have the least comprehension of the causes of

this conduct of their directors; and, after what had happened, could have very little, if any, confidence in their new matters ^b. But, as there was no remedy, they were obliged to endure this evil, great as it was, as well as they could, comforting themselves, if that phrase may be properly used, that, let things take what turn they would at home, they could never be in a worse way abroad than they were; but two ships arriving the next year, and seven others in the space of two years following, they began to recover both their courage and their credit, and found themselves also in a capacity of making some, though not very considerable returns; but, however, these, such as they were, had a good effect, and created a general opinion, both in *Europe* and the *Indies*, that the *French* trade thither would still subsist, and turn to a better account than hitherto it had done ^l.

An impartial and circumstantial account of the true state of the company of the Indies.

YET, in the midst of this seemingly settled and regular establishment, the perpetual company of the *Indies* remained upon such a foundation as nothing of the like nature ever stood upon before; and with respect to which the time will not be lost to the reader, if he will be pleased to reflect, This company had a vast capital, but nominal only; for in reality, and at the bottom, they were without funds; their commerce, as described, or rather prescribed, by the edict of UNION, was beyond comparison more extensive than that of any trading company in *Europe*, and the means of carrying on this as much out of comparison less ^k. Besides all this, there was another circumstance no less extraordinary than the other two, which was; that the directors of this mighty company, whatever they might seem in the eye of the world, were really under direction themselves, that is, they depended for instructions, ships, money, and every thing else, upon the ministers of state; and yet, to speak from what time and experience have taught us, these very instances of weakness and instability appear to have been the sources of all their good fortune ^l. For the directors, in quality of that employment, having the capacity only of representing the state that things were in, and the necessities they were under, had no temptations to depart at any time from truth; with this additional check upon them, that, if they did, it would have been certainly discovered, and themselves removed ^m. On the other hand, the ministers of

^b *Histoire des Indes Orientales*, tom. iii. p. 367, 368, 369.

^l *Dictionnaire de Commerce*, tom. ii. col. 1081, 1082. *Histoire des Indes Orientales*, tom. iii. p. 369.

^k *Histoire de la Compagnie des Indes*, tom. iii. p. 585.

^l *Histoire des Indes Orientales*, tom. iii. p. 368.

^m From private information.

state, knowing that their continuance in power must always depend upon the maintenance of public credit, took care to furnish the directors with such supplies as were requisite to keep the machine of their commerce in constant motion, that the opinion which the public had entertained of the restitution of their affairs might be fortified from their progress. Thus this balance, which originally arose in some measure from necessity, and in some measure from accident, was more happy in its operations than any contrivance that could have been formed by human wisdom to answer these ends" (P).

It was in consequence of this system, procured by a prudent management of all occurrences, and a constant attention to every incident which either happened, or had a probability of happening, that things went on in this way for about four-^{which, tho' preserved and supported}

ⁿ Dictionnaire de Commerce, tom. ii. col. 1087.

(P) There cannot well be a stronger proof of that excellent maxim, that whatever government is best administered is best, in comparison of those that subsist at the same time, than this conduct of the French ministry towards the company of the *Indes*. There are certainly many defects in an absolute, and many advantages in a free government, in reference to trade; and therefore, in the former, the utmost wisdom of a ministry consists in discovering expedients to supply some of those deficiencies, and plausible methods of concealing the rest. The French ministers not only did this, but extracted out of that chaos, into which all things fell upon the ruin of the *System*, a plan of universal commerce, more perfect, because more practicable, than any that had been conceived either by *Ricbieu* or *Colbert*, which if they did not immediately manage to the best advantage, yet they so managed as to preserve and keep it on foot;

and with wonderful address fixed the new establishments at *Louisiana* upon such a basis, as not to need the care of the company, and this without losing sight of their concerns in the *Indies*. They found these not so easily reduced into order; they met daily with new difficulties at home and abroad, which to surmount, required a larger expence than the finances could possibly spare, and this obliged them to have recourse to palliatives, and to content themselves with doing a little where much was wanting. Their conduct, upon the whole, was very commendable; and if the consequences that have attended the measures of their successors appear with much greater lustre than the fruits that followed their endeavours, yet if we duly attend to the times when, and the circumstances under which, these first efforts were made, we cannot refuse a just tribute of applause to their authors (92).

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very slow-
ly.

teen years, during which space sometimes three, sometimes four, ships were sent every year to the *Indies*, and the affairs of the company were by these means recovered and restored, though but slowly. They had still great difficulties to struggle with; for, in proportion as their commerce revived, their expences enlarged by their being obliged to re-settle their old factories, and to establish new ones; so that in all this space of time there was very little, if any, clear profit accrued from their trade. On the contrary, they ran some years into debt, but not however without prospects of future advantages. But as the other trading nations in the *Indies* were intirely unacquainted with the secrets of the *French* commerce, so, judging by appearances only, they were full persuaded that their trade was in a flourishing condition, because they saw it visibly extended, and the returns made to *Europe* far more regular, and at the same time more considerable also, than they had hitherto ever been. Yet, notwithstanding all this, if they had gone on in the same manner, it would have been many years before they would have been able to support themselves, and carry on their trade upon their own bottom; for gradual supplies were still necessary, and the continuance of peace enabled the ministers to furnish them, yet always in a frugal manner, and sometimes sparingly.

Mr. Orry
and de
Fulvy,
being at
the head of
the finan-
ces, grant
them ef-
fectual as-
sistance.

THE directors, having the disposition and management of these supplies, as well as of the returns from the *Indies*, were obliged to make the one go as far as it was possible, and the other rise as high as they could; which contributed greatly to save appearances, and to keep things in tolerable order, tho' they could not help perceiving, and even remonstrating sometimes, that this was living merely from hand to mouth, and consequently mispending that season of tranquillity, when, if ever, they might have an opportunity of retrieving their affairs. But in the year 1737, Messieurs Orry and de Fulvy, being at the head of the finances of *France*, which they managed with surprising success, the company fell naturally under their care and protection. They saw plainly that larger supplies were necessary to extricate them from the difficulties under which they laboured; and therefore, having first made a strict enquiry into their affairs, and taking care to put them into the best order possible, they furnished them with such sums as were necessary for augmenting their commerce; so that in the short space of two years they doubled their returns, and in three years more brought them to thrice as much as they had

* Histoire des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 369.
private information.

* From
formerly

been. By this management their sales at *Port L'Orient* became regular and considerable, increasing in such a manner, that the public sale in the year 1742 produced twenty-four millions of livres, or about one million of our money; besides which, they reserved in their magazines goods to the value of four millions of livres more; and the first ships that arrived in 1743 brought home still a more valuable cargo. This extraordinary change in the company's affairs alarmed and amazed all *Europe*, but more especially the maritime powers, who saw with infinite concern a company, that but a few years before was looked upon as sunk and destroyed, now rising into as high credit as any of their own. But perhaps their concern would have been in some measure alleviated, if they had but so much as suspected that this prosperity was in a great measure artificial, and consequently much more in the power of accidents than, in all appearance, it seemed to be (Q).

WE may from hence discover what great benefits accrued to *France* from pursuing the maxims introduced by the regent, and which seemed to govern the court during the pacific administration of Cardinal *Fleury*. We may likewise perceive what the real motives were, which, upon certain occasions, produced so much real or pretended complaisance for the maritime powers, since, as the sequel will shew, any

How much the case of this important company has influenced the system of French politics.

1 *Histoire des Indes Orientales*, tom. iii. p. 369—372.

(Q) It was to this signal and well-timed assistance of the minister that the *French* company of the *Indies* owe their revival and thorough establishment. The situation of public affairs at that time in *France* was such, that the royal treasury might have been full if this prudent measure had not been taken of employing those large sums that would have been useless in the king's coffers for the service of the nation, without any hazard of the crown's losing by this judicious confidence. We see clearly from hence, that how repugnant soever arbitrary power may be to a spirit of trade, yet,

when this arbitrary power is directed by able and honest men, it may be so managed as to be serviceable to commerce in an extraordinary degree (93). But how plain and evident soever these facts render this deduction, yet we ought to take into our consideration at the same time, that this is a support of so extraordinary a nature as cannot often happen, and is consequently not to be relied on; which is also an observation of importance, and which for that reason we shall endeavour to explain more largely in the subsequent note.

(93) *Essai sur la Marine et sur le Commerce*, p. 123.

rupture with them must have exposed this tender system to storms and tempests that it could not have sustained; and it helps us farther to understand why the court of *Verfailles* entered so easily into, and continued so steadily to prosecute, whatever measures were thought necessary for procuring, first, the suspension, and then the suppression of the *Ostend* company. They knew that if this establishment prevailed, it must be at the expence of some other, and most probably of their own, as it was still the weakest, and in reality much weaker than either friends or enemies conceived. If these reasons did not prevent the war with the late emperor, it was intirely owing to the cardinal's persuasion, in which he was not mistaken, that the maritime powers would take no share therein; the hopes of settling a branch of the house of *Bourbon* in *Italy*, and annexing *Lorrain* to *France*; all which was done without running into such an expence as might affect the affairs of their commerce; the great consequence of which, as it was now better known, so it was more attended to in *France* than ever; which lesson, though taken from times past, may have great use in times to come, as they give us true notions of the moderation of this court, and what those losses are which she is least able to repair, and by which she must be most sensibly affected, notwithstanding the figure she makes upon the continent, and the terror that may arise from her numerous armies.

By what
means that
salutary
system came
to be un-
willingly
relinquish-
ed by the
French
ministers.

WE may very justly attribute to the same causes, at least in a great measure, that parsimony for which the cardinal was so much condemned at the beginning of the last war, his indefatigable endeavours to have procured a neutrality with one of the maritime powers, and to have avoided, if it had been possible, a direct breach with the other; as foreseeing that this would not only be highly prejudicial to the commerce, and thereby lay open the weakness of *France*, but also bring to light the manner in which it had been for so many years sustained, as well as put it out of the power of the ministry to sustain it any longer. These considerations, which made no manner of impression upon those who preached up the king's glory, and his having it in his power to give law to *Europe*, were however intolerable to another race of men, who had the good of their country sincerely at heart, and thought the king's glory could never be provided for so well, as by rendering his subjects rich and happy; besides, they only could and did foresee what events would follow this spirit of giving law, and extending the *French* influence where its power could

* From private information.

never

never reach, and where consequently they must trust to the honour of those who received their wages, whether they would earn them, or whether, in regard to their own interest, they would not manage matters so as to receive them as long as possible; which was an expence their treasury could not bear, and which must therefore quickly put it out of their power to make those annual payments which had been hitherto the only true and availing resource of their *East India company* (R).

It was some time, however, after the last war began, before any suspicions of this kind reached the company or the public. On the contrary, the former exerted herself as if, in such an emergency, she thought it her duty to give her assistance to the latter. All this, however, was calculated to

But this alteration in their conduct, being produced by

▪ Collected from the propositions made to the company on the part of the crown, after the war was declared against Great Britain.

(R) It was a notion that prevailed generally among the common herd of politicians in France, as well as in other countries, that Cardinal *Fleury* acted upon maxims very different from the cardinal ministers his predecessors. In this, however, they were strangely mistaken. Cardinal *Richlieu*'s plan was very extensive, and, as we have fully shewn, commerce had a considerable share therein; but the then conjuncture of affairs required his attention to other parts of his scheme, that is, the extending the power of the crown at home, and its influence abroad, in both which he went very great lengths, and was very steadily as well as successfully followed by *Mazarine*, *Colbert*, and *Louvois*. These ministers did not, however, lose sight of the other part of his plan, for, as we have seen, *Colbert* had it particularly at heart, tho' the circumstances of things

during his ministry were not at all favourable to his measures. But Cardinal *Fleury*, with those moderate and yet active ministers whom he brought into business, discerning the propriety of the season, and being perfectly apprised of how great consequence it was to work on that part of *Richlieu*'s system which was yet unfinished, applied themselves with such assiduity and secrecy, took every advantage so dextrously, and amused and cajoled those who could alone have opposed them with so much address, that, if their schemes had not been disconcerted and unravelled by the authors of the late war, they must in a few years have carried their point, and all Europe would have seen with astonishment the French company of the *Indies* making a figure there that their wisest statesmen looked upon as a thing impracticable (94).

necessary, and as long as they could be concealed at all; and, the dividends being likewise regularly paid, the actions of the company were kept up very high, which gave no small credit to the nation. Nay, so far were the proprietors from having the slightest notion of the real state of things, that they disapproved the public spirit of their directors, speaking of the offers they had made for the king's service as a direct proof that the trade of the *Indies* was carried on for the benefit of the crown, contrary to the promises that had been made them¹. This suspicion, having once got abroad, met with a general reception, at least among such as were interested in the company's stock, who were firmly persuaded, that, if part of the produce of their vast sales had not been diverted to supply the expences of the government, their dividends might have been increased to fifteen, or even twenty *per centum*; and from these surmises, instead of being thankful for what they had, and for all that had been done for them, they murmured that the directors kept every thing secret; that they were shut not only out of the management, but from the knowledge of their own concerns; and that, whatever benefit this might be to the state, it did not alter the case with respect to them, who were deeply injured by it. So easy a thing it is for people to mislead themselves, and to believe confidently that things are as they wish them to be, for no other reason than because they wish them so, and suffer their interests to be the only guides both of their desires and of their opinions².

At length, however, they were constrained to open this affair to the proprietors of the East India company. BUT, the war with *Great Britain* increasing, the expences of *France* on the one hand, and lessening her income on the other, the secret at last came out; and Mr. *Orry* was forced to acquaint the directors of the *East India* company, that the king's affairs were in such a posture as would no longer permit him to supply the company in the manner he had hitherto done; so that now they were to stand upon their own bottom, and to carry on their trade for the future as well as they could³. This unexpected stroke demolished the whole fabric which had been raising for so many years, and reduced the actions of the company to eight hundred, from two thousand and upwards⁴. The main cause of this was, the several propositions made by Mr. *Orry* to their directors, that either the proprietors should subscribe upon their actions, or suffer

¹ See the *Paris Gazettes* during the first years of the war.

² *Histoire des Indes Orientales*, tom. iii. p. 375. ³ From private information.

⁴ *Mercure historique et politique*, tom. cxvii. p. 497. ⁵ From private information, as well as from the public gazettes.

their dividends to be postponed for a certain time, or should come to some agreement amongst themselves for compounding these two methods, by advancing part in ready money, and allowing their dividends to go in discharge of the rest ^a. The motive that obliged the ministry to this discovery, was, the necessity of having money to carry on the *East India* trade, which they knew must be ruined even by a temporary stagnation; which money since the crown could no longer furnish, it was necessary that the proprietors should. But to this it was answered, that hitherto the proprietors had been no gainers by that trade, had no general accounts made up to them of it; and, according to the confession of the directors themselves, were to have received no such account if this accident had not happened, by which they asserted, that their properties had already lost one half of their value, and might very probably lose part of the other half; so that they were least in a condition to pay when this demand was made, which would have been sufficiently grievous even in the midst of peace, and when their actions were highest ^a.

Mr. *Orry* told them in return, that they had no reason to complain of the king, or his ministers, who had hitherto supported this trade for their advantage, without their contributing to it at all: that, if they had received no profits from their trade, it was because no profits had accrued; and this not through any ill management, or because this commerce had not been carried on to great advantage, but by reason of that immense load of debts which lay upon them at their first establishment, and which the profits of the trade were to pay off; and the prodigious expence the company had been at, both in *Europe* and in the *Indies*, for putting their commerce on a solid and certain footing ^b: that to remove doubts upon this subject intirely, and that they might be satisfied of the truth of these particulars, a general account of their trade should be laid before them, by which they would see, that, though slowly, it had been continually improving, and that of late years especially it had thriven exceedingly ^c. From which also they might be satisfied, that even at present it was so far from being in a desperate condition, that, notwithstanding an immediate sum was necessary for carrying it on, yet there was no danger of their being called upon for another supply, since what was now asked would be sufficient to put

^a This *Marangue* was printed in the *Gazettes*. ^a From private information.

^b *Histoire des Indes Orientales*, tom. iii. p. 374.

^c *Mercure historique et politique*, ubi supra.

the company into a condition to maintain itself without intrenching upon their dividends, which should for the future be as regularly paid as they had been in times past^d. It is from this general account that strangers, as well as the proprietors, have come to so distinct a knowledge of their affairs, since, had it not been for this unexpected accident, they would never have let the world into the truth of an affair which they had concealed with so much care for so many years, which nothing but necessity could force them to reveal, and which had such immediate bad effects as they very well foresaw it would; notwithstanding that, all things considered, the proprietors had less grounds to complain than they imagined; and, if their great expectations were defeated, they had at least the satisfaction of knowing that they had been better served all this time than their predecessors had ever been at any other; and, after all, there was a better prospect than ever, if they could but have a reasonable degree of patience, and bear with some kind of temper a misfortune that would admit of no other remedy than what the ministers proposed^e (S).

THE

^d Histoire des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 375.
private information.

From

(S) The reader will no doubt make many reflections upon these matters of fact, which are so singular and extraordinary, and will in all probability not take it amiss if we drop a few hints upon the occasion. It must certainly seem very surprising that the ministers of a monarch so jealous of his authority should condescend to enter into a discussion of their own conduct, and that of their predecessors, with so much mildness and moderation; which demonstrates, in the most sensible manner, how closely commerce is connected with liberty, and how necessary it is to admit one, in order to obtain the other. Whence it may pass for a certain rule in politics, that where trade thrives, the government grows daily bet-

ter, if not in its principles, at least in its administration; and, where trade declines, it shews that either the government is altered for the worse, or that the executive part of it is in bad hands. We may from hence also perceive the tenderness of public credit, which, tho' sustained for so many years by the regular payment of dividends, could not bear so small a check, even when so much pains were taken to render the motives of it apparent. The par of the *French* actions was 1500 livres; and the whole capital, consisting of fifty-one thousand, amounted to seventy-six millions and a half; and, as the company received annually eight millions from the farmers general, this was a sufficient fund for their dividend

THE worst consequence that attended this affair, with respect to the nation and the company, was, the letting all Europe see that this commerce was a thing not to be carried on in France, as in other countries, by a society of private persons incorporated by public authority, but must be directed, upheld, and managed, by ministers, or at least in subordination to them; so that whereas in other countries trade supports the state; in this, on the contrary, trade cannot flourish, or even subsist, but from the attention, and thro' the assistance, of the state^f. As to the company, it shewed, that, notwithstanding appearances, it was very far from being upon a level with other companies, though never any of them in any country had been so much cherished, or received such supplies from the government that gave them being; yet, after all, this affair, which made so great a noise at the time, passed over easier than could have been expected; the proprietors, after a little murmuring, submitted to what they could not help; and, by the assistance of a few lotteries, are pretty well extricated from the difficulties brought upon them by this declaration^g. To say the truth, their stock, even since the return of peace, has not risen so high as it was before; but then it has risen as high as could be expected, and the regularity of their sales and dividends has been again restored^h.

^f Histoire de la Compagnie des Indes, p. 157. ^g See the Gazettes, and other periodical pieces since. ^h January 1, 1757, the actions of the East India company were 1757.

dividend at ten *per cent.* so that we need not wonder at their advanced price. But when, upon this shock, they fell to half their intrinsic value, it afforded such as were able to enter fully into the true state of things an opportunity of making near twenty *per cent.* of their money, exclusive of their expectations from the *East India* trade; and very

probably foreigners availed themselves of this conjuncture. Whether the company remains in that situation into which she was put by this exigency of state, or whether she has since received the like assistance as formerly she met with from the ministry, is what we cannot decide with any certainty.

S E C T. VIII.

The History of the Company's Proceedings in the Indies, and an accurate Account of their Settlements, and particularly of those two important Islands, of France, while in the Hands of the Dutch, styled Mauritius; and of Bourbon, formerly called the Isle Mascarenhas; the Pains taken to put them into their present Condition, and the prodigious Advantages accruing from these new Establishments.

The present State of the company of the Indies, settlements and commerce in all parts. IT must be also allowed, that, in the course of the last war, the French government took particular care of the company's concerns in the *Indies*, and supplied them with a sufficient force not only to defend themselves, but to act offensively, as will be seen in another place; as, on the other hand, the care of those intrusted with the direction of affairs, as well in the islands as in the *Indies*, manifested their zeal and diligence by the preservation of the places with which they were intrusted, though vigorously attacked. As we have now conducted this history, from the earliest endeavours of the French to fix a correspondence with these remote countries, so there remains only one thing more to be done, and that is, to describe their possessions in *Africa*, in the *Indies*, and in *Europe*, which have a reference to this commerce; and then the reader will be able to judge for himself as to the future prospect of this nation in reference to a branch of trade, which, for about a century and a half, has been the great object of her desires and endeavours, which has employed the skill and diligence of her ablest ministers, and which has cost her infinitely more than was expended by other nations, that have managed it with incomparably better success. These are points extremely worthy of our knowledge at present, and which bid very fair for occupying also the attention of posterity; so that none can with better title pretend to a place in Universal History, which ought to give an idea of whatever has occupied, or may hereafter occupy, the arms or councils of those nations most conspicuous for wealth, power, and influence, and most likely to exert themselves in the improvement and augmentation of those in times that are to come, of which no true judgment can be formed but by reflecting upon what has already past, and considering attentively what

we

we are next to represent, that is, the state they are now in.

WE will begin our account of the places actually in the possession of the perpetual company of the *Indies* with a description of the ISLAND OF FRANCE, which seems to belong to this society in a peculiar manner, as not being included in the concessions made to any of the old *East India* companies. We might also, if that was at all necessary, justify this method by observing, that, though it has not been above thirty years settled by the *French*, it is almost one hundred and twenty years since they had some intentions of fixing there; and that it was in consequence of their disappointment in this design that they went first to the island of *Madagascar*, as will hereafter appear^k. In order to make this account as complete as possible, that from hence the value and importance of this settlement, which is at present very considerable, which, if the best judges may be believed, is like to become more so every day, and of which notwithstanding we have no tolerable description even in the best modern books of geography, we will begin with giving the reader a succinct but clear view of the situation, nature, and quality, of this island. We will next enter into a short history of its possessors, from the time it was first discovered by the *Europeans*. We will then shew how it came into the possession of the *French*, what improvements it has received since it came into their hands; and from what motives it is at present beheld in a light so very different from that in which it was before looked upon by the most intelligent *European* nations, and even by the maritime powers.

THE ISLE OF FRANCE lies in the latitude of twenty and twenty-one degrees south, having the island of *Bourbon*, which is the nearest land, to the south-west; the island of *Diego Ruys* on the north-east; the *Indian* ocean directly open to the north; the great island of *Madagascar*, and the continent of *Africa*, on the west; and the unknown southern continent on the east^l. The climate is pretty warm, but withal very wholesome; the air serene, and very little exposed to hurricanes, of which they have seldom more than one, and sometimes not that, in a year. The soil is generally speaking red and stony, very mountainous towards the sea-coasts, but within land there are many spots both flat and fertile. The whole extent of the island is about fifty leagues, and the form

^k Relation du Voyage de FRANÇOIS CAUCHE, de Rouen, en l'Isle de Madagascar, Isles adjacentes, et Cotes d'Afrique, p. 1.

^l Géographie Moderne, par ABR. HAM DU BOIS, p. 818.

nearly circular. Some of the mountains are prodigiously high, and their summits covered with snow all the year round. They make, however, no despicable appearance, as they are clothed with trees of different kinds, that entertain the eye with perpetual verdure. The whole island is well watered, or at least there is no part but may be so, by the proper application of art and industry in its inhabitants ^m.

Advantages and commodities.

THIS country produces all the trees, fruits, and herbs, which grow in this part of the globe, and in great plenty; but it was and is still famous for its ebony, esteemed the most solid, close, and shining, of any in the world. Besides the black, which is the most valuable, and indeed particularly distinguished in *Europe* by that name, there are also trees of the same kind which are red, and others of a citron colour ⁿ (M). Groves of oranges, both sweet and sour, are common, as well as citrons; and the pine-apple grows spontaneously in very great perfection. It is true they have but

^m Voyage de LEGUAT, tom. ii. p. 64, 65. ⁿ Dictionnaire de Commerce, tom. ii. col. 186. edit. à Geneve 1750.

(M) It is a point strongly disputed, whether the ebony known to us be the same with that mentioned by the antients, with whom it was in great credit, not barely as a beautiful kind of wood, but for its physical uses, more especially in curing diseases of the eyes (95). Ebony, during the greatest part of the last century, was in very high esteem in *France*; inasmuch, that they gave then the name of ebonyists to such as we style cabinet-makers, because they chiefly wrought in that kind of wood (96). What contributed greatly to sink its value, was the dexterity with which it was counterfeited, chiefly by staining pear-tree, filling up its pores, and giving it an artificial gloss after it was polished. The red ebony is styled *Grenadilla* by some writers; and though

it is not either so close or so heavy as the black, yet it is very beautiful, and wrought with more ease. In the *West Indies* they have a kind of green ebony, which is not only valuable for the uses before-mentioned, but also considered as an ingredient in dyeing, affording a deep, rich, and strong colour (97). The citron-coloured ebony, of which there is a great deal in the *Isle of France*, is frequently very beautifully veined, which enhances its price, and renders it a great curiosity; and yet, after all, none of these woods bear any thing like the price that they formerly did (98); but as this depends only upon what the world calls fashion, it is not at all impossible, that, some time or other, they may resume their credit.

(95) See this article in Dr. James's *Medical Dictionary*.
Dictionnaire de Commerce, edit. 1750. tom. ii. col. 185.

(96) *Dictionnaire de Commerce*, tom. ii. col. 186.
 (97) *Histoire naturelle des Isles Antilles*, p. 92.

very little rice, or indeed of any other grain ; but this defect is, in some measure, supplied by admirable potatoes, and other nourishing roots, but more especially of late by the planting of *Manioc* from *Brazil*° (N). There is a sufficient quantity

• *Memoire de LA BOURDENNAYE, tom. i. p. 18.*

(N) The savages of *Brazil* call this root, in their own language, *Manioca*, from whence are derived all that variety of denominations, under which it is known to the learned and unlearned, the bare recital of which would take up a line or two. The most common name, however, amongst *English* writers is *Manibot* ; and, for its general use, deserves to be more largely insisted on (99). The inhabitants of *Hispaniola*, and other islands, are not destitute of this plant, the root of which they call *Yuca*, but the *Mexicans* style it *Quianbecamolli*, and, after it is prepared and reduced to flour, *Cassavi*, as we are assured by *Monardes*. All the other people of *America*, from *Florida* even to the streights of *Magellan*, make their bread of it, though they are not destitute of the frumentaceous grain called *Mayz* (100). The *Manibot*, which is natural to *Brazil*, and there most carefully cultivated, is a shrubby plant, which grows from five to eight feet in height, with a woody, twisted, nodous, brittle stalk, containing a pith like that of alder ; the leaves are digitated like those of the lupine, or black hellebore ; the flowers pentapetalous, and of a pale yellow-colour ; the seeds like that of the siccus, but of no use. The root is not unlike a parsnip, and turgid with a lacteous juice. After it is taken out of the ground, it is put into an hand-mill with iron teeth, and turned by two men, and ground to meal, which is afterwards subjected to a press, by which all the superfluous and noxious humour is evacuated, and the mass left quite dry : this done, they pass it through a sieve, called *Urubeba*, then set it over the fire in a flat-bottomed vessel of earth or copper, and stir it about till it is duly dressed. What is half dressed is still moist and esculent, and they call it *Farinha relada*, that is, meal dressed, but not dried. What remains, and is intended to be reserved, they keep stirring over the fire, till it is perfectly dried ; for the drier and better dressed, the more durable it becomes. The plant being pressed, yields a liquor, called by the natives *Manipuera*, which poured into a vessel, after two hours sticks to the bottom : hence is produced another sort of meal, better than the former, and yielding more flour, this they call cream of *Tipioca*. Of the water of this meal, what subsides to the bottom serves to make a sort of comfit, called *Tipioceto*, of an excellent taste : there is also a sort of gum, or rather amyllum, which serves

(99) See this article in *Dr. Janssen's Medical Dictionary*. (See *Hist. de l'Isle Espagnole ou St. Domingue* tom. i. p. 67.

quantity of black cattle, and plenty of venison, wild fowl in abundance of different kinds. The lakes, rivers, and the sea that surrounds it, are full of fish of different sorts, many of them large, wholesome, and delicate. It was formerly famous for land and sea tortoises, of an enormous size, the flesh, eggs, and shells of which were excellent, but these are now become more rare. However, it may, upon the whole, be styled, if not a rich, yet a pleasant and plentiful country, where the inhabitants, with a reasonable degree of care and pains, may be furnished with all the necessities, and even conveniences, of life; more especially, since it is now annually visited by vessels from *Europe* and the *Indies*. We shall conclude this description with observing, that it does not harbour either serpent, frog, toad, or other venomous animal. The most disagreeable creatures therein were bats of a prodigious size, which some old writers of voyages style flying cats; but these are, in some measure, extirpated ^P (O).

SOME

^P Voyage de LEGUAT, tom. ii. p. 70—72.

for the same use. This liquor *Manipuera* is most greedily coveted by all sorts of animals, for its pleasant and sweet taste, but is present death to them; yet, what is strange and remarkable, while it remains unpressed in the root, nourishes every animal except man. Besides the former preparations; of the root dried in the sun, there is made another sort of meal (1), and a whitish flour, which make fine white bread and biscuits, as good as those made of wheat, and very much resembling them. The root reserved intire, without grinding, serves to feed cattle and beasts of burden. The plant is miserably infested by worms, and whole swarms of ants, and not only the stalks and leaves, but the very roots, are greedily devoured by wild beasts, as well as domestic animals. It is easy to discern from

hence, why the introducing of this kind of improvement, attended with much labour, some difficulty, and the great advantages of which could not be immediately understood, met with some opposition; as also, that, after the culture was become a little familiar, the different methods of curing, preserving, and preparing the *Manioc*, were thoroughly diffused, and peoples palates in general reconciled to this sort of diet, it grew into universal acceptance and esteem, more especially as, with due care and attendance, the annual crop might always be depended upon (2).

(O) We have, in *Leguat's Voyages*, a very good description of this island, upon which himself and his companions resided for some time (3). These people sailed from *Holland*, July 10th, 1690, with a view of

(1) *Hist. Brasil* p. 95.
tom. i. p. 379—384.

(2) *Voyage aux Isles de l'Amérique, par Labat*,
(3) *Voyage aux Indes Orientales*, tom. ii. p. 64, 65.

settling

C. 9. *the French in the East Indies.*

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SOME ancient geographers having mentioned an island in *Mistakes* these seas, called *Cerne*, this probably gave occasion to the *about this* Portuguese to bestow that name on the island of which we *island*; are speaking, notwithstanding that *Pliny* expressly places it *visited by* in eighteen degrees thirty minutes of south latitude; so that *the Portu-* for this, as well as other reasons, we may pronounce them *guese, and* in a mistake. They discovered it in the beginning of the *supplied by* sixteenth century; and, according to their usual custom, *them with* put on shore some hogs, goats, and fowl, that they might *hogs and* multiply, and supply the necessities of those who should, at any time, call there, the island being uninhabited; and some think that they likewise planted there certain fruits and seeds from *Europe* and the *Indies*. Be that as it will, there is no mention of their occupying it any further; and in reality, considering the extensive empire they held, the numerous enemies they had to cope with, and the smallness of their own numbers, we may much rather wonder that the *Portu-* guese sought out and described so many countries as they did, than that they reduced and settled no more. However, what they did served to make the place remarkable, and the *Dutch*

settling in the island of *Mascarenbas*, now styled the island of *Bourbon*, and which, if they could have settled, they proposed to have called the island of *Eden*; but finding that in the hands of the *French*, eight of them were put on shore on the desert island of *Diego Ruys*, or, as they styled it, *Rodriguez*, where they remained two years and twenty-one days, and at length, growing weary of the solitary life they led there, ventured, in a vessel of their own framing, to sail to the island of *Mauritius*, then in the hands of the *Dutch*. We may, from their description of the island of *Diego Ruys*, which is equally copious and curious, frame a just notion of that island of which we are speaking, before it was settled by the *Europeans*, when the land and sea tortoises were met with in the greatest plenty and perfection, and other natural advantages, were undiminished by the resort thither of strangers: for the candid reader will distinguish between the times in which the several accounts we have of this country were given, and not conclude so rashly as some have done, that because modern travellers see none of those prodigious tortoises that were able to move with four men upon their backs, therefore the old relations are false or exaggerated; whereas, by comparing the descriptions of these two islands, in the state they were both about sixty years ago, it will appear highly probable, that the old accounts are as accurate, and as authentic, as any that have been since published (4).

(4) The reader may be satisfied of this, by consulting the authors that we have cited in the order of time in which they visited these places.

had it early in their charts, as well as another island, called *St. Apollonia*, with which this has likewise been confounded, and which is now very justly believed a fiction, since modern seamen could never meet with any such isle ¹ (P).

Visited by the Dutch, Indies, under the command of the Admiral James Cornelius who settle Vanneck, came thither, on the 18th of September 1598, with five ships, and anchored in a safe port, capable of containing fifty large vessels. They found the country, which probably had been for many years undisturbed, abounding with cattle, fowl, fish, and fruits; so that they landed such of their crew as were sick, who speedily recovered: and, having supplied themselves with all kind of refreshments, and bestowed the name of Warwick's Haven on the port where they anchored, in honour of their vice-admiral, they continued their voyage, and entered, as an useful observation in their journals, that this island might be as commodiously visited by outward-bound ships as that of St. Helena in their return. But though many of their countrymen reaped the benefit of this advice, and though they named this island after Prince

¹ *Geographie moderne*, par ABRAHAM DU BOIS, p. 818.

² *Voyages de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales*, tom. ii. p. 157.

(P) We find in *Hondius's* general map of *Africa* all the three islands mentioned in the text, very tolerably laid down; that of which we are particularly speaking is thus marked, *I. do Sirne*, alias *Mauritii Insula*, and is placed in the latitude of somewhat more than twenty degrees south, and in the longitude of seventy-nine degrees. In this map there is no name given to the island of *Mascarenbas*. In *Danckert's* map of *Africa*, published at *Amsterdam* in 1661, we have that now called the isle of *Bourbon*, laid down some degrees more to the south than it ought to be, under the title of *I. do Mascarenbas*, and to the north west lies another island, called *St. Apollonia*; which shews, that though

this map is very beautiful, and well engraved, yet it is not at all accurate, or to be depended upon. In the map of *Madagascar*, taken from *Sanuto*, and published by *Nicholas Sanson*, there are two large islands, to which the name of *Mascarenbas* is given in common, and to the north-west of them is an island, styled *S. Apollonia*, otherwise the island *Maurice*. In *De Lisse's*, and the best modern maps, the island of *Mauritius* is placed, as it ought to be, between the latitudes of twenty and twenty-one degrees south, and in the longitude of between seventy-four and seventy-five degrees; and the island of *Mascarenbas* lies south-west from thence, without any mention of *St. Apollonia* at all.

Maurice of Nassau, yet it was near forty years before they thought of settling there; and were then just before-hand with the *French*, who actually sent a vessel thither from *Dieppe* for the like purpose, who found the *Dutch* in possession, and very busy in raising a fort, that might command the haven, and the place where ships took in water * (Q).

ABOUT the year 1640, the *Dutch* had two or three little settlements, besides their fort, upon the island; but wanting and slaves to cultivate their plantations, they sent over a bark to *French Madagascar*, where the *French* had just begun to plant, and prevailed upon the governor, and another officer, to steal fifty blacks, of those that were settled under their protection; which scandalous breach of faith proved the ruin of both colonies, for the people of *Madagascar* never had any confidence in the *French* afterwards †; and as for the negroes that were carried to *Mauritius*, most of them fled into the woods

The Dutch break faith with the natives, which ruins this settlement, and that of Madagascar.

* Relation du Voyage de FRANÇOIS CAUCHE, de Rouen, en l'Isle de Madagascar, Isles adjacentes, et cotes d'Afrique, p. 1.

† Histoire de grande Isle de Madagascar, par Monsieur DE LA COUR, P. ii. c. 8.

(Q) It was with a view to the settlement of this island, that *Francis Cauche*, of *Rouen*, made his voyage to *Madagascar*, and the adjacent islands, of which he has given a very entertaining and instructive account. He informs us, that they arrived at the island of *Diego Ruys*, in the latitude of twenty degrees south, and forty degrees east from *Madagascar*, June 25th, 1638, in which island they set up the arms of *France*. From thence they proceeded to *Mascarenhas*, two degrees from the tropic of *Capricorn*, and set up the *French* arms there likewise. After twenty-four hours stay, they went and anchored at *St. Apollonia*, one degree nearer the line, where they found the *Dutch* settled at a port on the south-east extremity, where they were build-

ing a fortress. The next day, they went to the north-west end of the island, where they found an *English* vessel of five hundred tons, and carrying twenty-eight pieces of cannon, homeward-bound, from *Bantam*, laden with spice, the crew of which offered to assist him in dispossessing the *Dutch*; which proposal they did not think fit to accept. This author assures us, that the bats in the island of *Mauritius* are as big as crows, and their heads resembling foxes, hanging by a claw at the end of their wing on the branch of a tree, whenever they sleep, or incline to refresh themselves. He also affirms, that there were thornbacks in these seas of such prodigious magnitude, that one of them would serve three hundred men (5).

(5) Relation du Voyage de François Cauche, de Rouen, en l'Isle de Madagascar, Isles adjacentes, et cotes d'Afrique, p. 1, 2, 3.

and mountains, where they became what in the *Indies* they call *Marons*, that is, outlaws or banditti; and as they readily afforded shelter to all who would join them, the *Dutch*, notwithstanding they had a constant garrison of fifty men in the fort, were continually exposed to their insults and depredations, which, with other incidental calamities, made them weary of the place, where, through the company's parsimony, but chiefly through their own laziness, they were sometimes in great want, notwithstanding that ebony bore a good price, they were also able to have raised considerable crops of indico and tobacco. At length therefore they quitted the island, but whether gradually or all at once, is a little uncertain, and left the wild negroes in possession, who kept, notwithstanding, for the most part, in their fastnesses, from whence they sallied upon the crews of such ships as came thither for refreshments, and often surprised and cut them off; which occasioned such complaints at *Batavia*, that the general and council came at length to a resolution, that the island should be resettled, believing that such precautions might be taken, as would obviate all the objections raised against the colony at *Mauritius* ^u.

The Dutch THIS was accordingly done, and three establishments *resettle the* formed, one on the north-east, another on the south-west ex- *island, but* tremity of the island, and a third upon that which is called *were again* the *Black River*. To this place state criminals were fre- *constrained* quently banished, from *Batavia* and other colonies, and orders *to quit it.* were given for erecting a stone fort, with magazines and warehouses, for the conveniency of such *Dutch* ships as touched there; which very quickly put things upon a better foot than they had been. The seeds of mischief, however, remained, and some new ones began to take root, and display themselves very, apparently. On the one hand, the *Marons* remained lords of the interior part of the island, so that the *Dutch* were forced to confine their settlements to the sea-coasts, and this led them very naturally to an illicit trade. Amongst those who were banished thither, some were very skilful in this kind of traffick, the governor's allowance was but small, his perquisites not very large, and therefore he was but seldom able to withstand temptation. *English, French, and Portuguese* ships met with strange accidents, which obliged them to put into *Mauritius* to refit, though the inhabitants had hardly any thing better than canoes, nor so much as a dock or a yard where they could build a bark, but they had

^u From private information, which may be depended on.

magazines, into and out of which goods could be conveyed with singular dexterity. About the beginning of the current century, the directors of the *Dutch East India* company in *Holland* came to have so thorough an understanding of the practices at *Mauritius*, that they resolved to withdraw the colony; which was accordingly done, some say in 1703 ^w, and others, with more probability, in 1710 ^x: and thus the *Dutch* government and the name of *Mauritius* were extinguished together.

WE have no distinct account at what time, or in what *Granted*, manner, the *French* took possession of this deserted isle; but *by the title* it must have been during the space that the old *East India* of the company's privileges subsisted, since we find it conveyed, with *ISLE of* the rest of that company's territories, to the company of the *FRANCE*, *Indies*, by the name of the *ISLE of FRANCE* ^r, yet possession was not formally taken till more than two years after; the edict for uniting the company being in *May* 1719, and the monument of possession taken, and the new name imposed, *XV*, erected by the Chevalier *De Fougeray*, is inscribed *September* the 3d, 1721 ^z. It seems that in this, as in other cases, the *French* government had a mind to make the world believe, that to begin and perfect was the same thing; for, by an edict, dated two months after possession was thus taken, a provincial council was erected in the *ISLE of FRANCE*, dependent, however, upon that of *BOURBON*, the council there being declared superior upon this occasion; and the *Sieur De Nyon*, governor of the *ISLE of FRANCE*, was directed to take his oath of office in the superior council of the *ISLE of BOURBON*, before he presumed to take his seat in his own, where he was to be assisted by six counsellors, which might very probably be the better part of all the masters or heads of families in the island ^a (R).

BUT,

^w HAMILTON's Account of the East Indies, vol. i. p. 19.

^x Dictionnaire de Commerce, tom. ii. col. 186. ^y Histoire de la Compagnie des Indes, p. 581. ^z Le grande Dictionnaire

Geographique et Critique, par M. BRUZEN LA MARTINIÈRE, tom. iv. p. 180. ^a Histoire de la Compagnie des Indes,

p. 357.

(R) We are very sure that the *French* were not possessed of this island in the summer of the year 1717; but we are no less sure, that, very soon after, the captain of a ship from *St. Malo* took possession of it, on be-

half of his most Christian Majesty and the *French East India* company, though, as to the exact time or manner, we can affirm nothing distinctly; for the reader will observe, that this transient possession is very

Yet this settlement, for many years, but very unpromising, and utterly unprofitable.

BUT, notwithstanding the magnificent figure it made upon paper, the company of the *Indies* had much ado to resolve, different from that formal one, mentioned in the text. This last seems to have been done by order, and was performed in this manner. A large post was set up in a conspicuous place, and on the top thereof a pole forty feet high, with a white flag. On the post was inscribed a kind of instrument of possession, in *Latin*, to the following effect (6):

Long live LEWIS the fifteenth, King of the Gauls, and of Navarre. Let the King live for ever! whose pleasure it is to unite this island to the rest of his dominions, and, in testimony thereof, to bestow on it, for ever, the name of the ISLE OF FRANCE. In praise and honour of so great a Prince, Jean Baptiste Garnier de Fongeray, captain of the ship called the Triton, native of the town of St. Maloes, in Little Brittany, erected this white standard, September 23d, 1721, and on the 3d of November following, with the blessing of God, set sail from hence, on his return to France. . .

We may reasonably conclude, that the edict for settling the provincial council was issued with a view to an establishment upon this island, and to give some kind of lustre to the new company of the *Indies*, who, in this respect, seem to have proceeded exactly on the scheme of their predecessors, supposing that whatever plans they formed

in *France* might be carried into execution in these distant islands, in such manner and form as they thought fit to prescribe, provided they were at such an expence as appeared to them requisite for that purpose; but it seems they were miserably deceived, and that for a long course of time since, when Mr. *de la Bourdennaye* arrived in his government, and expected to have found, according to the information of the company, four or five engineers, and several public structures, he was not able to meet with one; for though they had been sent over, they were so little able to agree with the council, that, except one *Mulatto*, they had all quitted the service. As for public works, he found in the *Ile of France* a small wind-mill, carried up to the height of eight feet, but unfinished, a little house for an engineer, and some magazines, begun four years before, the walls of which were about as high as a man could reach; in short, about three hundred yards of masons-work; and in the island of *Bourbon*, those employed in the service of the public had been industrious in the same degree. At his departure, he left above eleven thousand toises of masons-work, built under his direction (7). All the success, therefore, that the *French* have to boast in the *Indies*, has been owing to the superior capacities of a very few private gentlemen, who happened fortunately to be in their service.

(6) *Le grande Dictionnaire Geographique et Critique, par M. Bruzen la Martiniere*, tom. ix. p. 380. (7) *Memoire de la Bourdennaye*, tom. i. p. 18—25.

after more than ten years trial, whether they should keep this potent colony, or leave the island to the wild negroes again, as the *Dutch* had done. To say the truth, the grounds of this perplexity were by no means trifling. The company had furnished all who went thither, either whites or blacks, with utensils, arms, and provisions, to be repaid out of the fruits of their industry, which were so great after their arrival and establishment, that they could never maintain themselves, but continued a dead weight upon the company. At length, in 1735, it was resolved to send over Monsieur de la Bourdennaye, with the swelling title of *governor-general* of the islands, both the councils, by his advice, being declared independent, and that superior in which the governor was present ^b. Upon his arrival in the *Isle of France*, he found it in as miserable a condition as ever colony was, very thin of people, and those ignorant, lazy, and seditious, as if they had not been as they really were, naked, defenceless, and starving. This gentleman went to work with all the vigour and public spirit imaginable, and at the expence of making every man under his command his secret enemy, though they all professed that he was the wisest, gentlest, and best of governors, he soon put things to rights, and brought the greatest part of them to believe that he really was, what out of servile flattery they called him ^c.

He sent for young negroes over from *Madagascar*, bred Improved, them up in honest and religious principles, and then made ^{fortified,} use of them against the *Marons*, whom he obliged either to submit, or to quit the island. He found in the island scarce ^{and rendered of} a planter, manufacturer, or soldier; he made every able ^{the greatest consequence, by} man that resided there all of these, by shewing him, that it was his interest, and placing the essence of his own power in ^{Mr. de la} his example. When he came, there was nothing but cabins; Bourdennaye. in the space of a few years, besides private habitations, he erected magazines, arsenals, barracks, fortifications, mills, quays, canals, and aqueducts, particularly one that carried fresh water down to the port, and to the hospitals, three thousand six hundred toises in length, which effectually removed the most troublesome circumstance that hitherto had impeded their thriving. They had never been skilful enough to clean or repair the smallest vessel for their own service, but were forced to lay them up when foul or decayed, till some ship came in, when they could hire the carpenters to do what they wanted. They had not either roads, carriages,

^b *Memoire de la BOURDENNAYE*, tom. i. p. 18. ^c *Idem*, ibid.

or sawing-mills; the governor enabled them to get the better of these wants, and, in eighteen or twenty months, brought down a large quantity of serviceable timber to the port, where he provided yards, wet and dry docks, pontoons, canoes, shallops, and whatever else was requisite for careening, which he performed as effectually as in *Europe*. In 1737, he launched a brigantine; in 1738, he built two good ships, and, towards the close of the year, put one upon the stocks of the burden of five hundred tons. In a word, in four years time the port of the *Ile of France* was as fit for building or careening as *L'Orient*, the business as effectually done, and with more expedition ^d (S).

*Methods
by which
the inha-
bitants
have been
drawn to
improve-
ments
agreeable
to the com-
pany.*

ALL these public services could never have been brought about, if he had not attended, at the same time, to the personal interests, and private advantages, of every planter in the island. A few instances will suffice to set this important affair in a clear light. In the first place, he prevented their ever being distressed for food, that is, for bread, which had

^d Supplement au Memoire du Sieur DE LA BOURDENNAYE, P. 51, 52, 53.

(S) The reader will very probably ascribe it either to partiality or credulity, that what is advanced in the text, and in the last note, as indubitable matters of fact, stand upon no other authority whatever than the assertion of the person to whose conduct they do so much honour. To justify this proceeding, and to give the reader as much satisfaction on this head as is possible, he is desired to consider the following remarks. First, that these are not general, vague, indeterminate accounts of wonderful things done, and vast improvements made, but plain, direct, and distinct facts, which if they had been falsely asserted, must have turned to Mr. *de la Bourdennaye's* utter confusion. Secondly, that all these facts have been juridically examined, while this gentleman was a close prisoner in the *Basile*, when his

enemies had all the opportunities, and all the provocation imaginable, to refute them, notwithstanding which, the truth of his allegations have been acknowledged, and certified under the hands of his judges. Thirdly, that the accounts given here of the state of the *French* islands, by such as had visited them before the year 1735, agreed exactly with Mr. *Bourdennaye's* representation, as did also the circumstances in which they were found by Admiral *Boscawen*, when he took a view of them, in his passage with the fleet of the Allies to the *East Indies*. Upon the whole, therefore, we must say fairly, that the man of merit is a citizen of the universe, and that those acquire some share in him, who have the honesty to own, and courage to applaud, his virtues.

often happened before, and was the principal cause of their poverty. He did this, by obliging them to plant five hundred feet square of *Manioc* for every black man and their families. At first they were very averse, and some were so wicked as to destroy these plantations, after they were made; but, by degrees, becoming more accustomed to this diet, they acquired sagacity enough to perceive, that brown bread was better than none. He next prevented their slaughtering cattle at random, obliged the crews of the company's ships to be satisfied, during their stay, with fish and turtle, when it was absolutely requisite; and, by this temporary short allowance, secured to them perpetual plenty. He put them upon raising commodities and manufactures of which they never thought; and, amongst the rest, he set on foot sugar-works, for the profit of the company, which brought in, when he left the island, sixty thousand livres a year *.

ALL these strange things were performed between 1735 *Mr. de la* and 1740; and from thence we may account for that other- *Bourden-* wise inexplicable mystery, how the *Island of France* came to *naye ac-* be in a condition, when the *British* Squadron arrived on its *cused in* coast, so diametrically opposite to all the accounts with which *France,* the most intelligent persons here were able to furnish the *notwith-* administration. But, for all this, *Mr. de la Bourdennaye* *standing* was on the point of being disgraced, when he returned; the *all these* company of the *Indies* was implacable, the ministers in ge- *services.* neral prejudiced, and the good-natured Cardinal *de Fleury* very sour. *Mr. de la Bourdennaye* insisted upon knowing the causes of all this, and refuted every charge so clearly, that the company had nothing to say; the ministers were convinced, and the cardinal satisfied. In the course of his justification, he shewed, that he was never possessed in property of a foot of land; that he never traded for a single livre; and that he had decided but one law-suit all the time he was governor. He farther shewed, that the inhabitants of the *Ile of France* were able to carry on a legal and beneficial commerce, in goods and manufactures of their own, both to the *Indies* and to *Europe* † (T). It is now time to step over to

* Dictionnaire de Commerce, tom. ii. col. 1207. Supplement au Memoire du Sieur DE LA BOURDENNAYE, p. 50. † Memoire de la BOURDENNAYE, tom. i, p. 18—25.

(T) When we attentively consider the methods taken by the Sieur *de la Bourdennaye*, we may easily comprehend how all these vast alterations were wrought. Numbers of young *Indians* brought from *Madagascar*, at thirteen or fourteen years of

to the other island of *Bourbon*, and see in how strange a manner that colony was originally formed, and what in process of time have been the advantages gained thereto, and improvements made therein, by the companies to which it belonged.

What the French proposed to themselves from establishing settlements on the coasts of Madagascar. We have already given the reader some account of the repeated attempts made by the *French* to establish a settlement upon *Madagascar*, or the isle of the *Dauphin*, as they call it, of which they kept possession above one hundred years, and to which they yet maintain a title. They had three principal points in view in attempting this settlement 3: the first, was the fixing a powerful colony in a commodious place for carrying on the trade of the *Indies*, without which they judged it in a manner impossible to make any considerable car.

* Discours d'un fidele sujet du Roi, touchant l'Etablissement d'une Compagnie Francoise pour le Commerce des Indes Orientales.

of age, well treated, and brought up to several trades, were able to perform many things that could never have been expected from black slaves; and he even engaged those unhappy creatures to exert themselves in another manner than they had done formerly, for the sake of living more at their ease, and in somewhat greater plenty. As the whites recovered in the hospital established for the relief of such as were in the service of the company of the *Indies*, they were immediately employed some way or other for their own benefit, and that of the colony; so that all improvements were disposed in such a manner, as not only to go on together, but to assist, and to facilitate each other. However, if in the circle of the *Sieur de la Bourdonnaye's* scheme there was any circumstance more excellent than another,

this happy thought of cultivating commodities of great value, as well in the *Indies* as in *Europe*, ought so to be esteemed. The sugar that is raised here has a constant and regular vent at *Surat*, as, on the other hand, cotton and indigo are staple commodities for the homeward bound ships (8). In consequence, therefore, of these improvements, the people of this island are enabled to purchase, in a great measure, all they want either from homeward or outward bound ships; and in time, perhaps, as the island becomes more populous, and consequently more flourishing, they may be encouraged to undertake discoveries in those southern countries which we have before mentioned, as being at least as well, if not better, situated for that purpose, than any other people upon the globe (9).

(8) *Supplement au Memoire du Sieur de la Bourdonnais*, pp. 50, 51. (9) See the last chapter of *Flacourt's History of Madagascar*, in which this point is very fully treated,

progress, knowing well that they should be warmly opposed by the *European* nations already in possession of this commerce. In the *next* place, they conceived that a very profitable intercourse might be carried on with this island which would be highly beneficial to their navigation, augment the number of their seamen, increase their shipping, and, in many other respects, facilitate their schemes for extending their trade; and *lastly*, they proposed, by making this establishment the centre of their commerce, to put it into so good a condition as not only to answer all the ends of affording protection and refreshment to all their outward and homeward bound *East India* ships, but farther flattered themselves that the colony might be rendered so populous, and the towns and fortresses so defensible, as in case their success in the *Indies* should provoke the maritime powers to endeavour their destruction even by open force, they might find such a resistance here as would effectually preserve that trade when it should be acquired (V).

THESE

(V) All the great consequences resulting from a thorough plantation of *Madagascar*, and the proper means of bringing this about, were very well understood by the servants of the old *East India* company, tho' they did not publish them with so much pomp and eloquence to the world as the persons employed by Mr. *Colbert*, which indeed had a good effect in making the generality of people understand what mighty improvements it was possible to make in this large country, while more penetrating people saw, at the very same time, that the whole capital of the company was hardly sufficient to carry the project of the settlements into thorough execution, that nothing very considerable could be projected, in the company's favour till these settlements were completely made, and the inhabitants in fit circumstances, and in a proper disposition to carry on such a commerce as might be for the company's service; and that, as all this would be attended with a vast expence of money and of time, without the possibility of making any great returns, be subject to repeated disappointment, and depend altogether, and through the whole series of time, on the wise, steady, and uniform conduct of the directors at home, and of those whom they employed to administer their affairs abroad, they foresaw, and were not at all mistaken, that how beautiful (10), how feasible soever the plan might seem in theory, it would meet with little or no success when it came to be carried into practice. We must not be too hasty in concluding from hence, to the prejudice of the *French* nation, since, if we consider how many years were spent what a succession of societies

Their expectations not improvable, yet prove abortive. THESE notions were indeed lofty and magnificent, worthy of their authors *Richlieu* and *Colbert*, and, at the same time, they were far from being unnatural or impracticable. The climate, tho' not so healthy and pleasant as they represented it, was however tolerable; the soil wonderfully fruitful; there wanted not good ports; all the necessaries of life were to be had in abundance; and, to say nothing of gold, iron, lead, of all which however there are certainly mines in that island; cotton, wax, sugar, black and white pepper, tobacco, indigo, ebony, and a great variety of other valuable commodities might have made this place answered not only all their expences in settling it, but even their most sanguine expectations. That it did not answer them is very certain; but that the defect was not in the country, but in themselves, their best writers agree. That the scheme they went upon was rational, and not so only, but absolutely necessary, time and experience have since made appear, but they stand indebted for the advantages they now possess to chance, and accident^b. For, tho' they have long ago abandoned *Madagascar*, yet, as we have seen, they are still possessed of some islands near it, which are of such consequence, that without them it would be very difficult for them to preserve what trade they have in the *Indies*, as will hereafter appear, tho' in the accounts they have given of this commerce, they have scarce mentioned, much less described them.

THE

^b CAUCHE, FLABOURT, RENNEFORT, &c.

arose, and were ruined in establishing our colonies of *Virginia* and *New England*, we shall easily discern how very difficult a thing it is for any nation to succeed in bringing her first foreign colony to bear; tho', after all, as we have explained things in another place, there were some peculiar improprieties in the temper of the *French* adventurers, which nothing could have redressed but their being under the direction of able, experienced, and disinterested officers, who, without attempting to meddle with trade, might have taken all the preparatory steps to the procuring an extensive commerce, by a proper

distribution, and bringing into a thriving condition all the plantations necessary in the adjacent islands, and along the coast of *Madagascar*. If such persons were not to be had, the blame did not lie upon *Mr. Colbert*, who could only chuse, and had it not in his power to make instruments for this service. On the other hand, if the company was too much in a hurry, in reference to these colonies, or if, as the truth seemed to be, those who were sent thither misbehaved themselves, and ruined the design, no arguments can be drawn from thence in refutation of the points advanced in the project published by that great

THE most remarkable of these is that anciently called *Mascareigne*, or more correctly, *Mascarenhas*, from a noble family of that name in *Portugal*; but the *French* have given it long ago the name of *Bourbon*: it lies in the latitude of twenty one degrees twenty-three minutes south, and in the longitude of seventy-six degrees to the east of *Madagascar*, and at a small distance from the island of *Maurice*, or, as it is now stiled, of *France*. We have already hinted that they touch'd at, and slightly examined it, even before they attempted *Madagascar*, but in all probability were deterred from settling there, on the score of its wanting a port. The island of *Bourbon* being in some parts inaccessible, the length and breadth have not been well determined, but the circumference, as a person who resided there several months assured us, may be fifty-seven leagues, or thereabouts ^l. It is for the most part mountainous, but in some places there are very pleasant and beautiful plains. In the south part of the island there is a burning mountain which has thrown out vast quantities of bitumen, sulphur, and other combustible materials; neither does it cease throwing them out still, so that the country about is useless, and is called by the inhabitants *Pays Brule*, that is, *Burnt Land*. The shore is high and rocky all round, so that there are no ports (but there are several good roads, particularly one on the west and another on the north-east) which is the greatest disadvantage ^k it has: as to its form, it is irregular, so that it is difficult to judge from the maps whether it be round or long (W).

A description of the island of Mascarenhas, now called the isle of Bourbon.

As

^l *Tour du Monde*, par L. G. DE LA BAREINAIS, tom. iii. p. 116. ^k *Relation de l'isle de Bourbon*, par Du Bois.

great statesman's (11) directions, which is an observation more than once repeated, because it is a matter that deserves particular attention.

(W) In the memorial written by the Sieur *Anthony Thauréau*, who had a commission to take possession of this place on behalf of the crown of *France* in 1654, it is asserted that the island is ten leagues broad and about sixty in extent, this gentleman and his companions making the

tour of it in eleven days. In their passage they found the north-east part of the island very fruitful and pleasant, as well as plentifully watered; and this extent of country they judged to be about fifteen miles. The south-east part of the island, which they apprehended to have been still more fruitful and pleasant, and of the extent of twenty leagues was entirely burnt and consumed to a coal; which dreadful effect, in their judg-

(11) *Essai sur la Marine et sur le Commerce*, p. 196.

ment,

*Its climate,
soil, and
produce.*

As to the air, it is equally pleasant and wholesome, inso-
much that people live thereto a vast age without feeling ei-
ther infirmities or diseases. This is an excellent effect from
a very troublesome cause, by which we mean the hurricane,
a kind of storm too well known to be described here: of
these they have one or two every year, which purge and
cleanse the air so as to render it highly salubrious; the cer-
tainty of which is thus distinguished, that when they fail of
making their annual visits, as sometimes they do, the people
are sickly, and death finds an entrance into the island, which
otherwise would be soon overstocked¹. The climate is hot,
but not to such a degree as might be expected from its situ-
ation; the breezes from the mountains being constant and
very refreshing; the tops of these mountains are in the winter
covered with snow, which, melting in the summer, furnish
abundance of rivers and rivulets with which the country is
plentifully watered; so that the soil, tho' not very deep, is
wonderfully fruitful, producing *Turkey-corn*, and rice twice
a year, and the latter in vast abundance. Most sorts of cat-
tle are found there good in their kind, and very cheap: wild
goats and wild hogs are found in the woods and on the tops of
the mountains: vast plenty they have of wild fowl of different

¹ Tour du Monde, par L. G. DE LA BARBINAIS, tom. iii.
p. 127.

ment, was produced by light-
ning. The south-west part of
the island they judged to be six
leagues, a very tolerable coun-
try, with a large lake and a fine
river in it; but a great proportion
of the north-west of the isle of
Bourbon is represented in this
memorial as uninhabitable (12).
There was a particular descrip-
tion of this country under the
name of the island of *Eden*, pub-
lished in *Holland* by the direc-
tion of the Marquis *Duquesne*,
of which, as it is visibly calcu-
lated to represent it as a perfect
Paradise, we esteem it best to
say nothing, since it is not from

such kind of accounts that any
true judgment may be form-
ed (13). The author of a Jour-
nal of Mr. *Duquesne's* voyage,
which in other respects is very
exact and much esteemed, was
so very little acquainted with
this island, that he confounds it
with *Madagascar* (14), which is a
proof, that at the end of the last
century it was far enough from
being considered even by those
best acquainted with the *East
India* company's affairs; for
the author of this Journal,
who was in their service, did
not look upon it as a place of
any great importance.

(12) *Histoire de la grande isle de Madagascar*, par le Sieur Flacourt, scap. 85.

(13) *Voyage de Leguat*, tom. i. p. 50.

(14) *Journal d'un Voyage aux
Indes Orientales*, par M. Duquesne, tom. 11. p. 7.

kinds : fish too, in great abundance ; and, before the place was so well inhabited, vast quantities of land tortoise, affording at once the most delicate and most wholesome food : as to fruits, they have the guavas and bananas, oranges and citrons, tamarinds, and other kinds : neither does it want valuable commodities, particularly ebony, cotton, white pepper, gum benjamin, aloes and tobacco, all excellent in their kind, when compared with those of other countries. It is also happy in its deficiencies, for no venomous creature is to be found therein, and but two that are disagreeable to the sight ; the one spiders of the size of a pigeon's egg, which weave nets or webs of a prodigious strength, and some curious people have thought that these might be so treated as to become as valuable as silk ; the other, bats of a most enormous size, which are not only skinned and eaten, but esteemed also the greatest delicacy that they have ; in which opinion, when they can overcome their natural aversion, so far as to taste them, Europeans agree^m (X). Such is the island of *Bourbon* in itself ; let us now speak of its inhabitants.

WHEN

••

^m *Histoire de la grand île de Madagascar, par Monsieur FLA-COURT, p. 431. Relation de l' île de Bourbon, par Du Bois.*

(X) As these hurricanes happen always within a certain period ; that is, either in the months of December, January, February or March, proper precautions may be taken against them ; more especially, as they are of short continuance, and as these storms of a day or two excuse the island from all ill weather for the rest of the year (15). Some writers assert, that in the island of *France* the hurricane is fixed to the ninth of *February*, which day once past, they look upon themselves as secure for that year ; but all agree, that the want of these periodical storms is commonly succeeded by unwholesome seasons (16.) *We have good reason to believe that, as this island

is better cultivated, the woods rendered passable, and great tracks of land manured, the seasons may be in some measure altered, and the terror of these hurricanes lessened by a timely provision against their consequences. Besides, experience has taught them to be very exact in distinguishing the prognostics of an hurricane, which are said to be a hollow, frightful noise on the mountains, three or four days before the storm rises ; and while this noise continues, there is a dead calm both on sea and on shore. The night before the hurricane, the moon appears of a crimson colour, and the storm begins either a little before, or a little after, the break of day. As soon as the

(15) *Tour du Monde, par Le Gentil de la Barbinais, tom. iii. p. 127.*

(16) *Voyage de Francis Leguat, tom. ii. p. 74.*

At what
time, and
in what
manner the
French
first trans-
ferr'd peo-
ple thither
from Ma-
dagascar.

When the French first settled in *Madagascar*, the island *Mascarenhas*, as it was then called, was absolutely desolate; three *Frenchmen*, being banished thither and left in it for three years, made such a report of it at their return as surprised their countrymen: they lived most of that time upon pork, and, tho' they were in a manner naked, yet they affirmed that they never had the least pain or sickness whatever. This tempted one *Anthony Tureau* to go over thither in 1654, accompanied by seven *French* and six *Negroes*, and they carried with them cattle with which the country has been stocked ever since. The first thing they did was to erect the arms of *France* by order of *Mr. Flacourt*, who was governor of *Madagascar*, and to bestow upon the island a new name; then they set up huts and laid out gardens, where they cultivated melons, all sorts of roots and tobacco; but just as the last-mentioned herb grew ripe came a hurricane, and destroyed all ^a. The *French*, however, went to work again, and, by having some acquaintance with the climate, succeeded better, and added alots to the rest of their plantation; but receiving no succour from *Madagascar*, and being tired of living there by themselves, they very readily embraced the offer made them by the captain of an *English* ship, and in the year 1658 embarked for *Madras*; so there ended the first colony. When the last great blow was given to the *French* at *Madagascar* by the natives, who, provoked chiefly by their gallantries; surprised fort *Dauphine*, and cut them off in one night. There escaped as many men as, with their wives who were natives, filled two canoes; and, these being driven by the wind on the island of *Bourbon*, were the next set of people that inhabited it; and, for want of an opportunity to remove, were constrained to cultivate this new country of theirs, and to remain in it; neither was this any great hardship, considering the evil from which they escaped, and the peace and plenty they might have found here in return for a very small expence of labour and industry ^o (Y).

It

^a Histoire de grand île d'e Madagascar, par Monsieur FLACOURT, p. 431. ^o Tour du Monde, par L. G. DE LA BARBINAISS, tom. iii. p. 121.

signs appear, the people begin without delay, to avoid being driven on shore, which otherwise they can hardly escape (17): (Y) When the *French* took possession of this place, they

(17) Tour du Monde, par L. G. de la Barbinaiis, tom. iii. p. 127, 128.

set

It was not long before they acquired a farther stock of inhabitants; for a pirate that had been committing depredations in the *Indies*, returning to *Europe*, ran ashore and was split to pieces upon the rocks, so that the crew were forced to join themselves to the former inhabitants, and as they had on board their vessel a great many *Indian* women they had made prisoners, they lived with them, and in process of time had a numerous posterity. As *East India* ships touched here frequently when they were too late to double the cape, many of the sailors for the sake of the women deserted at the time of their departure, and, staying behind, became planters in the island of *Bourbon*. As the place grew more populous, the people naturally became more civilized, and desirous of living in a more commodious manner, which induced them to build small vessels, that in these they might make a trip sometimes to *Madagascar*, and purchase slaves which they employed in their plantations, to cultivate sugar, tobacco, and other things with which they drove a small trade, when ships of any nation anchored in their roads for the sake of refreshments*. In this situation things were when the *East India* company of *France* put in their claim, and, assuming the property of the island, sent thither five or six families and a governor. At first, no doubt, the inhabitants expected to reap some benefit from their new masters,

How a new augmentation of inhabitants came into this island, which was now taken into the hands of the French East India company, against whom they rebelled.

* *Relation de l' île du Bourbon, par Du Bois. Tour du Monde, par L. G. DE BARBINAIS, tom. iii. p. 122.*

set up a pillar with the arms of that crown on the same spot where the *Portuguese* had set up their pillar of possession; and some writers say, that the *French* arms were only inscribed on the opposite side of the same pillar. The date of the *Portuguese* entry is 1545, and on the *French* side 1653; tho' it seems pretty evident that those who set them up did not arrive till the year 1654 (18). The *French* authors say, that they were first cheated out of the possession of this island by one

Captain *Gossing*, who persuaded them that their countrymen were entirely destroyed at *Madagascar*, which induced them to proceed with him to the *Indies*, in hopes of making a large profit upon the commodities they had cultivated, and for which the Captain assured them they would find a great demand; but, when they debarked at *Madras*, they found the whole a falsehood, and themselves in a very wretched condition (19).

(18) *Histoire de la grande île Madagascar, par le Sieur Flacourt, p. 431.*
(19) *Ibid. p. 436.*

but finding very little, and thinking the governor took too much upon him, they revolted at the instigation of a priest, seized their governor, clapped him into a dungeon, and kept him there till hunger and sorrow made an end of him. For this some of the ringleaders were afterwards punished, a kind of fort erected in which some guns, were placed, and the *French* flag kept flying; but, in other respects, so little care was taken, that till within these thirty years, the island was in no state of defence, exclusive of the number of inhabitants, and the advantages of its situation; which we have before described ¹, and from which the reader will perceive they were in no great danger from single vessels (Z).

¹ *Histoire de la Compagnie des Indes*, p. 581. *Tour du Monde*, par L. G. DE BARBINAIS, tom. iii. p. 139. *Relation de l'île du Bourbon*, par DU BOIS.

(Z) The reader will easily perceive that we are constrained to pick up whatever fragments we can meet with in the works of different authors, to procure for him in some measure, a continued history of the revolutions to which this country has been exposed, and therefore he will not be surpris'd, or attribute to any supineness or want of care in us, that every minute particular is not so clearly or fully explained as he would willingly find it. We have not been able to discover, for instance, when the *French East India* company took the administration of this island into her own hands, but we find among the archives of the company an edict of *Lewis* the fourteenth, dated the seventh of *March*, 1711, by which a provincial council, dependant upon that of *Pondicherry*, was established in

this island, against which the revolt mentioned in the text must have been made (20). In 1723, the number of inhabitants in the island being greatly increased, the council was declared supreme, and independent, and, as we have already observed, was made superior to that established by the same edict in the *île of France* (21). But tho' from these edicts we learn pretty clearly what the form of government ought to have been, yet we have intimations that may be depended upon, that the same seditious and malicious temper continued, at least in a great measure, and that licentiousness, confusion, and anarchy were the characteristics of those settled here when *Mr. de la Bourdennaye* was named to the supreme command in both islands (22).

(20) *Histoire de la compagnie des Indes*, tom. iii. p. 357.
p. 358, 359.

(21) *Ibid.*
(22) *Mémoires de Monsieur de la Bourdennaye*, tom. i. p. 11.

THE number of inhabitants in the year 1717 was computed at two thousand; that is, nine hundred free, and eleven hundred slaves. Amongst these people the usual distinction of whites and blacks entirely fails, for even the free are of different colours; and a French writer assures us, that he saw in a church one family consisting of five generations of all complexions. The eldest was a female, one hundred and eight years of age, of a brown black, like the Indians at Madagascar; her daughter a mulatto; her grand-daughter a mestizo; her great grand-daughter of a dusky yellow; her daughter again, of an olive; and the daughter of this last (it is the author's own expression) as fair as any English girl of the same age. These people are, generally speaking, of a gentle, quiet disposition, very industrious, and submissive enough to authority, provided it be exercised with a tolerable degree of equity and decency; for otherwise they are apt to rise, one and all; and the slaves have so little reason to complain of their masters, that they are always on the same side. The island is divided into four quarters; the first is, that of St. Paul, which is the largest and the best peopled; their houses built at the bottom of a steep mountain on both sides of a fresh water lake. As for the plantations, they are on the top of a mountain, which they ascend by a very rough and troublesome passage. On the summit there is a spacious plain, a great part of which is divided into plantations of rice, tobacco, corn, sugar and fruits. The quarter of St. Denis lies seven leagues from that of St. Paul, towards the east, and there the governor resides: it is not so much peopled, but the country is pleasanter and better situated. At two leagues distance, proceeding along the sea-coast, is the quarter of St. Mary's, which is but thinly peopled. The last and most fertile quarter, is that of St. Susannah, which is at the distance of four leagues from St. Denis; and the road between these two quarters is tolerable, tho' part of it has been cut with much difficulty through a wood; but the passage from St. Denis to St. Paul, is only by sea. We have been the more particular in this description, because it is difficult to find so good a one. (A.)

WHEN

• *Tour du Monde*, par L. G. DE BARBINAIS, tom. iii. p. 124, 125. • *Relation de l'île de Bourbon*, par DU BOIS. *Tour du Monde*, par L. G. DE BARBINAIS.

(A) The description given in the text is from Mr. de la Barbinais, who, in his return to France from the Indies, remained in the island of Bourbon five months, which afforded him sufficient

Of late years due attention has been paid to this important island, and care taken to fortify it.

WHEN the present company of the *Indies* became, in right of the edict for their perpetual establishment, masters of this island, they soon discerned what vast advantages might be drawn from it, as well as how strangely it had been neglected. In consequence of this, they have improved it exceedingly, raised new forts and batteries, which render it in a manner inaccessible; and have also settled in the most effectual manner, several of the adjacent islands, which are well supplied with cannon, military and naval stores, and whatever else is necessary for the defence of the inhabitants. There is no doubt that this must have cost considerable sums of money, but the company of the *Indies* have no reason to complain of that, since the island produces annually more than all they have laid out can amount to; since they bring from thence one year with another coffee to the value of one hundred thousand pounds[†].

[†] *Histoire des Indes Orientales*, par GUYON, tom. iii. p. 379, 380.

sufficient leisure to make many curious and useful observations, without the assistance of which it had been absolutely impossible to have exhibited any tolerable account of an island that is already of so great consequence, and which, the principal obstacle to its improvement being now removed, cannot fail of becoming more and more important every day (23). This gentleman gives it up as his opinion, that the *Burnt Country* became in that condition from the effects of a vulcano, which, as he conceives, has traversed the whole island in the space of several ages; which notion of his is grounded upon a matter of fact that cannot be disputed, which is, that the soil is no-where of any great depth, and that, immediately underneath, there is a

black-burnt rock resembling that of the *Pays Brule*. We may conclude from hence, that possibly this and all the little islets about it were raised by a subterraneous explosion from the bottom of the sea, which has been likewise the case in other countries; neither is it at all improbable that in process of time, more especially if any assistance is afforded to nature, a great part, if not the whole, of the *Burnt Country*, will be recovered and rendered habitable. But whether there may not be reason to apprehend that, in succeeding ages, this vulcano may make another tour, and renew its devastations in some other quarter of the isle of *Bourbon*, is what time must disclose, and the will of Providence determine (24).

(23) *Geographie Moderne*, par Abraham Du Bois. p. 813.
du Monde, par L. G. de Barbinet, tom. iii. p. 183.

(24) *Tour*

It is no easy matter to come at the knowledge when this *The intro-*
improvement was first made, or, indeed, how it came to be *duction of*
made at all; on one side, we are assured that the coffee-*coffee, and*
plant was carried to the isle of *Bourbon* from the country of *the benefi-*
Yaman in Arabia, which is the true coffee-country, in the *cial con-*
year 1718, and the very person is named who carried it thi-*sequences*
ther; on the other hand, an author who visited the isle of *that have*
Bourbon in 1717, and who wrote an account of what he *attended*
found remarkable there the very same year, assures us that *this im-*
Mr. *Para*, who was then governor of the island, was actually *provement.*
in *France*, and that his errand thither was to inform the *East*
India company that the coffee-plant had been found growing
naturally in several places of the island. It may be, that
these accounts may be reconciled thus; the plant brought
from *Mocha* to the isle of *Bourbon*, might be with a view to
compare it with the coffee said to grow there naturally; but
however that might be, the cultivation of this plant now is
become the principal business of the inhabitants of the isle of
Bourbon, and it is believed that they produce an eighth, some
say a sixth part as much coffee, as is raised in the kingdom of
Yemen, and it is likewise held next in goodness to that. The
diligent endeavour of the *French* company of the *Indies* to
strengthen and improve the settlements in *the islands*, for that
is the term used in *France*, has not only answered all the
purposes that they could possibly expect from it, but has like-
wise fully demonstrated that the principles laid down by *Rich-*
lieu and *Colbert* were perfectly just, and that nothing could
have so effectually contributed towards the acquiring a share
in the *East India* commerce for the *French* nation, as the
making a considerable establishment on the island of *Mada-*
gascar, and that the fault lay only in those who undertook
the execution of it.

It was therefore very judiciously advised, when Admiral *Admiral*
Boscawen sailed with the combined fleet of the Maritime *Boscaw-*
Powers for the *Indies*, to strike the first blow here. If that *en's expe-*
could have been done, there is no doubt that the expedition, *dition well*
in its event, would have been as prosperous as it was pru- *designed,*
dent in its contrivance. But, alas! when he arrived, he *but proved*
found the islands of *Bourbon* and *France* quite other things *impracti-*
than they had been represented by such as had visited them *cable in the*
some years before. The whole coast of the *Ile of France* *execution.*
was a continued breast-work, a prodigious artillery was pro-

* *Memoire sur l'origine & usage du Café.* * *Tour du*
Monde, par L. G. DE BARBINAIS, tom. iii. p. 135, 136.

† GUYON, BARBINAIS, DU BOIS.

vided for his reception, and as there were no ports capable of receiving his ships, and no possibility of landing men in open boats, to attack fortifications lined with numbers of people, expert in the use of fire-arms, and well supplied, he was obliged, after some cannonading to very little purpose, to pursue his voyage. This likewise gave the French an opportunity of sending a great supply from these islands, of men, artillery, ammunition, provisions, and money, to *Pondicherry*, which made the reduction of that place likewise impracticable⁷. These are facts in which both our accounts and theirs very fully agree; so that there can be nothing plainer than that these islands are of the utmost consequence to the French, and that the success of their *East India* commerce must depend upon their remaining in a prosperous and thriving condition (B). Neither is it at all impossible, that,

by

⁷ See the proof of this in the notes.

(B) The shortest and most authentic account we have of this matter is contained in the admiral's dispatch, dated at *Fort St. David's*, *October 17th*, 1748. which was published by authority, and gives a just view of the state of things at that juncture; so that it may be looked upon as a proper historical supplement to what has been said in the text (25). "On *May* the 18th, the rear-admiral sailed from the *Cape of Good Hope*, with his Majesty's Squadron under his command, and six ships of the *Dutch East India* company, and, after a fatiguing passage, occasioned by a series of contrary winds, very unusual at that season, on *June 23d*, at day break, they made the island of *Mauritius*, having parted from three of the *Dutch* ships in the bad weather, in their passage. Upon sight of the land, the admiral consulted with his captains

" about the most proper passage
 " for the ships to take in going
 " in; and it being determined
 " to run between *Long Island*
 " and the *Gunner's Quoin*, the
 " men of war to lead in line of
 " battle, and the *India* ships
 " to follow them, orders were
 " given accordingly, and the
 " greatest part of the fleet anchored the same night in a place called *Turtle Bay*, between the river of that name and *Tomb* river, about two leagues to the eastward of the harbour, and the rest got in the next day, having been fired at in their passage from two fascine-batteries of about six guns each; but without receiving any damage. At day-light, the enemy began to fire from two other fascine-batteries they had raised on each side of the entrance of the two aforesaid rivers, and they were perceived to be hard at work in the wood fronting where the squadron

by degrees, they may open a commerce to all parts of the Indies, directly from these islands, which are certainly as well situated

“ lay in throwing up intrench-
 “ ments, and raising other bat-
 “ teries, and several large ships
 “ were seen lying in the har-
 “ bour. Hereupon the *Pen-*
 “ *broke*, which was nearer in,
 “ was ordered to fire, and di-
 “ sturb them at their work,
 “ and the *Swallow* sloop was
 “ sent, with Capt. *Lloyd*, of the
 “ *Etham*, the two principal
 “ engineers, and an artillery
 “ officer, to run along the shore,
 “ and reconnoitre the coast, in
 “ order to discover what place
 “ would be most convenient for
 “ landing the troops; who, on
 “ their return, reported, that
 “ the enemy had fired on them
 “ in their passage, from eight
 “ different batteries, as well as
 “ from the forts at the entrance
 “ of the harbour; that a large
 “ ship of two tier of guns lay
 “ with her broadside across the
 “ mouth of the harbour; that
 “ there were thirteen other ships
 “ in the harbour (several of
 “ them large ones), fitted or
 “ sitting for the sea; and
 “ that they thought it imprac-
 “ ticable to land any-where to
 “ the eastward of the harbour,
 “ on account of the thicknes
 “ of the woods, which came
 “ down close to the water-side;
 “ it was therefore judged most
 “ feasible to attempt to land
 “ before the great river to the
 “ westward of the town. So
 “ soon as it was dark, the ma-
 “ jors of the fix line of battle
 “ ships were ordered to go in
 “ the barges, and sound all
 “ along the shore, to try the
 “ depths of water, and see par-
 “ ticularly whether it was prac-
 “ ticable to land at the place
 “ proposed; but they, on their
 “ return, having declared, that
 “ there was a reef of rocks run
 “ all along about twenty yards
 “ from the shore, which made
 “ it impossible for boats to land,
 “ except at the river’s mouth,
 “ right against where the fleet
 “ lay, and at the harbour,
 “ where the channel was not
 “ above one hundred fathoms
 “ wide, and very difficult to
 “ get in, as the wind always
 “ blows right out; this de-
 “ termined the admiral to call
 “ a council of war, composed
 “ of the principal sea and land
 “ officers, to lay before them
 “ these reports, and his in-
 “ structions, so far as they re-
 “ lated to the attack of *Mau-*
 “ *ritius*, and to consult with
 “ them what was best to be
 “ done. It was agreed, as they
 “ were unacquainted with the
 “ strength of the enemy on the
 “ island, to send three ten oar
 “ boats, under the command
 “ of Major *Cuming*, to endea-
 “ vour to surprize and get a
 “ prisoner from the shore;
 “ which was accordingly at-
 “ tempted, but in vain; and
 “ the council being met again
 “ next morning, and it appear-
 “ ing to them, that the reduc-
 “ tion of the island of *Mauri-*
 “ *tius* was not the principal de-
 “ sign of the expedition, and
 “ as there was such a strength
 “ of ships in the harbour, and
 “ the preparations which the
 “ enemy had made all along
 “ the coast, rendered it certain
 “ that the attack must be at-
 “ tended with considerable loss,
 “ they

situated for that purpose as can be wished, ^{as} by a proper attention to the seasons, voyages may be made with great facility and safety from them to the *Persian* and *Arabian* gulf, and even to the streights of *Sonda*, and *China*, without the necessity of touching at any port in the *Indies*, and returns might be made thither in the like manner^a. But it is now time to quit this establishment, which is not properly in but near the *Indies*, and to proceed next to those in the *Arabian* and *Persian* gulfs, which, strictly and accurately speaking, are not in the *Indies* either, and yet, as the trade carried on from them produces nothing that is not carried home to *Europe* on board the *East India* ships, they are generally, and with propriety enough, reputed a part of the *Indies*, amongst all the nations that carry on any trade thither, and as such are included in the charters of all the companies that have been any-where settled for the management of that commerce.

S E C. T. . IX.

An historical Account of the French Commerce at Mocha, Bassora, Surat, on the Coast of Malabar and Coromandel; their Acquisitions in point of Territory, through the Arts and Address of their Governors; the State of Pondicherry resumed, and deduced to the last Siege thereof by the English, under the Command of Admiral Boscawen; with an Account of their Obligations to, and Use they made of, the Indians in that Siege.

The French factory at Mocha, and incidentally of the coffee trade in France.

THE French company in the *Indies* established a factory at *Mocha*, on the coast of *Arabia*, in 1720, for the sake of carrying on the coffee trade, which, about that time, became more considerable than ever, and this they have kept up ever since^a. The other *European* nations have their factories also. But besides the particular concerns of their respective factories, those who are entrusted with the management of

^a *Histoire de grande Île de Madagascar*, par Mons. FLACOUR, p. 4454, 66. ^a *Dictionnaire de Commerce*, tom. i. col. 653.

" they were of opinion, that,
" upon these considerations, no
" attempt should be made at
" this place, but that the squa-
" dron should proceed, with the

" utmost expedition, to, the
" coast of *Coromandel*, so as to
" begin the operations there
" before the moonsons shift."

this trade, are obliged not only to live upon good terms, but also to concert measures together, that they may all purchase coffee at the same price, and not raise its value, by bidding upon each other, which has sometimes happened, when this commodity was scarce, to the no small advantage of the natives, and prejudice of the *Europeans*, who therefore came into this method to prevent it ^b. The valuable article of coffee was, in a great measure, taken from the *East India* company, before the edict of union, by which it was restored to the perpetual company of the *Indies*, and the duty with which it was charged, of ten *French* pence per pound, was valued at a very moderate sum, upon payment of which annually, coffee passed every-where through *France* freely, and without any duty. But, in 1736, the farmers-general of the revenue representing this as a great hardship upon them to the ministry, the composition was declared void, and the duty has been ever since paid; But, by way of indemnification, the sum of fifty thousand livres is paid annually, out of the treasury, to the company of the *Indies* ^c. We have mentioned this circumstance particularly, to shew that there is nothing stable in *France*; and that, notwithstanding the solemnity of edicts, and occasional favours and indulgencies, in order to raise a new, or to revive a declining commerce, the revenue will, sooner or later, obtain a preference; and as the government really does all, so, under one pretence or other, it will never fail to avail itself of all that is done by the *French* in the commerce of the *Indies* (C).

IN

^b *Memoire sur l'Origine et Usage du Caffé.* ^c *Histoire des Indes Orientales*, par GUYON, tom. iii. p. 429.

(C) We are indebted to the judicious and indefatigable Mr. *Dufréne de Francheville* for a most accurate history of all the variations in the management of the coffee trade in *France*, as well as for publishing the edicts, and other authentic papers, relating to this matter; for the reader must observe, that, from being a commodity of small consequence at the beginning of the current century, the trade in coffee, within the first twenty years of this, became a matter of very high importance, in which not only the company, but the revenue, was deeply interested, as well as the merchants of *Marseilles*, and the proprietors of the *French* colonies in the *West Indies*, and more especially in the islands of *Cayenne* and *Martinico* (26). At present, as far as our intelligence reaches, the *French* commerce in coffee stands thus: the company of the *Indies* is at li-

(26) *Histoire de la Compagnie des Indes*, p. 145.

By what
means the
French
established
a regular
correspond-
ence in the
Persian
gulf.

IN respect to the commerce of the *Persian* gulf, no pains have been spared by the *French* ministry to do every thing that was possible for promoting the commerce of the Company. As a proof of this, it may be sufficient to give one instance. The Count de *Maurepas*, while the affairs of trade and the marine were under his care, made choice of one *Mr. Otter*, a *Swedish* gentleman, of calm but determined courage, and of great capacity, who had an inclination to visit the east, and to perfect himself in the knowledge of the oriental tongues, to be the instrument of promoting a correspondence between the *French* in the *Indies* and the subjects of *Persia* and of the Grand Signior^d. This gentleman, being furnished with proper instructions, set out from *Paris* in 1734, and, after remaining some time at *Constantinople*, prosecuted his journey to the court of *Persia*, notwithstanding the troubles that were then in both empires; by which, though he travelled in the train of a *Persian* ambassador, yet he found his life in imminent peril almost in every day's journey. He was able to do little with the *Shah*, whose affairs were so embarrassed, that how much soever he might be inclined thereto, yet he could give but very little attention to matters of this nature. *Mr. Otter* therefore returned into the dominions of the Grand Signior, and, according to the instructions that he had received, neglected nothing that could procure him an interest with *Achmet*, basshaw of *Bagdat*, or *Babylon*, who acted rather as an independent prince, than as a subject of the

^d Eloge de M. OTTER.

erty to import whatever quantities her directors judge expedient, either from *Mocha* or the isle of *Bourbon*. The traders of *Marseilles*, by a special privilege, have the like liberty with respect to the *Levant*, but are obliged to vend whatever coffee they import to the *East India* company, and to that company only, unless they export it (27). The *West India* merchants have likewise free liberty to import coffee from the *French* plantations, which may remain in their magazines a full year, in

order to its being exported, without paying any duties, and the merchants at *Marseilles* may purchase this coffee, and convey it by land to *Genova*, free from all duties (28). But, with respect to the home consumption, which is very great, all sorts of coffee indiscriminately stand charged with the duty of ten livres on each hundred weight; notwithstanding which, the best *Mocha* coffee sells in *France* from fifteen to eighteen French pence per pound (29).

(27) *Histoire des Indes Orientales*, tom. III. p. 429.
Compagnie des Indes, p. 153, 154.
col. 658.

(28) *Histoire de la*
(29) *Dictionnaire de Commerce*, tom. I.

Porte, and who had forced the Grand Signior to put the important city of *Bassorâ*, *Bassora*, or *Basara*, again into his hands, which they had taken from him.

It was this city, which stands upon the famous canal *Mr. Otter* formed from the waters of the rivers *Tygris* and *Euphrates*, *is established* that was the great object of the *French* views. The *English* *blissed*, and *Dutch* had both consuls there; and the former had the liberty of displaying his flag, which the latter had not been able to obtain, though he had offered no less than twenty thousand crowns for that favour. *Mr. Otter* went to this city towards the close of the year 1741, and soon after a *French* ship arrived from the bay of *Bengal*, with a person on board who had the character of consul from the company of the *Indies*, who, though a man of parts and experience, thought his own reception in that quality a thing so little like to take effect, that he intimated to *Mr. Otter* his intention to return, in case any disputes were made about it. But the interest of the latter was so powerful with the bashaw of *Bagdat*, that he procured the necessary instruments for establishing the *French* consulate, with the honour of the flag, not only to the surprize of the other *Europeans*, but also of the bashaw's governor in that city, who had not the least intelligence of the negotiation, till he received his master's orders. This consul dying, *Mr. Otter* himself, in the month of *August* 1742, was appointed by the company, to succeed him, and held it till the year following, that he returned to *France*, soon after which he died (D).

THE

* Voyage en Turquie et en Perse, par Mons. OTTER. tom. ii.
c. 7. † Eloge de M. OTTER.

(D) The account that *Mr. Otter* has given us of his travels is not only entertaining, but, which is of far greater consequence, very instructive. There is nothing that regards the geography, history, antient and present state, of the countries through which he passed, or of the customs, learning, manners, virtues, vices, or tempers, of their inhabitants, in which he does not explain himself with that perspicuity and plainness which chiefly recom-

mend books of this kind to the favour of the candid peruser. Yet, with respect to his negotiations, he is silent in points of the greatest consequence, and never suffers the vanity of magnifying his own abilities to engage him in the discovery of things which it would be improper should come to the ears of strangers. He says, that he went to *Basara*, in order to perfect himself in the knowledge of the *Arabic* language, but principally that he might be useful,

if

The great
advan-
tages de-
rived
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factory, in
respect to
their com-
merce in
the Indies.

THE establishment of this consularship was a thing not only highly honourable, but very serviceable also, to the company of the *Indies*, on account of the great traffic carried on there, and the large demand which there is for almost all sorts of *Indian* commodities, which passed from thence by land, by the way of *Bagdat*, to *Aleppo*. The rich goods and manufactures taken in exchange, are shipped on board the company's vessels, which, according as the director-general in the *Indies* thinks expedient, are either transported from thence to the islands, and at the proper season, to *Europe*, or return into the *Indies*. This trade, carried on either way, is extremely profitable, especially in times of peace; and as it rarely happens that things are in confusion in the *Indies*, and in the Grand Signior's dominions, at a time, so, with proper attention, a market is commonly found for both cargoes, without bringing any part home to *Europe*; and the more there is of this sort of intercourse, the greater gains accrue to the company, and the better returns they are able to make of those goods that are most in demand in *Europe*. But it requires very great talents in those who are intrusted with the management of things at these ports, and at *Basfora* in particular; because, exclusive of their ordinary functions, they are frequently put to very great difficulties, by

if any occasion offered, to the *French* nation (30). An intelligent reader will easily discern, that the first was his pretence, the latter his design. To bring about his intentions with ease, it was necessary to acquire proper acquaintance; and this led him to contract a great intimacy with *Josuf Aga* musellim of *Basra*, from whom he learnt the proper method of applying for an establishment; which, upon the coming of the *French* consul, he practised with such dexterity, as to procure the decisive order for his reception, and for allowing him to display the *French* flag in the same bag, with the answer of *Achmet* bashaw of *Bagdat* to his applica-

tion; which he ascribes intirely to the goodness of that great man, upon which he must have had a pretty strong reliance, since he treated this whole affair without the least participation of his friend the musellim. One need not wonder that *Josuf Aga* was equally surprised and displeased at such a proceeding, neither did he take any pains to conceal it: The *French* agent, however, was so assiduous, and so submissive, in his future application, that, in a short time, he recovered the honest musellim's good graces, drank coffee with him every afternoon, and drew from him many useful pieces of intelligence (31).

(30) *Voyage en Turquie et en Perse*, tom. ii. p. 79. (31) *Distinction de Commerce*, tom. iv. col. 711, 712. *Voyage en Turquie et en Perse*, par M. Omer, tom. ii. p. 85.

the bahaws, and other officers of the Porte, who are continually watching for an opportunity to plunder or oppress them &c. Against this, the best security is a good understanding with the other *European* nations, who, if they act in concert, are generally sure to get the better, whereas want of union becomes prejudicial to them all in their turns; and yet, through national prejudices, incompatibility of interests, or personal jealousies, this so rational and necessary harmony is very rarely of any long continuance¹ (E).

It is now about fourscore years since the *French* established themselves first at *Surat*, where they have only a lodge, or *serent* factory, in the same manner as the *English* and *Dutch*, for which they pay an annual rent to the *Mogul*; but it is very strong notwithstanding, and so well provided with every thing for its defence, as to be in no danger of being easily surprised. Whatever methods they took, certain it is, that the *French*, for many years, were highly considered by the great monarch of the *Indies*; but, upon the declension of their affairs, and through the great debts they contracted with the *Indian* merchants, this was, in a great measure,

What disasters have attended their factory at Surat from its foundation.

¹ Dictionnaire de Commerce, tom. iv. col. 712. ² HAMILTON'S Account of the East Indies, tom. i. p. 81.

(E) The prosperity of every *European* nation in the *Indies* must always depend, in a great measure, upon the capacities of such as have the direction of their several establishments, and in no particular more than this of concerting, when occasion requires, the proper measures to be taken with the other *Europeans*. At the very time that Mr. Otter was here, the inhabitants of *Basra* were so much alarmed by the revolt of the *Arabs*, that some of the richest merchants withdrew, with their effects; and, upon this, all the *European* thought it high time to take some step for their own preservation, and acted therein very wisely. There was an *English* ship in the road, on board of which they all agreed

to send their effects; but as it was necessary to obtain leave for this from the musellim, Mr. Otter was deputed, from all the three nations, to desire it; but the musellim, who by the way was not that gentleman's old friend but a new officer, peremptorily refused, from an apprehension that it would intimidate the inhabitants, and so produce a greater mischief immediately, than that which was apprehended (32). Upon this they changed their measures, and resolved to take a guard of janizaries into each of their factories, and to act in concert, in case they were attacked. But the storm blew over, and consequently it cannot be known how far this resolution would have availed them.

(32) *Voyage en Turquie & en Perse*, tom. ii. p. 149.

lost; and, a little before the establishment of the perpetual company of the *Indes*, they were obliged to go, as to be in danger of having their lodge seized, and those who were in the company's service imprisoned, for the debts they had contracted¹. This state, however, has been gradually wiped off, and the *French* have recovered their credit again, not only with the merchants, but with the *ministers* and *generals* of the *Mogul*, with whom they have commonly a closer understanding than any other *European* nations, for reasons with which we shall acquaint the reader hereafter. Their trade, however, is nothing near so considerable in this city as that of the *English* and the *Dutch*; because, as they have not so many settlements in distant parts of the *Indes*, they cannot have that variety of commodities which is necessary to drive a great traffic, that is, and has been ever since the *Portuguese* lost their power, the principal magazine of all oriental riches, as well as the commodities and manufactures of *Europe*, which are circulated from thence through the whole extent of the *Mogul's* dominions². But, if no new revolutions happen in their affairs, there is little reason to doubt, that they will continue to mend here as well as in other places; so that, in time, they will have a share in that, as well as other branches of commerce. At present they send no ships from hence directly, as in the time of the former *East India* company, who, as the reader has already seen, transferred their chief residence thither from *Madagascar*; which was one of the first false steps they made, and which has been since repaired, by transferring it to *Pondicherry*, from whence, and from their settlements in the bay of *Bengal*, all their returns are now regularly made; and it is from the first of these places that a correspondence is established with *Surat*, in which several ships are employed yearly¹ (F).

UPON

¹ *Histoire des Indes Orientales*, tom. ii. p. 43—46.

² *Dictionnaire de Commerce*, tom. iv. col. 765, 766.

¹ *Histoire des Indes Orientales*, tom. iii. p. 368, 369.

(F) It will be proper to insert in this place, an observation that may deserve the judicious reader's notice, and which perhaps merits his serious consideration. The true reason of that terrible embarrassment into which the *French East India* company's affairs fell at *Surat*,

was the very high interest accumulated on their debts, which raised them to enormous sums in the space of a few years. The great difficulty is to account for this high interest, in a country where there is as much ready money, if not more, than in any with which we are acquainted; since it

has

UPON the coast of Malabar, the French first settled a factory at *Mazou*, which lies about eighteen leagues south of Goa, between the kingdoms of *Malabar* and *Goa*, so that it is difficult to say to which it properly belongs. It is doubtful if they were really subjected to *Kanikal*, which has been considered as a trading station, of which the Dutch took advantage, and deny the pepper trade is that neighbourhood to themselves. They had also some other factories upon the same coast, but have still a considerable trade there; but the memoirs we have of the company of the *Indes* do not furnish us with light sufficient to be so precise in this matter as we could wish. All we can affirm with certainty is, that a large quantity of pepper is a constant article in their sales; which is a proof sufficient of their being in possession of a considerable commerce upon this coast, though, for the reasons before-mentioned, we cannot enter into the particulars. We will therefore pass on to the coast of *Coromandel*, upon which the French have the only considerable places of which they stand possessed in the *Indies*, and which have been very much augmented, since their affairs have been under the management of the new company, and thereby so intimately connected with the government, as to be always considered under the direction of the ministry.

THE first of these is *Karikal*, situated in ten degrees thirty-five minutes of north latitude, and in the longitude of seventy-eight degrees from the meridian of *Paris*, lying four leagues north from the Dutch settlement at *Negapatan*, two leagues

^m Dictionnaire de Commerce, tom. ii. col. 780. ⁿ Histoire des Indes Orientales, par GUYON, tom. iii. p. 380-383, 384.

has been known, that some of the *Banyan* merchants have acquired larger estates than ever were heard of in *Europe*. Yet, on the best security, nine per cent. is the usual interest. We commonly apprehend, that, in proportion to the plenty of specie, the rate of interest decreases, and that high interest is a proof of a country's being poor. If it is in reality the reverse; for immense sums of ready money are to be had, the circulation is continually brisk, and yet in-

crease continues high (33). To solve this knotty problem, we can only suggest, that they have a very extensive and lucrative commerce, and as the profits arising from thence are much superior to any thing that can ever be acquired by trade in *Europe*, those who borrow are enabled to give, and those who are in a condition to lend have weight to expect, better interest. However, without doubt, this is a country capable of furnishing much speculation.

The district of *Karikal* on the coast of *Coromandel*, possessed by them in sovereignty.

south from the *Danish* settlement at *Tranquebar*, and twenty-five leagues south from *Pondicherry*°. This territory, which they possess in full sovereignty, consists of the town before-mentioned, which stands upon the river *Colran*, which, however, is not navigable but for very small vessels; the fortress of *Karcangery*, at the mouth of the river; upon the sea-coast nine or ten villages; and a tract of country fifteen or sixteen miles in extent, very fertile in rice, and producing also cotton and indigo, inhabited by ten or twelve thousand people, who subsist themselves by making piece-goods of several kinds, and from whom the *French* draw a yearly rent of ten thousand pagodas, which is about four thousand five hundred pounds sterling^p. The *French* writers boast, and it may be with truth, that none of the *European* nations settled upon the coast are in possession of so large a tract of country; and therefore the reader may reasonably expect, that we should acquaint him how it came into their hands, and this we shall do, in the most concise manner possible (G).

° *Memoire particulier sur l'Acquisition de Karikal.* ^p *Histoire des Indes Orientales*, tom. iii. p. 271.

(G) The situation, or even the name, of the town of *Karikal*, seldom occurs in any of the common maps of *India*, which makes it necessary to speak of it more particularly. At the time the *French* became possessed of it, there were in it six hundred thirty-eight houses of stone and brick, exclusive of meaner structures, comprehending also five mosques, five large pagods, nine of a lesser size, and upwards of five thousand inhabitants. It stands upon a large navigable stream, which will admit *Indian* vessels of two hundred tons burden and upwards. In some maps this is styled the *River of Karikal*, but in the best, it is made no more than a branch of the *Colerum*, or *Colran*. The fortress of *Karcangery* is seated above half a

mile from the sea, and is about a cannon-shot distant from the town before-mentioned. It was formerly defended by eight large towers, but a great part is demolished by its new masters. *Trionmale Royen Patuam*, after the capital, is the largest and most considerable place in the whole district. It lies to the south of *Karikal*, at the distance of about a league, and a very small space from the sea. It is composed of about five hundred brick houses, four mosques, four great pagoda, twenty-eight smaller, and twenty-five places of accommodation for travellers (34). As to the hamlets and villages mentioned in the text, there is no necessity that we should enter into any farther particulars about them.

THE kingdom of *Tanjour* comprehends the south-east part *Upon the* of the extremity of the peninsula without the *Ganges*; and *deposition* the monarch of this country dying in 1738, left his domi- *of the king* nions to his nephew *Sabagy*, who was soon dispossessed of *Tan-* them by a natural son of his predecessor; upon which he fled *jour, he* to the *French* for refuge, and was kindly received by the *retires to* *Sieur Dumas*, who was at that time governor of *Pondicherry*. *Pondicherry,* In order to obtain succours for the recovery of his kingdom, *and de-* he made a voluntary cession to the *French* of the territory be- *mends suc-* fore-mentioned, in the month of *July* the same year, and two *cours from* of the company's ships were sent to take possession of the *the* places yielded to them, and to furnish the king's subjects who *French.* should take up arms for him, with the succours that had been promised him. In the mean time, *Sabagy* understanding that those who had set his competitor upon the throne, began to be dissatisfied with him, made them secretly such offers, as induced them to seize him, and proclaim their old master; who returned to *Tanjour*, and was received with universal acclamations; and having got the usurper into his hands, ordered him to be immediately cut into four quarters ¹.

THE next thing he did, was to send a detachment of be- *Who, in* tween four and five thousand men, to prevent the *French* from getting possession of the places he had given them; *his virtue of* upon which the two ships were obliged to return back to *his conces-* *Pondicherry*. *Sabagy*, however, pretended, that, at a con- *cession, become* venient time, he would fulfil his treaty, but that, being en- *possessed of* gaged in a war with the Nabob *Sander Sabeh*, the *Mogul's* general in the adjacent provinces, it was not convenient for him to do it then. *Sander Sabeh* having notice of this, and *this di-* having received great civilities from the *Sieur Dumas*, offered *strict,* him his assistance; which being readily accepted, he sent a *which he* body of troops upon the coast, who made themselves masters *after-* of the fortress by storm, and put it into the hands of the *wards* *French*, *February* the 14th, 1739¹. The King of *Tanjour* was no sooner informed of this, than he sent an agent of his to the *Sieur Dumas*, to acquaint him, that he need not have had recourse to this method, and to throw the blame of what was passed upon the *Dutch*. The better to prove the reality of his professions, he sent by the same person two in- *confirms.* struments, dated *April* the 20th, 1739, one of which contained a ratification of his former treaty, and the other an order to the inhabitants of the district he had yielded up, to acknowledge and obey the *French* for the future as their so-

¹ *Memoire particulier sur l'Acquisition de Karical.* • *Histoire des Indes Orientales*, tom. iii. p. 267, 268, 269.

vereigns *. In a very short time after this, followed a new revolution; for the uncles of *Sahagy*, disliking his conduct, deposed, and caused him to be strangled in a bath of warm milk, and set upon the throne one of his cousins, whose name was *Rajah Singue*. This new prince, not knowing how soon he might have occasion for their assistance, not only ratified his predecessor's treaty with the *French*, but also added some farther concessions, advised the *Sieur Dumas* to fortify the places he had given him, and had an interview with him there, in the beginning of the year 1741; ever since which, the *French* have continued in quiet and peaceable possession †.

History of Pondicherry continued, with the detail of several favours granted by the Great Mogul. THE next settlement on the coast of *Coromandel* is that of *Pondicherry*, which having already described, we shall here add only some particulars that have happened since the erecting of the company of the *Indies*. In the year 1736, which was the second year the *Sieur Dumas* had possessed the government, he obtained from the *Mogul*, *Mahomet Shah*, the same who was deposed by *Kouli Khan*, the privilege of coining money, that is, of striking rupees, with the style of that monarch on one side, and the name of the place on the other †. The rupee is a coin of the value of forty-eight *French* pence, which makes between two and three shillings of our money. Of these the governor coined five or six millions every year; and, as these were of the *Mogul's* standard, the company gained by that means about four hundred thousand livres annually, by the coinage; which was a very considerable article, and shews with how great address the *French* act, in procuring funds for the support of their establishments, in the very country where they are made, and at the expence of those amongst whom they inhabit †. But it was not long before the same governor procured still higher marks of distinction, and far greater advantages for his successors in that government, and for the *French* nation, by his prudent management in a war that threatened destruction to all the provinces adjacent, and of which, so far as it is connected with the business of this chapter, we shall give a succinct relation (H).

S E C T.

* *Mémoire particulier sur l'Acquisition de Karikal.* † *Histoire des Indes Orientales*, tom. iii. p. 271. † *Archives de la Compagnie des Indes*, n. 161. c. 83. l. 1. † *Histoire des Indes Orientales*, tom. iii. p. 257.

(H) This article of coinage, quence, deserves a more particular explanation. They coin at

S E C T. X.

The History of the Rise of the Indian War; the Conduct of Mr. Du Pleix in that respect; the Measures made use of by him, to avail himself of these Disputes; Favours procured from the Mogul; and the solemn Installation of Du Pleix, as a Nabob, at Ougli. With other Particulars necessary to set the French Indian Scheme of Policy in its proper Light.

AT the time that Kouli Khân dethroned the Great Mogul, Rise of the and made him prisoner in his own capital, the viceroys of the Indies, of that unfortunate monarch, though they would not draw a sword, or stir a step, in his favour, were strong enough to think

which has produced extraordinary consequences in respect to this company.

at Pondicherry both gold and silver, and of all the denominations current in the dominions of the Great Mogul (35). Of these, the *pagoda* is of gold, and of an odd figure, resembling a button, with some grains on the flat part, and the form of an idol on the convex surface, from whence it receives its name; in weight they are 2 dwt. 4 gr. 27½ mt. and the gold so fine, that they are generally esteemed worth nine shillings of our money. The *roupie*, as the French write it, *roupee*, or *rupre*, as it is spelt in our authors, is a silver coin, something broader than one of our shillings, and much thicker; in point of fineness, it is better than the English standard; for its weight is 7 dwt. 11 gr. which, reduced to our standard, would be 7 dwt. 22 gr. 13 mt. $\frac{3}{4}$ $\frac{1}{4}$ $\frac{1}{4}$. Three hundred twenty-six rупees are equal to one hundred pagoda's, both being of pro-

per fineness and weight (36). *Fanons*, or, as our authors style them, *fanhams*, are small pieces of silver, which, the French writers say, are accounted twenty-four to the pagoda, and seven and a half to the rupee; according to our writers, there are six-and thirty to the pagoda, and sometimes more. *Cash* is a kind of copper coin, of which there go about four-score to a fanham; but, in keeping accounts, they make use of imaginary cash, that are supposed to be sixty to the fanham, to prevent confusion (37). Our own nation at Fort St. George had the like privilege, and gained the same advantages, the coin being of the same fineness, and bearing the same inscriptions; viz. on one side of the rupee, such a year of the glorious reign of Mahommed Shâh; and on the other, this rupee was coined at Arcatte, both establishments being under

(35) *Histoire des Indes Orientales*, tom. iii. p. 256, 257.

Account of the Trade in India, p. 7, 8—29. tom. iii. p. 260, 261. Lockyer's *Account of the Trade in India*, p. 7.

(36) Lockyer's

(37) *Histoire des Indes Orientales*,

think of conquering countries, from the *Indian* princes, with intent to erect them into principalities for themselves and their children. *Daoust Aly Khán*, nabob of *Arcatte*, a province upon which both the *French* settlement at *Pondicherry* and the *English* at *Madraſs* depend, was of the number of these ambitious viceroys; and, in order to carry his designs into execution, he assembled an army of between fifty and sixty sixty thousand men, with which he reduced several *Indian* princes, and pushed his conquests to the other side of the peninsula, with a view of reducing several districts on the coast of *Malabar* *. The *Indian* princes, in this distress, applied themselves for assistance to the king of the *Marattes*, a potent, numerous, and warlike nation, inhabiting the country to the south-east of the mountains behind *Goa*, upon the coast of *Malabar*. That king, who was persuaded by his priests to consider this as a religious war made by the *Mahometans*, with an intent to extirpate the Gentiles, ordered his son to march with an army of sixty thousand horse, and one hundred thousand foot, to the relief of the distressed princes of his own religion. This happened in the month of *October* 1739, and that young hero, before the close of the year, attacked and defeated the nabob's army, himself being killed on the spot. His son and son-in-law, to make princes of whom this fatal expedition was undertaken, were at a distance, each at the head of a small army, and his widow, with the rest of the family, and all his riches, were obliged to take refuge at *Pondicherry*, and to demand the protection of the *Sieur Dumas*, who, with the advice of his council, received her, and all her retinue, into the place, to which also multitudes of people repaired, from all the adjacent countries †.

The widow and

THE prince of the *Marattes* did not fail to demand them, all that they had, and a vast sum of money besides, from the

* Archives de la Compagnie des Indes, n. 161. c. 83. l. 1. f. 3, avec un Memoire particulier. † Histoire des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 281, 282, 283.

the jurisdiction of the nabob of that province; but, for the sake of distinction, there is a half-moon on that of *Pondicherry*, and a star on the *Madraſs* rupees (38). The profit of the *English* coinage was computed at an half per cent. for gold, and two per cent. for silver, and was thought to produce about one thousand pagoda's a month (39).

(38) Histoire des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 260.

(39) Lachy's Ac-

count of the Trade in India. p. 29.

governor of *Pondicherry*, which place he threatened to besiege, ^{family of} and, tho' the *French* highly magnify his courage, in presum- ^{the Mo-} ing to defend himself against such a force, yet if we consider- ^{gul's na-} that he was in a place regularly fortified, well supplied with ^{bob re-} provisions, with a garrison of between six and seven thou- ^{ceived into} sand men, and between four or five hundred pieces of can- ^{Pondi-} non mounted, we cannot conceive that he was in any great ^{cherry,} danger of being distressed. The *Marattes* continued in the ^{and pro-} field all the year 1740, and till the month of *April* 1741; ^{tested} against the *Marattes*. and, having plundered every place within their reach, and *Marattes* tried, without success, what menaces would do with the Governor of *Pondicherry*, they at last accepted a small present and retired; and thus ended this war which strongly recommended the *French* to the favour of the *Mogul* and his ministers, who thought they could never do enough to express their esteem for the *Sieur Dumas*, and their kindness for the nation * (I).

In the first place *Nizam El Mouk*, prime minister to the *Compli-* *Mogul*, wrote the *Sieur Dumas* a very respectful letter of ^{ments paid} thanks, with an ample acknowledgment of his services, and ^{to the} sent him also a vest of honour, which is the usual present upon ^{French} such occasions. Afterwards *Pabder Aly Khan*, the son of the ^{by the mo-} deceased nabob, came in person to *Pondicherry* as well to ^{narch of} thank the governor as to comfort his mother. The *Sieur* ^{Indoſtan,} *Dumas* received him with all possible marks of honour, and ^{and his mi-} offered him very considerable presents, as is the mode in the ^{generals.}

* Archives de la Compagnie des Indes, num. 114. c. 88. lib. f. 4.

(I) The facts related in the text are taken indeed on the authority of the *French*, and differ very considerably from those accounts which have been transmitted to *England* directly from the *Indies*. It is therefore equally just and reasonable that we should acquaint the reader with the motives upon which this preference is founded, and these are chiefly three. The first is, that the *French* accounts are uniform, perspicuous and consistent, which make them more likely to be true. In the next place, the original papers, such

as letters, grants, and patents, are actually deposited amongst the archives of the *French* company of the *Indies*. Lastly, certain notorious matters of fact, about which there neither is nor can be any dispute, correspond very well with the *French* accounts, whereas they do not all agree with others. On the whole, therefore, tho' there may be some marks of vanity and exaggeration, yet the truth seems to be evidently on this side, and our business is to keep to that on which side soever it lies.

East, of which he received only a pair of gilt vessels for holding rose-water, and in return sent the governor a very fine elephant with rich trappings. Sometime after this visit, as a more significant mark of the respect he had of the respect paid to his family in the time of their distress, he made a cession to the *Sieur Dumas* personally of three districts in the neighbourhood of *Pondicherry*, of the value in the whole of above one thousand pounds sterling, *per annum*; a year after he sent the *Sieur Dumas* all the armour of the deceased nabob his father, richly adorned with gold and precious stones^a. The *Mogul*, having been informed of the cession made by the nabob in favour of the *French* governor, was so far from being displeased thereat, that he confirmed it by his letters patents, and at the same time declared the *Sieur Dumas* himself a nabob, and in that quality gave him the command of four thousand five hundred horse. As all these testimonies of kindness were personal, the governor exerted all his interest to procure them to be transferred to his office, that so they might pass to his successor, which he obtained, and in the month of *October* 1741, upon the arrival of his successor *Mr. du Plaix*, as soon as he had put him in possession of the *French* town and fortifications, he declared him likewise the *Mogul's* nabob, and caused him to be acknowledged as such by the body of four thousand five hundred horse, of which he was to have the command, so that he was as much established in the rights of his *Indian* as his *French* post^b (K).

SOME

^a *Histoire des Indes Orientales*, par GUYON, tom. iii. p. 348, 349, 350. ^b *Archives de la Compagnie des Indes* Cotte, C. & D.

(K) These are in themselves very extraordinary and very important facts; facts that are of the utmost consequence to be well known here, notwithstanding which, they are facts with which the generality of the world are but very little acquainted. We might cite, in support of them the letters, paravanas, and firmans, mentioned in the text, the originals of which are preserved in the archives of the company of the

Indies; but these would take up too much room. We will therefore, for the reader's satisfaction, give him an authentic abridgment of their contents under the great seal of *France*, being the preamble of the letters patents of the *French* king, dated *September* 4th, 1742, which runs thus (40). "The king having resolved to honour, with the cross of *St. Michael*, his dear and well beloved *Sieur Benedict Dumas*, for-

(40) *Extrait de Lettres Patentes du Roi du 4 Septembre 1742, qui confirment la noblesse du Sieur Dumas.*

merly

SOME short time after Mr. *du Pleix* had assumed the go-
vernment, he went to *Bengal* in order to be received there, *Pleix*, go-
pursuant to the orders of the *Mogul*, with the honours due *vernor of*
to his dignity, and, having put himself at the head of the *Pondi-*
cavalry *cherry,*
infalled at

“merly governor in the *East In-*
“*des* and of *Pondicherry*, and
“at present director of the
“company of the *Indies*, de-
“clares, that it is in consider-
“ation of his having for the
“space of thirty years given
“continual and distinguished
“marks of his zeal for the ser-
“vice of his majesty, and for ex-
“tending the commerce of this
“kingdom. Having taken his
“passage to the *Indies* in 1713,
“in the service of the company,
“being then no more than se-
“venteen years of age, he was
“promoted to the rank of coun-
“sellor in the supreme council
“of *Pondicherry*, June 22d,
“1718, and appointed attorney-
“general in the month of *June*
“1721. Being named to a ge-
“neral government of the *In-*
“*des*, he had the post assigned
“him of director-general of
“the company in the *Indies*,
“in the *Isle of France*, and of
“*Bourbon*; was afterwards
“made president of the supe-
“rior council, and then go-
“vernor of those islands. In
“1735 he was declared gover-
“nor of the town and fortress
“of *Pondicherry*, and com-
“mandant-general of all the
“*French* forts and establish-
“ments situated in the *East In-*
“*des*. In 1737 he obtained
“from the *Mogul* permission to
“coin rupees at *Pondicherry*,
“from which the company re-
“ceives an annual profit of
“four hundred thousand livres,
“which important services de-
“termined his majesty to en-
“noble him in 1737, and to
“associate him into the order
“of St. *Michael*. His subse-
“quent conduct fully justified
“the recompences bestowed up-
“on him, since he obtained
“in free gift from the king of
“*Tanjour*, in 1739, the fort of
“*Karcangery* and town of *Ke-*
“*rcial*, with their dependen-
“cies at present, let to farm
“for one hundred thousand li-
“vres per annum. In 1740,
“the *Marattes* having attacked
“and defeated the army of the
“*Moors*, and having killed the
“viceroy of *Carnatte*, the *Sieur*
“*Dumas* found himself under a
“necessity of giving a retreat to
“the family of that viceroy,
“and the remains of his ar-
“my, in *Pondicherry*. The
“*Marattes* upon this, having
“made the dispositions neces-
“sary for besieging that for-
“tress, the governor by a ne-
“gotiation, which did honour
“to the *French* nation, not on-
“ly dissuaded them from that
“design, but determined them
“to send an ambassador with
“presents to demand the friend-
“ship of the *French*. It was
“in acknowledgment of all
“these services that the *Mogul*
“emperor *Mohammed Shah*,
“honoured to perpetuity the
“governor of *Pondicherry* with
“a patent of *Manfouddar*, or
“commandant of five thousand
“horse, and confirmed the do-
“nation which the viceroy of
“*Arcaite* had made to the *Sieur*
“*Dumas*

Ougli one
of the Mo-
gul's na-
bobs.

cavalry belonging to him, as nabob, he made his public entry, preceded by several flags displayed, together with kettle-drums of an enormous size, trumpets, hautboys, and other martial music, the *Mogul's* standard and kettle-drums being carried each upon an elephant. When the ceremony was over, he went to pay the *salami*, or salute of respect, to the governor of *Ougli*, which the governor declined, Mr. *du Pleix's* post, in the *Mogul's* service, being of a rank much superior to his. As persons of this dignity have their standards, flags, and music, posted at certain hours before the place of their residence, so Mr. *du Pleix* gave orders for erecting such a one at the gate of *Valdaour*, which is the principal entrance into *Pondicherry*. It is scarce to be conceived how many and how great advantages attend this connection, which the *French* governors of *Pondicherry* have with the court of the *Mogul*; which are altogether extraordinary, nothing of the like nature having of late been bestowed upon *Europeans*, and of which there is no doubt they will make all possible advantages, as well by extending their territory, already become very considerable, as by procuring such grants and concessions as may be useful to their commerce^d. It appears to be a great testimony of public spirit that these governors are so careful^c to procure these new honours to be attached to their office rather than to their persons; but a little reflection will shew us that they are also marks of prudence, for it is only there that they can enjoy these honours, but the rewards for procuring them must be found at home; and, to render these considerable, a wiser step could not be taken than to render those perpetual; so that, in reality, it is not a sacrifice of interest, but of vanity, which will cost a man of good sense and experience, as their actions shew these governors to have been, little or nothing (L).

IT

^c Histoire des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 306. ^d Archives de la Compagnie des Indes, Cotte D.

" *Dumas* of lands to the value
" of twenty five thousand livres
" *per annum*, contiguous to the
" possessions of the company at
" *Pondicherry*. In consequence
" of the recited premises, his
" Majesty commands the Mar-
" shal Duke de *Duras*," &c.

(L) In the empire of *Indos-
tan* they have not, strictly

speaking, any hereditary ho-
nours, tho' sometimes, and more
especially of late years, persons
in great offices find means to
establish them in their families.
The general title in the *Mogul's*
service, which still affects a mi-
litary form, tho' the spirit is
much declined, is *Mansupdar*,
(so it ought to be writ) which
signifies

It was this *Sieur du Pleix* who defended *Pondicherry* against Admiral *Boscawen*, of which, as the *English* were the aggressors, an account is already given in its proper place; we shall add here therefore only a very few particulars: The governor had an early account of the design, which gave him an opportunity of raising and strengthening the fort of *Ariacouban*, as well as forming lines and redoubts, which kept danger at a distance till the *English* regular troops were fatigued, the sailors discouraged, and their country auxiliaries totally dispirited. He had, as we have observed before, a timely supply from the islands, of men, money, and ammunition, by which his garrison was augmented to two thousand Europeans, besides three thousand of the natives well armed, thoroughly disciplined; and who, as the relation published by Mr. *du Pleix* acknowledges, did very great service*. These circumstances, together with the inexpressible advantage he had in point of artillery well conducted and well served, and the *English* fleet not being able to come near enough to cannonade the place with any great effect, makes his success in the defence not at all surprizing. But at the same time this does not at all lessen either the merit of his service, which was very conspicuous as well in the prudent dispositions he made during the siege, as in the proper precautions taken before it, or diminish the credit that must have resulted from defeating a design, which, if it had been car-

The fortress of Pondicherry besieged without effect, by the English fleet and army.

* *Mercure Francois.*

signifies a commandant of horse; and those who are honoured with it are called *Omrabs*, the common stile of nobility in the court of the *Mogul* (41). But there is a wide difference between the *Omrabs*, arising from their *Manfoudars*. In the language of this country, a corps of one thousand horse is called *Azary*, and the *Manfoudar* consists of any number of *Azarys*: from two to six. There are indeed *Manfoudars* of ten *Azarys*, but these are never given but to princes of the blood (42). The *Manfoudar* annexed to the

government of *Pondicherry* is of four *Azarys* and a half, and the sum assigned for their subsistence being considerably more than is necessary for that purpose, the *Omrab* puts the rest in his pocket; the kettle-drums and trumpets belong to this military honour (43). The title of *Nabob* respects the civil administration, and is equivalent to that of governor, or viceroy of a province; to this dignity belong the elephants, and other ensigns of authority which have been mentioned in the text.

(41) *Tavernier, Bernier, and Frazer's excellent Account of the Expedition of Kooli Khan.*

(42) *Histoire des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 433, 434.*

(43) *Tavernier, Bernier, Frazer.*

ried into execution, would have given such a blow to the company of the *Indies* as could not have been hastily repaired, in which a very considerable force was employed; and the expectations from which, in *Europe*, were very great, and the disappointment consequently none of the least (M). As we have deduced the history of this place as low as the nature of this work requires, we shall now proceed to the few *French* settlements that still require our attention.

† See the Relation published by authority in the London Gazette.

(M) In another part of this work some remarks are made upon the conduct of this gentleman, which shew that he was not altogether without his failings; that the force by which he baffled the *English* troops and seamen at *Pondicherry*, was derived to him from the islands of *France* and *Bourbon*, under the command of Monsieur de la *Bourdenay*, and that his attachment to the interest of the *Mogul* carried him to certain lengths, which might very probably be disliked at home (44). But as to the point before us, which is the defence of *Pondicherry*, there is no doubt that this was very well managed, and contributed not a little to keep up that high reputation, which, by a series of fortunate incidents his nation had raised in the *Indies*, and to which he has added

very considerably since (45). Yet for all this, we may discover through different parts of his conduct, and of the animadversions that have been made upon it, how very possible it is that this connexion, or rather conjunction, may turn to the prejudice of the company of the *Indies*, if not very skilfully and cautiously managed. It is there as it is in *Europe*, Force is frequently stiled *Right*, and it depends rather on the sagacity of the head than the uprightness of the heart, whether a stranger who draws his sword in the civil wars amongst the *Moor*, shall escape the punishment of rebellion; a crime always imputed to the unfortunate, tho' perhaps their conscience taught them they were fighting against it (46).

(44) *Memoire de la Bourdenay*, tom. i. p. 314.
Paris du 24 Otober, 1750.

(45) *Gazette de*
Memoire de Monsieur de la Bourdenay.

S E C T. XL.

Account of the remaining Part of the French Commerce in the East Indies; their Intercourse with China; the Plan of their Domestic Management; a View of the grand Establishment at Port L'Orient; the amazing Assurances given them by the Ministers, in compleating and maintaining that Establishment; and the Conclusion of this Subject.

THE famous city or town of *Masulipatan* situated on the mouth of the river *Crisna*, and which by its commodious port has attracted all the European nations to settle factories therein, belonged formerly to the kings of *Golconda*, as has been before-mentioned, but is at present in the hands of the *Mogul*. We have said so much already of this celebrated mart, justly reputed the most considerable upon the coast of *Coromandel*, that we shall confine ourselves here solely to what regards the *French* nation. Their trade flourished exceedingly when first settled, but was disturbed by Mr. *de la Hay*'s expedition, and his seizing the city of *St. Thomas*, which produced a war with the king of *Golconda*, by whom it was at last retaken, by the assistance of the *Dutch* ². Their friendship on this occasion gave them a vast ascendancy in trade, and the *French* made afterwards but a small figure till within these few years. But the company is in good credit there at present, and has her share in the great dealings that are carried on in almost all the commodities and manufactures of the *Indies*; and particularly in the fine cottons, which are so much and so justly esteemed preferable to all others. It is from hence the *Jesuits* are suspected to find their way to the diamond-mines, of which there are many extraordinary stories told, which however deserve more authentic support than they have hitherto received before they meet with entire credit ^a (N). Some of the *French* relations speak of the heat here

Vicissitudes attending commerce at Masulipatan, and the fleets it is now in there.

as

² *Histoire des Indes Orientales*, tom. ii. p. 121.

^a *Miscellanea Curiosa*, tom. iii. p. 238.

(N) There is, generally speaking such an air of prejudice, and at the same time the facts are so strange, that the enemies of these reverend fathers relate, as to give a candid and impartial reader sufficient reason to doubt whether he shall yield belief

as most intolerable, and equal to what is felt at *Gambra*, and add, that the overflowing of the rivers in the rainy season rendered travelling impracticable, their residence there very uncomfortable, and the climate very unwholesome; but, at the same time they ought to add, that, to these annual inundations the country of *Golconda* derives a fertility equal to that which *Egypt* receives from the same cause ¹.

Commerce
of the
French at
Ougli,
and thro'
the rich
and exten-
sive coun-
try of the
Mogul.

OUGLI, on the west bank of the *Ganges*, at the distance of twenty leagues from the sea, is the great mart of the bay of *Bengal*, and we may from hence form some idea of the vast advantages which the dominions of the *Mogul* receive from the *European* commerce; since this port belongs also to that monarch, as well as *Surat*, which is almost at the other end of the *Indies*. The *French* have a very flourishing factory here, under the inspection of a director-general, and other officers, as at *Pondichery*; receive, generally speaking, the same number of ships from *Europe*, and make the like returns thither ². It is from hence that they drive a trade with *Siam*, *Cambodia*, *Cochin-China*, and other countries situated in the peninsula without the *Ganges*, which is, properly speaking, the country-trade. All sorts of rich commodities and valuable manufactures are common here, and thereby afford them an opportunity of making proper assortments for the cargoes of

¹ *Histoire des Indes Orientales*, tom. ii. p. 121. ² *Dictionnaire de Commerce*, tom. ii. col. 798.

belief to all, or even to a great part of what they say. But, notwithstanding this, there are some facts that come attended with unanswerable evidence; such as the seizing of the Jesuits at the diamond-mines, in the habits of *Faquir*, by the information of the *Dutch*, almost one hundred years ago; which is a fact publicly known (47), and must, if their design had been absolutely free from blame, have cured them of this strange humour of quitting their own to wear the habits of heathen priests, under the colour of facilitating conversions, with

which they were then infected, and to which they have ever since, in spite of all the scandal with which it was attended, pertinaciously adhered. A modern writer, an ecclesiastic of their own church, charged them with something worse than this, with respect to a rich *Indian* broker whom they persecuted to an ignominious death upon false informations, as appeared by the *French* court's causing his relations to be ennobled, who were at the trouble to go and seek justice as far as *Versailles* (48).

(47) *Besnage Annales des Provinces Unies*, tom. i. p. 624.

(48) *Memoires Historiques sur les Missions des Malabar*, par P. Norbert, vol. ii. p. 332.

their homeward-bound ships. The diamond mines of *Soumelpour* are seated in the northern part of this kingdom, and are of a very different kind from those of *Galconda*, for they are dug out of the earth; whereas here they are found in the sand of the river *Gauat*, and that through its whole course from the mountains down to *Soumelpour*, that is, for fifty leagues together¹. The proper season for searching for them is in the month of *February*, when the waters are low; and, at that time, above ten thousand people are employed in digging and washing the mud and sand taken out of the river. The stones found here are very fine but very small; and those which the *French* stile *pointes nâles*, or *clean sparks*, are brought from thence. It is judged from these circumstances, that there are very rich mines in the mountains, but they are inaccessible, and therefore both the natives and *Europeans* are forced to content themselves with these pieces that are torn off by the torrents, and are brought down with the land-floods. The company of the *Indies* have also a factory at *Pepeli*, and perhaps some other small ones under the direction of that at *Ougli*, where they have likewise an opportunity of dealing with merchants from all parts of *Asia*; such as *Persians*, *Arabians*, *Guzurats*, *Malabarians*, *Turks*, *Moors*, *Jews*, *Georgians* and *Armenians*; so that it is here they dispose of the greatest part of their *European* goods and manufactures, and at a better rate than in other parts of the *Indies*^m (O).

THE

¹ LULLIER *Voiage aux GrandesIndes*, p. 47. ^m TAVERNIER, LULLIER, GUYON, &c.

(O) We need not wonder that here, as well as at *Surat*, the *French* draw to themselves a great trade, since they have a wonderful facility of accommodating themselves to the manners of the *Oriental*s as well as all other nations. In consequence of this disposition, they enter into such intimacies with them, by their suppleance and address, make themselves such favourites, that they obtain earlier intelligence, and are treated with more confidence than other nations, who have a contempt for this manner of acting, and think it injurious to the honour of their countries. But, in extenuation of this, it must be allowed that the *English* and *Dutch* are better established, and, having been much longer in possession of this commerce, carry it on in a more regular manner, and with a greater air of dignity and distinction; so that it is to balance this, as well as to supply some other defects, that the *French* apply themselves so assiduously to the *Moors* and other *Mahometan* traders; and it is visible enough, from the progress they have made of late, that, notwithstanding all the objections to which this method

The
French
send annu-
ally ships
to China;
the nature
of that
commerce,
and their
accounts of
it.

THE French company of the *Indies* send their ships regu-
larly for *China*, in the same manner as the rest of the Euro-
pean nations, and carry on a considerable commerce there.
Their cargoes consist partly of commodities, but chiefly in
silver; the former seldom amounting in value to above a
tenth part of the latter ^a. As to the merchandize, it consists
of arms, such as fusils, pistols, scymitars richly mounted,
clocks, repeating watches, and toys in gold and silver; cam-
blets of several colours, but chiefly blue, scarlet, and cinna-
mon, stuffs of several kinds; tapestry, paper and pens, ma-
thematical instruments, and a great quantity of glass and crys-
tal wares; as also several sorts of distilled and perfumed wa-
ters, and red coral ^o. With the first ships, the company sent
an agent, with an intention that he should have resided at *Can-
ton*, for which, with little difficulty, they obtained a permis-
sion; but he found himself so uneasy there, and plagued with
so many demands, that he was obliged to send away the
homeward bound ship without leave, and to take shelter in
a *Chinese* habit in a convent of *Dominicans* ^p. Many French
vessels have made the run from *Peru* to *China* with success,
and have traded, some at the port of *Amoy*, but without much
profit; most of them at *Canton* with better fortune ^q. The
French have been desirous of intriguing in that country, as
well as in the dominions of the *Great Mogul*, but hitherto
without effect; for the *Chinese* are so subtle and so suspici-
ous, more especially of foreigners, that it is very improbable
they will ever be able to make any impression there ^r.
All the *Europeans* who have visited that country agree that,
as traders, the *Chinese* are as great cheats as any in the world;
but none give them a worse character in all respects than the
French, who represent them as a base, brutal, cowardly, in-
solute, and perfidious people, notwithstanding the fine stories
that are told by the missionaries, of their wisdom virtue and

^a Dictionnaire de Commerce, tom. iv. col. 839. ^o Façture
generale des Marchandises envoyes a la Chine, &c. ^p Re-
cueil de Voyages au Nord, tom. viii. p. 273. ^q Nouveau Tour
du Monde, par L. G. DE LA BARBINAIS, tom. i. p. 251. ^r Dic-
tionnaire de Commerce, tom. iv. col. 834.

thod is liable, it is, nevertheless, policy that have been adopted
very successful, as well as re- by the governors and directors
conciliable to those maxims of general at Pondicherry (49).

politeness (P). It does not appear that the French have yet attempted any intercourse with the *Manillans*, and therefore all we have to say of their commerce in the *East* ends here.

BUT, before we conclude this section, it is necessary to say something of that extraordinary establishment, which, from the favour of the crown, and for the use of her provinces, the perpetual company of the *Indies* enjoy in France. The ministry considered that, for the commodious carrying on of this commerce, it would be necessary for the company to have a port for the reception of her ships, docks, yards, magazines, and arsenals for constructing, equipping and re-

The noble ment of an haven, maga-zines, rubarfs, &c. at Port L'Orient.

(P) We have a large account of *China*, its produce and commerce, and of the genius, manners, and behaviour of the natives, in the letters of Mr. *Le Gentil de la Barinais*, who made a voyage thither from the coasts of *Bretagne* in the year 1716, but did not publish his account of it till eight years after; his dedication to the Count *de Morville* then secretary of state, being dated at *Rome* the 10th of *July*, 1724. In those letters there are abundance of curious things, and the conduct of the *Chinese* is laid open with such an air of freedom and truth, that one cannot help believing the author meant to paint them as they appeared to him, not to deceive others, or to gratify his resentment. He very candidly acknowledges, that the nation in general are patient, frugal, and industrious; that their country is every where improved to the utmost; the endeavours of nature assisted where it is requisite, and her defects supplied by labour and art: but then he describes them as full of flattery, hypocrisy and deceit; profuse in promises without any view of

performing them; accustomed to fraud, and so adroit in base practices, and so inexhaustible in their fund of artifices, that it is extremely difficult, if not impossible to prevent being dupes to them in dealing. He particularly observes that, with great dexterity they delay as much as possible, in order to take advantage of that hurry which the near approach of their departure must occasion; and he instances their bringing them a great quantity of raw silk, so moist as to weigh a third part less on their return to *Europe*, and then offering to stay till it was dry, which would have taken up at least two months when they could scarce afford so many days (50). He expatiates on the avarice, injustice, and prevarication, conspicuous in their magistrates and the officers of their revenue; and, in short, shews them in much the same light in which they are represented by the most judicious writers of our own nation, and who have written from their own knowledge and experience (51).

(50) *Nouveau Tour du Monde*, par L. G. de la Barinais, tom. ii. p. 197.
(51) *Dampier*, *Lockyer*, *Walter's Account of Commodore Anjou's Voyage*.

pairing them, as well as warehouses for the reception of merchandize; and, to accommodate them as well as possible in all these respects, no place was thought so proper as *Port-Louis* in *Bretagne* *. This is a very spacious, safe, and convenient harbour, at the mouth of the river *Blavet*, capable of receiving large ships, which may safely pass to the bottom of the bay. Yet, notwithstanding all these advantages, it was very little frequented by vessels of any sort, and hardly ever by any thing better than fishing-vessels; so that, bestowing it upon the *East India* company was no detriment to the trade of the kingdom †. It was granted by the king's declaration, dated in the month of *June* 1686, purporting that his majesty gave and granted unto the company the village called *Feandick*, and several others seated on the rivers *Henneban* and *Ponfot*, with whatever void, waste, and unoccupied places belonged to the crown thereabouts, to be disposed of in such a manner, as they should think most convenient for their intended establishment; and in this they had the full property and seignory, without any rents, service or restrictions, save, only, rendering homage upon every change of the crown ‡. Here therefore the *East India* company fixed the center of their commerce in *France*, and spent a great deal of money in making docks and yards, and other conveniencies, bestowing upon it the pompous name of *PORT L'ORIENT*; and, in time of war, the king caused several large ships to be built and launched there, without any interruption to the company's affairs, which were then upon the decline * (Q).

BUT

* *Histoire de la Compagnie des Indes*, p. 68. † *Nouvelle Description de la France*, tom. iv. p. 342. ‡ *Declaration pour l'Etablissement la Compagnie des Indes Orientales au Port Louis*. * *Dictionnaire de Commerce*, tom. iv. col. 220.

(Q) This royal grant of a most capacious and commodious port, was one of the warlike, and none of the least considerable favours obtained for the company from the crown, by the interposition of Mr. *Colbert*, who foresaw the advantages that might result from it (52), and to whose sagacity all the improvements that have been hitherto made, or that shall be hereafter made, ought in justice to be ascribed. If we consider it only in the relation it bears to the nature and design of this commercial establishment, we must allow it to be an advantage which the *French* company of the *Indies*

(52) *Declaration pour l'Etablissement de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales au Port Louis*.

enjoyed

BUT this, coming with the rest of the effects and possessions of the *East India* company upon the same terms, and on the like trust into the hands of the perpetual company of the *Indies*, they have made it quite another thing than it was, and have rendered it in all respects worthy the title given it by their predecessors². The park, which is of a considerable extent, encloses their warehouses and magazines, which are prodigiously large, very conveniently disposed, thoroughly well built, strongly vaulted and covered with blue slate; the apartments of the directors and other officers of the company, compose altogether two handsome piles of building, and are very commodious; they have likewise a

² *Histoire des Indes Orientales*, tom. iii. p. 151—375.

enjoy beyond that of any other company in *Europe*; and tho', as yet the importance of it has not appeared in its full extent, yet in proportion as the company's affairs advance, we may be well assured that the benefits arising from this convenient and magnificent centre of their trade, will become more and more conspicuous. If we look into it more strictly, we cannot help seeing that it is of vast utility to the company in keeping all her concerns immediately under the eye of proper officers in one place, where they may assist each other in cases of emergency, and where such measures may be taken for preventing frauds and embezzlements, as must contribute to their security in a high degree. It likewise prevents those continual difficulties and disputes which would otherwise arise between the company and the king's officers or farmer's general, in respect to duties and to the distribution of *East India* commodities through the king-

dom, and which, from the credit these kind of people usually have with the ministers, must turn to the company's prejudice. Lastly, if we reflect upon it as a national point, it is of no less consequence, since it affords both strangers and subjects an opportunity of seeing and contemplating this branch of commerce, raises the credit of it; and, by attracting inhabitants to the towns in the neighbourhood, as well as a great concourse of people upon certain occasions, and producing a brisk and regular circulation of money, it is of great service to this part of *Brittany*, where the port being most unaccountably neglected, the people throughout the adjacent country were in a very low and indigent condition; whereas, in 1746, the town of *L'Orient* is said to have offered fifty thousand pounds sterling to prevent being burnt and pillaged by the *English* at the time of their making a descent upon this coast (53).

(53) From a Manuscript History of that Expedition by a person who served therein.

spacious rope-walk, a magazine of masts, and a fine arsenal. Before the magazines lie the quays, which are always kept clean and in good repair; close to them the vessels are moored so, as to take in or deliver their lading with all imaginable facility; and the town, port, docks, yards, and all their dependencies are covered and protected by a good citadel γ . The company of the *Indies*, at the breaking out of the last war, had upwards of forty very fine ships of their own; and, according to their present establishment, they send ten or twelve every year to the *Indies*; that is, two to *China*, three to the gulph of *Bengal*, three or four to *Pondicherry*, one or two to the islands δ . Thus the reader has seen, in as narrow a compass as it was possible to bring so great a quantity, and that too of such variety of matter, the history of the *East India* companies formed in *France*, as well as of their commerce and settlements from their first attempting such a correspondence to the present time; with all the changes and revolutions they have undergone, and the constant and zealous attention which the ablest of their ministers have shewn, in protecting and promoting a trade which they have ever considered as of the highest importance; and which, in spite of repeated disappointments, and notwithstanding innumerable obstacles, they have at length brought into a promising, at least, if not a prosperous condition (R).

γ Dictionnaire de Commerce, tom. ii. col. 220.
des Indes, p. 309, 370.

Histoire

(R) The judicious and intelligent reader will discern clearly from this history, the truth of what has been suggested not only by other writers but their own also, that the *French* are less qualified for undertaking and managing with success schemes of extensive commerce than their neighbours. For, without doubt, there has been more pains taken, more money employed, and greater losses sustained in procuring from them whatever share they enjoy at present in the *East India* trade, than was found requisite for establishing any of their rivals. But notwithstanding this, the prodigious encouragements given to

the perpetual company of the *Indies*, the vigilance of the ministers in superintending the direction of their affairs, and several other favourable circumstances, have undoubtedly put their concerns on a footing incomparably better than any of their predecessors, and may reasonably inspire them with the hopes of seeing their returns augmented, and their profits enlarged as well as their power and influence in the *Indies* very much extended. But then, on the other hand, they are not altogether free from apprehensions. The maxims and measures of the court may change; nor is it at all impossible that the

C H A P X.

The History of the Establishment of a Company trading to the East Indies, under the Charter of his Imperial Majesty from Ostend: the Foundation, Views, and Progress of that Company: the Opposition formed against it by the Maritime Powers and other Potentates of Europe: the Consequences of this Opposition in embarrassing the general State of Affairs: the Suppression of the Ostend Company: the Endeavours used to revive it; their Failure; and its total Extinction.

S E C T. I.

The pretended as well as the real Motives to the proposing a Commerce between the Austrian Netherlands and the East Indies; the Measures taken upon this Head by the Imperial Court; the Alarm this gave to the Subjects of the Maritime Powers; and the Colour of Right they alledged to hinder any such Settlement, as being repugnant to Treaties.

THE distinction between the *Austrian* or *Spanish* and *The inhabitants of the United or Dutch Netherlands*, arose from the distinction made by his Catholic Majesty, who had been the legal sovereign of them all, to the Archdukes *Albert* and *Isabella*, *Austrian*

the state of public affairs may alter, any or all of which must prove detrimental to this company. The connexions into which they have entered with the ministers and governors of the *Mogul*, may, if they are not blessed with a succession of able and prudent officers in the *East Indies* turn as much to their danger and prejudice as they have hitherto done to their benefit and reputation; neither is it at all impossible that, in case of a new rupture, the affairs of

their neighbours may be more wisely, or, at least, more fortunately managed than during the course of the last war; and, if through any of these accidents they should be subjected to considerable losses, the consequences might be very fatal notwithstanding all that has been done for them, notwithstanding the surprising success they have met with, and notwithstanding that florid appearance she makes at present.

Low-Countries
excluded by
the kings
of Spain
from trad-
ing unto
either In-
dies, and
from what
motives.

of those ten provinces that continued in obedience to him when the other seven threw off the yoke and became a free state. This great event happened in the year 1598^a when, by the very act by which these provinces were given to the princes before-mentioned, it is declared that none of their subjects shall be at liberty to send any ships to, or carry on any traffic in, either the *East* or *West Indies* upon any pretence whatsoever; and, in case they should offend in this particular, his Catholic Majesty reserved to himself the power of punishing them who shall be found so offending, and that in the severest manner, by the confiscation of their goods, and even with death itself^a. This restriction which, no doubt, was intended for the benefit of the subjects of *Spain*, and with a view of preserving to them all the advantages accruing from the commerce of both the *Indies*, was the reason that the inhabitants of these provinces contented themselves with their own manufactures, and such a foreign trade as they could safely and legally carry on, not only while they remained under those princes, but also after they were again united to the crown of *Spain* upon the demise of the Archduchess *Isabella* in 1638^b. But during all this space, they looked upon that restraint as a thing very harsh and grievous, and from which they were very desirous of being released, tho' the applications made for this purpose from time to time to the court of *Madrid* were constantly rejected, either from principles of policy or prudence, to avoid giving offence to the *Spaniards*, who looked upon this exclusion as one of the highest and most valuable prerogatives of their monarchy, and by which they were particularly distinguished from the rest of the subjects of his Catholic Majesty, and who were all under the like incapacity^c (A).

BUT

^a Corps Diplomatique, Tom. v. P. I. p. 574. ^b LE CLERC Histoire des Provinces Unies, tom. ii. p. 148. ^c Histoire de las Indias Occidentales, por ANTONIO DE HERRERA, Decad. i. lib. ii. c. 4.

(A) The inhabitants of the *Low-Countries* objected to this restriction at the time, and opposed it as a thing inconsistent with the rights of the joyful entry which was the known constitution of these provinces. Nay, they would not submit, or take the oath of fidelity to the

Archdukes *Albert* and *Isabella*, upon the conclusion of the truce with the States, till they had sworn to defend them in all their just rights, whence they concluded the restraining from sailing to the *Indies* void; because it was incompatible with those rights. This is the reasoning

BUT at length the Cardinal Infant, being intrusted with the administration of these countries, to ingratiate himself with the people, solicited *Philip* the fourth with such earnestness and assiduity, that about the year 1640 he had almost brought this point to bear, and prevailed so far as to obtain leave for the inhabitants of the *Austrian Netherlands* to trade in all those parts of the *East Indies* that had been conquered, and were possessed by the *Portuguese*. But it fell out unluckily, that before any benefit could be had from this grant, the people of *Portugal* revolted, and then it was thought requisite to cancel, and even to disavow any such concession, that it might not give offence to the *Portuguese*, or prove a hindrance to their submitting themselves again to the crown of *Castile*, with which the *Spaniards* flattered themselves then, and for a long time afterwards. It was the more unfortunate for them that no memorial was preserved of this grant, except a letter from the Cardinal Infant to the magistrates of *Antwerp*, in which there is no more than his Catholic Majesty's being brought to incline to such a concession as is mentioned ^d. After this we hear nothing farther of such a project for near threescore years, during all which space, however, these provinces remained in subjection to his Catholic Majesty, and, the people sensible of this restriction, never intermeddled with this prohibited commerce, and if any of them visited the *Spanish* territories in *America*, it was in the king's ships, and in his service; in which case it was supposed that they did not fall within the penal clause before-mentioned; yet, in this time, the inhabitants of the *Low-Countries* were in a very mean and distressed condition, and so much a burthen upon *Spain*, that the court ought in reason to have listened to any proposal that could have been made for their relief, occasioned chiefly by the wars with *France*, and their

How far the Cardinal Infant procured this severe restriction to be mitigated.

^d Placarts de Brabant, tom. i. fol. 22.

soning of the States of *Brabant*, in a memorial of theirs, in support of the *Ostend* company (1); but how far it is conclusive, must be left to the reader's judgment, since, in regard to these matters, we barely represent, without presuming to decide concerning them.

(1) *Memoire pour servir de Response de la part des Etats de Brabant à la Remonstrance que les Directeurs de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales établie en Hollande ont faite aux Seigneurs Etats Généraux des Provinces Unies au sujet de la Navigation & du Commerce des Habitans des Pays-Bas Autrichiens aux dites Indes*, O.P. 22d. 1723.

having often two, sometimes three, armies living upon them" (B).

An East
India com-
pany said
to be esta-
blished in
the Low-
Countries
by Charles
II.

In the reign of *Charles the second*, the last king of *Spain* of the house of *Austria*, the *States of Flanders* resumed this design, and, having represented to that monarch how much such an establishment would contribute to the welfare of his subjects, and the augmentation of the royal revenue, they procured a charter for erecting a company impowered to trade in such parts of the *East Indies* and the coast of *Guinea*, as were not in the possession of other nations; and the capital was to consist of two millions of florins, one fourth part to be actually raised before the end of the month of *October* 1698, and the rest in the year 1700 and 1701. But here again they met with another misfortune; for the treaty of partition being made about this time, damped the spirits of the people to such a degree, that the scheme could not be carried into execution; and the death of his Catholic Majesty following soon after, and, immediately upon that, the

* GUICCARD Descript. des Pays Bas. † La Verité du Fait, du Droit, et l'Interet de tout ce qui concerne les Commerce des Indes, etabli aux Paix Bas Autrichiens, par Oëtroi S. M. J. & Catholique, §. xxxvii. * BASNAGE Annales des Provinces Unies.

(B) These facts are all mentioned in the memorial of the *States of Brabant*, which we have before cited, and they distinguish therein between the right of navigating to, and trading in the *East and West Indies*, to the prejudice of the *Spaniards*, and the natural right of all people to trade where other nations are not legally possessed of an exclusive commerce, which they affirm they always had, which was no way affected by this restriction, and which was acknowledged and confirmed by the edict of *Charles the second*, granted in 1698, and in con-

sequence of which, a company would most certainly have been erected if the unhappy state that public affairs soon after fell into had not prevented it (2): they farther add, that with respect to this right, it was not in the power of their sovereigns, as dukes of *Brabant*, to lessen, much more to give it up by any treaty; because they were previously engaged to their subjects by oath, never to take any step of this kind; in proof of which they cite several clauses from their fundamental constitution (3).

(2) *Recueil Historique d'Actes, Negotiations Memoires, et Traitemens*, par M. Roussier, tom. ii. p. 100. (3) *Extraict de la Joyeuse Entree de sa Majesté Imperiale et Catholique en Langue Brabançonne.*

long war about the rights of succession, all thoughts of this nature were let fall at least for the present; whereas, if any thing had been done, or so much as a ship sent, it might have prevented those disputes which have given occasion to this section. After the battle of *Ramillies* in 1706 the *Austrian Netherlands* fell under the protection of the Maritime Powers, who held it as it were in trust for his Imperial Majesty, into whose possession it did not come till ten years afterwards, and then, in consequence of a negotiation by which it passed under the same restrictions to which it had been subjected by the crown of *Spain*, in respect to the commerce of the *Indies*. In this state they were when his Imperial Majesty declared his serene highness Prince *Eugene* of *Savoy* governor-general, and the Marquis *de Prié* counsellor of state, with the power of administering affairs in his Highness's absence, and under his orders, not long after which the thoughts of attempting a correspondence with the *Indies* were revived, and some attempts made to effect it ^a.

WE may clearly perceive from this deduction, that there is no foundation for the sentiment which commonly prevails, as first steps if the subjects of his Imperial Majesty were tempted to set up an *East India* company by the example of the *Mississippi* project in *France*, and the *South Sea* scheme in *England*; where, as, in truth, this design was of an earlier date than either i. Some private persons sent a ship or two in 1717, and these meeting with tolerable success, were followed the next year by two or three more, authorized only by the governor-general's letters and passports; or, as they are stiled in the letters and memorials relating to this business, *Lettres de Mer*. In this shape the new commerce succeeded so happily that many were desirous of engaging in it, and the granting of these licences, or *Lettres de Mer*, became a thing very lucrative to certain persons in the administration ^b. About this time some active foreigners began to intermeddle and to project the forming of a company at *Ostend*, in which design they soon met with so great encouragement, that they ventured to make overtures to the ministers at *Vienna*, which were favourably received. In the month of *October* 1719, they had the first intelligence that one of these licensed ships had been seized by a *Dutch* vessel in the service of the *West India* company on the coast of *Guinea*, and confiscated with her whole cargo, with-

^a ROUSSET, Recueil Historique d'Actes, Negociations, &c. vol. ii. p. 4.

^b Defense du Droit de la Compagnie Hollandoise des Indes Orientales, &c.

^c ROUSSET, Recueil d'Actes, Negociations, &c. vol. ii. p. 4.

out so much as the ceremony of a process¹. Of this the imperial minister complained at the *Hague*, but could obtain only dark, indeterminate answers, which manifested an intention rather to maintain this action, since it was done, than to enter into an explanation of the motives, that might serve to justify it; except that this was an illicit trade, in which some merchants of *Antwerp* had engaged through avarice, and which, if they continued pursuing, would be found rather ruinous than advantageous; and much the same usage they met with from another quarter upon a complaint of the like nature, for the seizing another ship under colour of her being engaged in an illegal commerce in ports where she had no right to come² (C).

Reprisals
made by
virtue of
the Empe-
ror's com-
mission,
upon the
Dutch
West In-
dia com-
pany.

BUT, upon an application to the government in the *Austrian Low-Countries* signifying the treatment ships had met with under his Imperial Majesty's flag, letters of reprisal, were easily obtained by the interest of those who began to stile themselves a company. Captain *Winter*, who commanded the vessel that had been taken on the coast of *Guinea*, conceiving he should be justified by the authority of these letters, proceeded to the *Downs*, where meeting with his own ship he seized her again, and brought her into *Ostend*, with a very valuable lading of elephants teeth and gold dust, belonging to the *Dutch West-India* company³. That company complaining to the States General, their ministers at *Brussels* and *Vienna* interposed warmly, in which they were supported by the influence of *Great Britain*. The letters of reprisal,

¹ La Verite du Droit, et d'Interet de Commerce des Indes, &c. §. xxxix.

² Memoires du Temps, p. 391.

³ La Verite du Fait du Droit & de l'Interet de la Commerce des Indes, § xi.

(C) We are indebted for these facts, and the explanation of them, to the treatise written by the famous Mr. *du Mont*, Baron of *Carlesroon*, who, by order of his Imperial Majesty, composed a treatise in which he undertook to give a true state of the fact, the right, and the interest of the commerce car-

ried on from the *Austrian Low-Countries* to the *Indies*, under his Imperial Majesty's charter (4). Several learned pieces were also written on the other side, which we have likewise consulted, in order to represent this important affair with⁴ as much impartiality and perspicuity as it was possible.

(4) La Verite du Fait du Droit, et de l'Interet de tout ce qui concerne la Commerce des Indes, etabli aux Pais Bas Autrichiens, par Odrq de sa Majeste Imperiale Et Catholique, Bruxelles 1723, 4to.

however,

however, were insisted upon, and the ministers put in mind of the small regard that had been shewn but a small time before on a like application from his Imperial Majesty; so that it was easily perceived, that tho' they met with many good words and great assurances of friendship and esteem, yet satisfaction and restitution was hardly to be expected. This was a very hardy and a very extraordinary enterprize, considering the naval force of the Maritime Powers, and how nearly they were concerned, and which it was not at all difficult to see they were resolved to make a common cause. But notwithstanding this, the ministers at Vienna remained firm, and insisted that the subjects of the Emperor having been first injured, it was but reasonable they should be the first also that received satisfaction. This drew the negotiation into some length, and as gaining time in such cases is gaining a great deal, so able ministers are never at a loss for expedients in matters of this sort; and their management through the whole was such as shewed them to be perfect masters in that art, than which nothing could be more useful at this juncture, since it served to keep the Maritime Powers in suspense, and to raise the spirits of his Imperial Majesty's subjects, who saw plainly how well inclined the court was to support and protect them.

This gave so much credit to the new company, that in the year 1720 they equipped five large ships for the *Indies*, and the year following six more; three for *China*, one for *Mocha*, another for *Surat*, and the coast of *Malabar*, the sixth for *Bengal*, which provoked the *Dutch* to such a degree, that they seized a vessel richly laden by the merchants of *Bruges*, and ordered her cargo to be sold, notwithstanding the applications of the Imperial ministers at the *Hague* to prevent it. This misfortune was followed by another; an *English* privateer taking very soon after, on the coast of *Madagascar*, an *Ostend* homeward-bound ship very richly laden, which so discouraged the new company that they ordered a new ship they were then fitting out to be laid up. But, in the months of *May* and *June* 1721, they received two ships from the *Indies*, and in the month of *September* two more, the cargoes of which being exposed to sale, went off also round a rate, that they found themselves not only indemnified for their losses, but likewise in a condition to carry

° *Mémoires du Temps*, p. 411. ° *ROUSSET*, Recueil Historique d'Acts, Negotiations, &c. vol. ii p. 4. ° *Dictionnaire de Commerce*, tom. ii. col. 1165.

on their commerce with greater success than ever. The only thing they wanted was a legal establishment; for though the imperial court had, for a long time, flattered them with the hopes of letters patents, yet they had hitherto delayed them, to avoid an open quarrel with the maritime powers, which, at that juncture especially, would have been very inconvenient.

*Obtain a
promise of
a charter,
and the
communi-
cation of
its con-
sents.*

BUT, soon after the arrival of these last-mentioned ships, the company having money in their hands, and powerful friends at the court of *Vienna*, resolved to neglect nothing that might contribute to put their affairs on the best foundation possible; and, with this view, they sent some of their directors to court, very well furnished with instructions and bills for considerable sums of money. These gentlemen managed their affairs with such diligence and prudence, that they obtained a promise of a charter as extensive as they could wish, or any company in *Europe* had received; the draught of which was immediately communicated, and gave them entire satisfaction. This charter was to have consisted of several articles; importing, that the directors should be restrained to eight, to be chosen out of the wealthiest and most experienced merchants in the *Austrian Low Countries*; that they should be allowed four thousand florins a year salary; that none of them should continue above six years, or be capable of being rechosen till they had been a full year out of office: that a general court of the proprietors should be held every year for the choice of directors, when the company should name twenty-four, out of which list the Emperor should choose eight: that the court of directors, the treasury, and books of account, belonging to the company, should remain the first three years at *Antwerp*, and the next three years either at *Ghent* or *Bruges*; but that their sales should be constantly either at *Ostend* or *Bruges*: that the company's capital should consist of ten millions of florins, and should be divided into ten thousand actions of one thousand florins each. The prizes which the vessels in the service of the company should take in time of war, were to belong intirely to the company, and were to be sold and disposed of for their profit. All the ammunition, provisions, artillery, and naval stores, requisite for the forts and factories of the company, were to be exempted from duties and impositions in their passage through the territories either of his Imperial Majesty, or of any of the lords or ecclesiastical

¹ *Memoire historique et politique*, tom. lxx. p. 676—781.

² *Dictionnaire de Commerce*, tom. ii. col. 1165.

communities in the *Low Countries*. And lastly, that all the goods transported on board the ships of the company should pay for all customs and duties inwards and outwards four *per cent.* and no more, till the expiration of the month of *September 1724*; and from that time six *per cent.* for ever. The Emperor likewise promised to send a person vested with a public character to the *Great Mogul*, to settle an alliance with him, and to return him thanks for the permission he had granted the company, not only to erect a factory, but a fort to protect their commerce, in his dominions. The prospect his Imperial Majesty had of enriching his subjects in the *Low Countries*, and augmenting the revenues he drew from thence, by fixing so extensive and profitable a commerce there, engaged him to assure the agents of that company of still greater favours. He even intimated, that he would remit all customs and duties for three whole years, and would make the proprietors a present of three hundred thousand florins in ready money, to indemnify them from any losses they might sustain on the first establishment of their commerce, which must, in the nature of things, be regarded as inevitable, and therefore some provision ought to be made against it^t.

S E C T. II.

The political Conduct of their High Mightinesses the States-General, the Court of Great Britain, and the Crowns of France and Spain, in order to procure Satisfaction upon this Head, and to prevent the Commerce of their Subjects suffering, from the Schemes of the new-erected Company.

THESE favours raised such a spirit not only among the But the merchants, bankers, and other persons concerned in maritime trade and money, but also among the nobility and gentry, powers in- that they shewed an inclination to exert themselves to the ut- terpose, in most in the support of the new company. It was not, how- ever, the inhabitants only of these provinces, and other sub- jects of his Imperial Majesty, that encouraged this under- taking, but the *English, French, and Dutch*, who were chiefly concerned in the shipping, and in the management of the com- pany's affairs, notwithstanding they very well knew they could never prosper, but at the expence of their native countries, and of the establishments for the same commerce long ago prevent it.

^t *Histoire des Indes Orientales*, tom. iii. p. 66. *Dictionnaire de Commerce*, tom. ii. col. 1166.

erected in them". We need not wonder, therefore, that this new company at *Ostend* should occasion such noise throughout all *Europe*, or excite great discord and disturbance, so as to render this chapter as remarkable a part of general history as any that finds a place therein. But it must seem a little strange at first sight, that the warmest friends, and most faithful allies, of his Imperial Majesty, should be the most violent in this opposition. One would have imagined, that the Emperor had the same right in his dominions, that other princes and states have in theirs, and that how contrary soever the erecting such a company in the *Austrian Low Countries* might be to the interests of other nations, they could, however, have no just claim to demand or expect that his Imperial Majesty should forego such apparent advantages for their sakes, or, in plain terms, hinder his own subjects from becoming rich, that theirs might remain so". Yet this was the case, and the maritime powers declared, in express terms, that they expected his Imperial Majesty should do this, and that he was bound by treaties to comply with their demands. The States-General, who thought themselves most aggrieved, were earliest and loudest in their complaints; and, as it is impossible to give the *English* reader a fuller or clearer account of the grounds upon which they were founded, than by laying before him the memorial presented by Mr. *Bruyninx*, envoy from the States to the court of *Vienna*, which contains the substance of all that was alleged against the Emperor's right to establish such a company, we have made a succinct extract of that very long memorial, and placed it at the bottom of the page * (D).

SEVERAL

* *Mercure historique et politique*, tom. lxxi. p. 715. * *Recueil historique d'Actes, Negotiations, Memoires, et Traitez*, par M. ROUSSET, tom. iii. p. 64, 65. * *Historical Register*, vol. viii. p. 346.

(D) This excellent memorial was presented by the *Dutch* minister at *Vienna*, Mr. *Hamel Bruyninx*, on the 15th of *March* 1729; and though the whole is well worthy of perusal, yet, for the ease of the reader, and to keep the more within bounds, we will cite only the most ma-

terial paragraphs; which are these (5):

" Their High Mightinesses foreseeing the unavoidable troubles that must attend this affair, if his Catholic and Imperial Majesty should, contrary to all expectation and equity, permit his subjects of

(5) *Historical Register*, vol. viii. p. 347.

SEVERAL circumstances concurred to quicken their High Mightinesses in taking this step; for, first, they were extremely desirous that the

the *Austrian Netherlands* to proceed in their undertakings with respect to navigation and trade to the *East Indies*, contrary to the tenor and letter of treaties, and if opposition should be made to their High Mightinesses, in case they attempt to make use of their right obtained by treaties. But their High Mightinesses, being desirous of nothing more than to prevent such kind of troubles, could not, in the present juncture, avoid making such representations to his Imperial Majesty, that by the treaty concluded, in 1648, at *Munster*, between his majesty the king of *Spain* then reigning, and his successors, on the one part, and their High Mightinesses on the other part, commerce and navigation to the *East and West Indies* were regulated and limited, with regard to the subjects of *Spain*, upon the foot they then were established, without power of farther extension; and with regard to the subjects of this state, it was agreed, that the former should refrain from places which the latter possessed.

These articles have always been religiously observed, and the inhabitants of the *Spanish Netherlands*, at present *Austrian*, have never been permitted or tolerated to trade to the *Indies*. The said *Netherlands*, being fallen under the dominion of his Catholic Imperial Majesty, have not thereby acquired

larger privileges than before; nor can it ever be imagined, that their High Mightinesses, who have made such signal efforts, contributed so much to the recovery of the *Spanish Netherlands*, and so many other parts of the *Spanish* monarchy, in favour of his Catholic and Imperial Majesty, pursuant to their engagements on that behalf, could possibly, by entering into those very engagements, depart from, or ever intend to depart from, their characters, and their right of maintaining themselves therein to perpetuity, obtained by the said treaty of *Munster*, or that his Catholic and Imperial Majesty had any intention, in recovering the said *Netherlands*, to make alterations in the said treaty, much less design, contrary to the stipulation therein so plainly expressed, to cause any prejudice to the States in a point so essential and important to them, upon which it was so strongly insisted in the negotiations at *Munster*, and without which that treaty could not have been concluded.

Moreover, it is expressly stipulated, by the twenty-sixth article of the barrier treaty, that commerce, and all things relating to it should remain, to all intents and purposes, upon the same foot it was established at the treaty of *Munster*, and in the manner expressed in the articles of the said treaty; inasmuch, that

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tremely pressed by their own *East India* company, some of the principal managers of which had also a considerable interest in the government; next, the state of affairs in *Europe* seemed to add weight to their interposition; not that they depended much on the remembrance of services already done, but because they knew there were many things which the imperial court would be glad to do, and which they could not well do without their assistance; lastly, it was judged easier for them to obtain, and more honourable for the Emperor to grant, a total rejection of these offers made by the projectors of this new company, before a charter was actually granted. Yet their expectations in this respect failed them, and this memorial, however warm and pathetic, had by no means that influence with which they had flattered themselves, notwithstanding they had the concurrence, though from very different motives, of one of the greatest personages at, and a minister in the highest credit with, the court of *Vienna*. The first of these was the illustrious Prince *Eugene of Savoy*, who, solely out of respect to justice, and the true interests to the house of *Austria*, declared against this measure, and, with his usual candour and plainness, foretold, that it could not fail to lessen that perfect intelligence that had so long subsisted between his Imperial Majesty and the maritime powers, and which, in its consequences, must disturb that system upon which the tranquility and independency of *Europe* was established. The other was the Marquis *de Prie*, who, being at the head of the administration in the *Low Countries*, was a great

† *Mercurie historique et politique*, tom. lxxii. p. 551.

“ that the said treaty of *Munster* is evidently confirmed by
“ the treaty of the barrier, even
“ at the time his Catholic and
“ Imperial Majesty was already
“ in the possession of the said
“ *Netherlands*, as likewise by
“ by the guaranty of his *Britannic*
“ Majesty.

“ And whereas the right of
“ the States, in this particular,
“ is so manifest, that their High
“ Mightinesses have the utmost
“ grounds to expect from the
“ so much renowned friendship
“ and equity of his Catholic
“ and Imperial Majesty, that
“ he will not favour or tolerate

any prejudice to the said
right of the state. They
therefore amicably require,
that the patent, which is
said to have been granted
for navigation and commerce
of the *Austrian Netherlands* to
the *Indies*, may not be pub-
lished, but withdrawn, or at
least rendered ineffectual,
and that such orders may be
given by his Imperial Ma-
jesty, that such kind of na-
vigation and commerce, whe-
ther with patents or without,
may intirely cease; and that
the treaties in that respect may
be executed, &c.”

gainer

gainer by licences, passports, and commissions, all of which he knew would cease, when the company obtained their charter; and though his opposition was less reasonable, yet it was rather more violent * (E).

In *England*, things took exactly the same turn as in *Holland*; and the *East India* company having, with the consent of the ministry, petitioned the house of commons upon this subject, it began to be considered as a national affair. To quicken, however, the parliament in its proceedings, the directors of that company caused the *Dutch* memorial before-mentioned to be translated, and delivered to the members at the door of the house; which produced all they could desire. A committee was immediately appointed, of which Sir Nathaniel Gould was chairman, and, in due time, a report being made, the house came to certain resolutions, upon which a bill was framed for preventing any subjects of *Great Britain* interesting themselves in the capital of the *Ostend* company, or entering into its service, under very severe penalties;

* Recueil historique d'Acts, &c. tom. ii. p. 4. * Histori-
cal Register, vol. viii. p. 346.

(E) It may not be amiss to acquaint the reader with the arguments advanced by such of the imperial ministers as disapproved the erection of the *Ostend* company. They observed, that, independent of all abstruse points, it was a fact sufficiently clear, that the *Austrian Low Countries* were acquired for his Imperial Majesty by the arms, and at the expence, of the maritime powers: that, without doubt, when they did this, they could not apprehend that their commerce in the *East Indies* would be in any danger of suffering from thence, since, if they had, there was nothing easier than for them to have prevented it: that if his Imperial Majesty entered into the possession of these countries, even under a tacit condition of holding them upon the same terms, and in the same manner, as they had been held by other princes of the house of *Austria*, the breaking through this condition to the prejudice of the powers by whose assistance these countries were obtained, was not consistent either with his interest or his glory: and that whatever advantages this new commerce might promise, it could not be reckoned secure, if the maritime powers had recourse to violent measures; and, at all events, could never balance the detaching those powers from their connections with the house of *Austria*, and obliging them, for the sake of supporting their own interests, to enter into a conjunction with that of *Bourbon* (6).

(6) Recueil historique d'Acts, Negotiations, Mémoires, et Traitem, par M. de Roussel, tom. ii. p. 43.

which bill passed both houses, received the royal assent, and became a law; which, without doubt, had a considerable operation, though it did not totally eradicate the evil, some, who were by birth subjects of the crown of *Great Britain*, continuing still to act against the public interest, for the sake of acquiring or adding to their private fortunes^b. But one great end it certainly answered, which was, to let the rest of *Europe* see, that the court and the nation had the same sentiment upon this head; and that the maritime powers were determined to take the same part, as they were alike concerned in interest in the event of this transaction^c (F).

IT

^b Chronological Diary for 1723, p. 26.
Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 66.

^c Histoire des

(i) There is nothing that can set this matter in so strong and proper a light, as giving the reader a succinct account of the contents of this severe law, by which it was enacted (7), That if any subject of his Majesty shall contribute to the establishing any foreign company trading from any part of the *Austrian Netherlands*, to or from the *East Indies*, and other places beyond the *Cape of Good Hope*, described in former acts, for securing the sole trade thither to the united *East India* company of *England*, or shall be interested in any share of the stock or actions of any such company, or make any payments in money, bills of exchange, or otherwise, towards supporting such company, or shall subscribe to the establishing any other foreign company trading to the *East Indies*, or be concerned in any stock therein, &c. the person so offending shall forfeit their interest and share in the stocks of any such company, with treble the value; one third to the crown, and

two thirds to the *East India* company, if they inform or sue for the same, otherwise one third of two such thirds to the common informer; recoverable by action of debt, &c. as is usually directed by all penal statutes of a like nature, that convictions may be easily made; and the attorney-general, of his own authority, or at the relation of the said united company, and for the company, may file a bill, in the court of chancery or exchequer, against any person who shall have subscribed, contributed, or promoted, any such foreign *East India* company, for the discovery of his offence, remitting or waving the forfeiture of the treble value of the offender's stock in any such company, and inflicting only on the single value; and thereupon such person shall answer to the bill, and not plead or demur to the discovery thereby sought; and in case the single value shall be decreed to be paid, one third part thereof shall go to his Majesty, and the other two thirds

(7) Stat. 9. Geo. cap. 26. sect. 1.

IT was from hence very reasonably imagined, that the *His Imperial* court of *Vienna* would, from a tenderness for its own *Imperial* interests, have reconsidered this point, and endeavour to find *His Majesty's* some means to pacify those powers, by whose treasures and *charter* armies those very countries were acquired, which had given *granted,* rise to this dispute. But, notwithstanding the joint sollici- *and pub-* tations of the *English* and *Dutch* ministers, the Emperor *lished in* seemed more and more determined to maintain his point; *the Low* and therefore, in the month of *August* 1723, actually pub- *Countries* lished, as at the close of the preceding year he had granted, his letters patents to the *Ostend* company, though with some variations from the plan before laid down. In the preamble to these letters, the Emperor not only took all the titles of the head of the house of *Austria*, but likewise those of the king of *Spain*, and, in particular, styled himself king of the *East* and *West Indies*, of the *Canary Islands*, &c. with a view probably to grace this new and ample grant to the *Ostend* company, which was established for thirty years, with licence to trade to the *East Indies* and *West*, and on all the coasts of *Africa*, on this side and on the other side the *Cape of Good*

to the company. If any subject shall have accepted of any trust; or know of any interest, share, or concern, which any of his Majesty's subjects shall have in any such foreign company, and shall not, within six months after accepting the trust, or coming to the knowledge of any such interest; &c. truly discover the same, in writing, to the said united company of *England*, or their court of directors, he shall forfeit treble the value of the interest, &c. so accepted in trust, or so known and not discovered, one moiety to the crown, the other to him who will sue for the same; or such offender shall, at the discretion of the court where the prosecution is commenced, suffer one year's imprisonment; and he that, within the time limited, shall voluntarily come to the court of directors, and make a true discovery, in writing, of the interest, share, or concern; of any subjects in the stock of any such foreign company, shall have one half part of the clear amount of the forfeitures arising by this act: and in case any of his Majesty's subjects (other than such as are lawfully authorized) shall go to, or be found in, the *East Indies*, they are declared to be guilty of a high misdemeanour, and may be prosecuted for the same; in any court at *Westminster*; and, being convicted thereof, shall be liable to such corporal punishment or imprisonment, or to such fine, as the court where the prosecution is commenced shall think fit; and the offenders may be seized and brought to *England*, and any justice of peace may commit them to the next county gaol, till sufficient security be given by natural-born subjects or denizens, to appear in court, &c. and not to depart out of the kingdom without leave.

Hope, their ships observing the usual customs; so that, supposing it could be maintained, a more ample charter could hardly be desired ^d (G).

Substance of this new and ample instrument in favour of the company. THE capital, however, of the company was, by these letters, reduced to six millions of florins, and the number of their actions to six thousand; but, in other respects, they had all the powers and privileges laid down in the first plan, and many more; for they were permitted to build forts and castles in whatever parts of the *East Indies* they should think fit, as also to furnish them with all kinds of arms, artillery, and ammunition, that they thought convenient. They were likewise allowed to build and equip ships, of whatever size and strength they thought proper, in any of the ports of his Imperial Majesty's dominions in the *Low Countries, Italy*, or elsewhere; as also to make leagues, treaties, and alliances, with the sovereign princes and states of the *Indies*, in the name of his Imperial Majesty, with this restriction only, that they should not make war on any potentate, whatever, with-

^d Recueil historique d'Actes, Negotiations, Mémoires, et Traitez, par M. ROUSSET, tom. ii. p. 5.

(G) The readiness with which the managers of this new commerce found money, and whatever else was requisite to support their design, proceeded chiefly from that extravagant appetite for gain that prevailed at this time through all *Europe*, as the discovery of various frauds committed by the servants of such companies as had already an established trade in the *Indies*, furnished them with agents and under-servants extremely capable of managing their affairs; and to these therefore we ought to attribute that surprising alacrity with which they caused squadron after squadron to put to sea. Thus, notwithstanding they had, in 1720, sent six ships richly laden to the *Indies*, yet, in 1721, they equipped the like number, of which three

were destined for *China*, one for *Mocha*, one for *Surat* and the coast of *Malabar*, and one for the bay of *Bengal* (8). The names of these ships were, the *St. Joseph*, the *Wartemburgh*, the *House of Austria*, the *Empress*, the *Brussels Galley*, and the *Town of Ghent*. They gave out also, to encourage and keep up the spirit of those who favoured them, that they had not only procured leave from the *Great Mogul* to build a fort, for the security of their factory, in his dominions, in which there was some truth, but also that they had obtained permission to establish themselves in *China*, tho' that was afterwards found to have no foundation at all, tho' it is allowed they had a good interest there, and were as well received as any *Europeans* (9).

(8) *Dictionnaire de Commerce*, tom. ii. col. 1165.
the *Osseid Company* to the *Indies*.

(9) *List of Ships sent by*

out the leave of his Imperial Majesty and his successors first had and obtained. In consideration of all which grants, privileges, benefits, and advantages, the said company bound themselves to offer, as a homage to his Imperial Majesty, his heirs and successors, on every succession, a golden lion crowned, of the weight of twenty marks, holding under his two fore-paws the arms of the company, which were a spread-eagle displayed, with the terrestrial globe between his two heads, surmounted by an imperial crown. Lastly, his Imperial Majesty undertook to protect and defend the said new company, against all who should unjustly attack them, and should even, in case of necessity, employ the whole force of his dominions, to support and maintain them in the full and free possession and entire enjoyment of the commerce and navigation granted them by these letters, and obtain for them full damages and satisfaction, from any nation, state, or potentate, that should presume to trouble or disturb them; and should likewise, for the future, provide, in every respect, for their safety and welfare, by any treaties, alliances, or leagues, into which his Imperial Majesty, his heirs or successors, should hereafter enter with any power whatever.

SUCH was the establishment of this famous company at *Ostend*, from which both the company and his Imperial Majesty promised themselves so many and so great advantages. As soon as these letters patents were published, and registered in the sovereign courts of the *Austrian Low Countries*, the directors taking possession of their offices, held soon after their first general court; in which it was resolved, that the books of the company should be opened at *Antwerp*, on the 11th of *August*; which was accordingly done, and that with such success as surprised all *Europe*; for the next day by noon the capital was intirely subscribed, and by the end of the month of *August* the stock of the *Ostend* company was fifteen *per cent.* above par^f. The affairs of this new society were no less flourishing in the *Indies*, where the persons they employed, being most of them such as had served before either the *English* or the *Dutch East India* companies, found ways and means to settle factories, with amazing facility and success, and to push their trade in such a manner, as very evidently shewed, that if the interests of such as opposed this

* Lettres Patentes, &c. imprimees à Bruxelles par Eugene Henri Friex, imprimeur de sa Majeste Imperiale et Catholique, en 1723, in 4°. ^f Mercure historique et politique, tom. lxxv. p. 229.

company did not get it suppressed in *Europe*, their efforts in the *Indies* would do little, unless they had recourse to open force, since all the arts to decry them at the courts of infidel princes had been already put in practice without effect § (H).

§. *Histoire des Indes Orientales*, tom. iii. p. 73.

(H) The knowledge their agents had of the trade, and the manner in which it was carried on in the *Indies*, enabled them to get the better of any insinuations to the prejudice of the new company, by suggesting, in their turns, that they were calculated to prevent the natives from obtaining a new market, and by representing the advantages that must necessarily accrue to them, by having an increase of purchasers; and as the *Indian* princes want not a sufficient degree of sagacity, either for comprehending or managing their own affairs, it could be no difficult thing for them to sift out the truth, which was intirely favourable to these adventurers, since whatever clashing of interests there might be in *Europe*, it was plainly for their advantage that this new settlement should take place (10). In this light therefore, the *Ostend* factors were not like to be much hurt by any invidious representations with such as were free traders, and who had it in their power to choose with whom they would or would not carry on a trade, but in reference to other circumstances; all the skill and address in the world signified nothing; for they could not pretend to put into any of the ports belonging to other *European* powers, or expect any assistance or countenance from them, in case of ill usage from the natives, the bad effects of which they felt, in various instances, and would have felt in many more, if it had not been for their private friendships and particular connections with persons that were in the service of other companies, and who from those considerations were not inclined to execute with rigour the instructions they received from *Europe* (11).

(10) *From private information.*
p. 421.

(11) *Histoire des Indes Orientales*, tom. iii.

S E C T. III.

The Progress of this Opposition; the several Reasons urged by these Powers, against the Right of his Imperial Majesty to fix any such Establishment in the Austrian Low Countries; and the Consequences of these Applications to the Imperial Court.

THE Dutch East India Company was so far convinced of *Application of the* this, that they presented, in less than a fortnight, two memorials to the States-General; in which they scarce kept Dutch any measures, but plainly intimated, that, as the establishment of this new company was in direct violation of treaties, company to the States, so they ought to be left at liberty to act as if those treaties and their conduct on this occasion, no longer subsisted, and do themselves that justice by arms, which was every day more and more apparent could not be obtained any other way^b. The States, however, were by no means inclined to break with his Imperial Majesty, if by any methods they might avoid it; and therefore still continued their applications at the court of Vienna, in conjunction with Great Britain, to obtain the revocation of the authority by which the new company acted, or at least a suspension of it; and, in the meantime, they made such laws at home in favour of their own *India* company, as they thought requisite, to prevent any of the subjects of their High Mightinesses from having concern either in the capital of the *East India* company in the *Austrian Netherlands*, or in the management of their affairs in the *Indies*^c; as, on the other hand, the agents of the *Dutch* company in the *Indies*, though they did not proceed to direct acts of violence, took such methods in that part of the world, where their power is so great and so extensive, as gave this new society infinite trouble, by cramping their trade, and rendering it precarious; in which they were so well seconded by the *English*,^d that nothing but the activity and abilities of the persons concerned, and their finding themselves in a manner desperate, in case it did not succeed, could have kept it on foot, in spite of the difficulties and inconveniences which they every day experienced^e.

BUT not only *Great Britain* and *Holland* exerted themselves against this new establishment, for *France* likewise began to take umbrage at a scheme which threatened destruction *declared*

^b *Memoire historique et politique*, tom. lxxv. p. 235.

^c *Histoire des Indes Orientales*, tom. iii. p. 72. ^d From private information of such as were then resident in the *Indies*.

against
this esta-
blishment,
and pro-
vides for
her own
security.

to that establishment of the same kind, which she was endeavouring to erect; and therefore, his most Christian Majesty's council published a declaration, dated the 16th of *August* 1723, by which all the subjects of the crown of *France* were forbid to interest themselves, in any manner whatever, in the capital of the *Ostend* company, under pain of forfeiting three thousand livres for every act of offence, besides incurring the confiscation of whatever they should subscribe into the capital of the said company; and in case of a second offence, the same fine and forfeiture, together with banishment for three years. By the second article of this declaration, his most Christian Majesty directed, that in case the effects his subjects might acquire by interesting themselves in the stock of this new company could not be reached, so as to make them liable to the confiscation before-mentioned, then their effects and fortunes in *France* should be liable to the like seizures and forfeitures, until the sums in which they were so concerned in the *Austrian* company should be raised and levied; and all this in the short, summary, and extraordinary method described by the royal ordinance of 1670. By the third article, all seamen, manufacturers, tradesmen, and in general all the subjects of his most Christian Majesty, were strictly prohibited and forbid to enter, in any manner or quality, into the service of the said *Ostend* company, on pain of imprisonment, and forfeiture of all their effects. By the fourth article, all persons whatever were prohibited from inviting, inlisting, inrolling, or otherwise entering into the service of the said company, any of the subjects of his most Christian Majesty, in quality of officers, soldiers, seamen, or in any other quality or manner, as also to sell, or buy, or lend, or equip any vessel, for the service of the said company, on pain of the pillory for the first offence, and of being sent to the galleys for the second, besides the confiscation of all that should be thus bought or sold, and a fine of three thousand livres each on both the buyer and seller¹. The weight of all these great powers seemed more than sufficient to crush this infant company, how much soever it might be the inclination and the interest of his Imperial Majesty to cherish and support it (I).

c. I. 5

¹ Dictionnaire de Commerce, tom. ii. col. 1169.

(I) There were many arguments that prevailed upon the *French* court to act in this affair with great vigour, and, with respect to the maritime powers, with much uprightness and fair dealing; for, besides that, their interests were precisely the same, there were certain circumstances that, in respect to this new establishment,

IT was not long, however, before another great potentate interfered likewise, and declared himself with equal vehemence against this new establishment. This was his late Catholic Majesty Philip the Fifth, who conceived this affair precisely in the same light with the maritime powers, as appears from a representation presented to his Britannic Majesty, by the Spanish minister, on the 26th of April 1724, conceived in the most express terms, and demonstrating the injustice and illegality of this new establishment^m, proving it utterly inconsistent with the treaty of *Munster*, by which the crown of Spain engaged not to disturb the navigation of the Dutch to their *East Indies*, in consideration of a reciprocal Engagement on their side, not to disturb the commerce of the subjects of the crown of Spain in that part of the world. It was by these reciprocal stipulations, that the subjects of the crown of Spain in the *Low Countries* were restrained from trading to the *East Indies*; and it was under these restrictions that the Spanish *Low Countries* were yielded to the elector of *Bavaria*, and by *France*, with his consent, to the house of *Austria*, upon express condition, that this house should hold them in the same manner, and under the same restrictions, as they had been held by the crown of Spain, for which their High Mightinesses likewise engaged: so that if the *Ostend* company might be legally established, it would turn as much to the detriment of Spain as to that of the States-General, contrary to the meaning and intention of all these treaties and alliances

An example, which is copied also by the crown of Spain, in a manner the most public.

^m Recueil historique d'Actes, Negotiations, Memoires, et Traitez, par M. ROUSSET, tom. ii. p. 76.

ishment, particularly piqued them. They had, for a long course of years, been endeavouring to raise themselves such a company, and it must have given them no small uneasiness to observe, that, in so short a space, and without any other assistance than an appearance of countenance from the Imperial court, this company had been able to make a better progress than theirs had ever done, under the protection of *Richlieu*, *Colbert*, and other able mini-

sters (12). They saw, that if this trade went on, it would vastly enrich the *Austrian Low Countries*, to the prejudice of theirs; and, which was a point of as great or greater consequence than any, they discerned that this dispute furnished them with a fair opportunity of detaching from their rival the maritime powers, to whose assistance alone was owing the then formidable power of the house of *Austria* (13).

(12) See the proof of these facts in our former chapter, on the commerce of the French to the Indies. (13) Recueil historique d'Actes, Negotiations, Memoires, et Traitez, par M. Roussel, tom. iii. p. 143.

made for establishing and securing the tranquility of *Europe*; but, by this construction, if it could be put upon them, rendered hurtful and ruinous to all parties, save the Emperor alone, and destructive of themselves. Such was the representation of the Marquis *de Pozzo Buono* at the court of *London*, and so clearly was his Catholic Majesty, at that time, convinced, that the establishment of the *Ostend* company was inconsistent with his own particular interest as well as with the general system of *Europe* (K).

Some remarks on the substance of the Spanish memorial, and the judgment of the Spanish ministers.

THE contents of this plain and pathetic memorial very evidently shew, that the natural and unbiassed sentiments of the *Spanish* ministers were the very same with respect to the right of his Imperial Majesty, to establish an *East India* company in the *Austrian Netherlands*, with those of the statesmen in *England*, *France*, and *Holland*, which is a point of very great, and will be of perpetual importance, because the treaty of *Munster*, in which the Catholic King and the States were contracting parties, is explained on both sides in the same way; so that, if there can be any thing certain or settled in modern politics, it must be the true sense of those ar-

(K) In order to understand this matter clearly, and to apprehend thoroughly the force of what is asserted in the text, it will be proper to observe, that the States-General insisted that the inhabitants of the *Austrian Netherlands*, while subjects of the crown of *Spain*, were absolutely excluded from having any trade or commerce in the *West Indies*; that by the treaty of *Munster* this commerce was entirely regulated between the crown of *Spain* and the Republic, and full provision made that it should for ever remain on the foot of this regulation, for the mutual benefit of both nations, as it actually has done, that by the treaty of *Utrecht*, all was again confirmed, and his Catholic Majesty and the Republic undertook that this navigation and commerce should

remain precisely as it was, without leaving either party at liberty to make the smallest alteration; and that by the Barrier treaty it was stipulated, that his Imperial Majesty should possess and enjoy the *Austrian* or *Spanish* *Low-Countries*, in the same manner, and upon the same conditions, that they had been enjoyed and possessed by the kings of *Spain* and other princes of the house of *Austria*, and not otherwise. His Catholic Majesty's minister represents these very same points, insists upon the very same treaties, and draws the very same conclusion on the behalf of *Spain*, that had been before drawn by the States-General on their own behalf, as was afterwards very justly objected when this court changed her conduct (14).

(14) *Recueil Historique d'Actes, Negotiations, Memoires, et Traitez, par M. de Jussieu*, tom. ii. p. 65—75, 77, 78, 79.

articles in that treaty upon which the States-General founded their demand, since the *Spanish* court testified, that they understood their meaning as the States did; whereas it was insisted on by the advocates for the *Ostend* company, that those articles had no such meaning; except, in the opinion of the *Dutch*, which by this memorial is absolutely contradicted. The only objection that can possibly be made to this reasoning is, that the *Spanish* ministers were induced to acknowledge this the genuine meaning, because it was the interest of the crown of *Spain*: but to this the most satisfactory answer may be given, for if these articles, so interpreted, fall in equally with the interests of *Spain* and the Republic, this is the most decisive proof that this was the original and only meaning of those articles, because it is to be presumed in all treaties, that the mutual benefit of the contracting parties is equally considered. However it might be in the course of these disputes, it was actually proved that the court of *Spain* had already regarded the thing in this light, and had ever taken this to be the sense of those articles in its greatest rigour.

S E C T. IV.

His Catholic Majesty makes a short Turn, and tho' his Right of Opposition was the strongest of any, enters into a Treaty with the Emperor; and, in Consequence of that Measure, undertakes the Protection and Support of the New Company, which alarms all the other Powers, and produces the Treaty of Hanover.

BUT, notwithstanding all this, things soon after changed *Notwith-* their appearance, and in consequence of some private ne- *standing* gotiations, the court of *Spain* departed of a sudden from all *which they* its former maxims, and not only concluded a definitive treaty *suddenly* with his Imperial Majesty, but a formal alliance also; and, *change* which is still more extraordinary, a treaty of commerce dated *sides, and* at *Vienna* May the first, 1725, manifestly contrary to its own *an alliance* interests, as well as directly repugnant to what in this memorial had been laid down, as the judgment of his Catholic *is con-* Majesty, upon the subject of this new commerce. It is not *cluded* *with the* *Emperor,*

^a Histoire des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 69: Recueil Historique d'Actes, Negotiations, Memoires et Traitez, par M. ROUSSET, tom. iii. p. 65. * See the fifth and sixth articles

of the treaty of *Munster*, compared with the memorials before cited. ^p Corps Universelle Diplomatique, tom. viii. P. 11.

p. 106, 109, 114.

necessary

necessary to our purpose to enter deeply into the enquiry upon what motives the court of *Madrid* acted in the course of these negotiations. It is sufficient to observe, that, let those motives be what they would, it was impossible they should dissolve the engagements that either their Imperial or Catholic Majesties had formerly entered into with other princes and States; and therefore it was very reasonable for such as thought themselves injured by this new treaty, to insist upon so plain and so self-evident a principle. The great secrecy with which this negotiation was managed, which produced these treaties, was an argument that this was foreseen by the courts that concluded them; and, indeed, hardly any thing happened within the compass of men's memories that occasioned more universal astonishment than this sudden and surprizing union between powers that had so long manifested an irreconcilable aversion; but, however, this would not have given any great distaste to their allies, if they had not been persuaded by this treaty of commerce, especially, that their interests were to be sacrificed to this new friendship, which they could not, and indeed had no reason to bear with patience, or pass over in silence (L).

This measure more and more disturbs France and the Maritime Powers.

ON the conclusion of this treaty, the *Ostend* company seemed to be fixed upon so solid a foundation, that enemies and friends concluded they were not to be shaken, much less ruined and dissolved by less than a general war; a thing hard of digestion to the Maritime Powers, who were very un-

(L) It is generally believed that the court of *Vienna* was not sincere in its negotiations with that of *Madrid*, and that therefore all the mighty projects formed upon the treaties of *Vienna* would have vanished into smoke, even if they had not been opposed; but that fact is very far from being probable, much less clear, for *Spain* persisted as far as she was able, and actually commenced hostilities; neither is it at all unlikely that the Emperor would have acted the same part, if *Spain* could have supplied him with money; but the galleons, being

blocked up by the *English* fleet, rendered that impossible. Now whether the court of *Vienna* was sincere in her engagements with *Spain* or not, yet, if the harmony between these two courts had lasted till *Spain* had recovered *Gibraltar*, and the Emperor had thoroughly established his *Ostend* company, the Maritime Powers would have found themselves in a very untoward situation, which, by the measures specified in the text, was prevented, and both their Imperial and Catholic Majesties brought to accept of reasonable conditions (15).

willing to pull down the work of their own hands, and to destroy that bulwark which, with so much difficulty and expence of blood and treasure they had erected for their own security. On the other hand, they were no less unwilling to see the commerce of their subjects torn away by a prince who had never been invested with this power of ruining them, but by the pains they had taken for his preservation. But, to return to matters of fact, and the methods employed by the Maritime Powers in conjunction with *France*, which, out of regard to its own interest, very heartily joined them for pulling down this edifice, which threatened its neighbours with the loss of those advantages that for so many ages, by exhausting the wealth of their subjects and the naval power of their respective governments, had placed them in a condition to hold the balance of power, and to prevent the madness of ambitious princes from reducing the inhabitants of *Europe* into that abject state which renders *Asia* the most despicable, tho' in itself the richest, most populous, and most delightful quarter of the earth ¹. The *East India* company in *Holland* were so much alarmed at this accident, and so terrified, with the thoughts of seeing this new company on a better footing than themselves, that they could not forbear once more representing their apprehensions to their High-Mightinesses, which they did in a memorial that stated clearly as well his Imperial Majesty's departure from treaties in the setting up of a new company in the *Austrian Netherlands*, as his Catholic Majesty's breach of the fundamental maxims of the *Spanish* monarchy, and his direct violation of those treaties, to the conclusion of which he owed his crown ².

At the conclusion of this memorial there was a kind of *New* insinuation couched indeed in dark and ambiguous terms, but intelligible enough to the penetrating reader, that the company could take no notice of these new treaties, in which the States-General had no share, but must regulate their conduct by the old ones, in which they were determined to be very punctual. But, notwithstanding this was understood to hint at very vigorous proceedings in the *Indies*, yet it did not much alarm the two great courts that now made this new trade a common cause, neither did it deter the directors of the *Ostend* company from fitting out more ships for the *Indies*, or from making another call upon their capital, which was, generally speaking, complied with, and by which

¹ Histoire des Indes Orientales, tom. i. p. 331. ² Recueil Historique d'Actes, Negotiations, Memoires, et Traitez, par M. ROUSSEAU, tom. ii. p. 199.

they were in possession of three fourths of the whole money subscribed, amounting in the whole to about four hundred and fifty thousand pounds of our money *. This mortified the *Dutch East India* company exceedingly; they knew very well that if their hands were at liberty they could easily rid themselves of their enemies in the *Indies*, without waiting for the suppression of the company in *Europe*; but they were at the same time sensible of the bad effects this might have, and that the latter, tho' it was plainly the slower method, was by much the safest. They did not fail, however, to represent to the States-General; that while they were deliberating, the *Austrian* company were trading, the number of their ships increasing, their credit augmenting, and their interest in the *Indies* spreading daily farther and farther. They insisted therefore that no time was to be lost; that a categorical answer ought to be obtained from the courts of *Vienna* and *Madrid*; that, for want of this, their High-Mightinesses might be still kept in a state of inaction, which was all that the protectors of the *Ostend* company could desire, since the last call upon their capital would enable them to erect some good fortrefs in the *Indies* where their flag began already to be known and respected; so that, if no way was left of crushing them but by force, it ought not to be long delayed, since if it was even that method would not be left † (M).

But their
High
Mighti-
nesses were

WHAT they aimed at by these repeated applications, was to engage the States to take into their serious consideration how the *East India* trade was to be preserved, in case their negotiations should prove as hitherto they had done, altogether ineffectual; and also, that they might engage them to

* *Memoires du Tempes*, p. 189. † *Recueil Historique d'Actes, Negotiations, Memoires, et Traitez*, par ROUSSEAU, tom. ii. p. 213.

(M) There is very little reason to doubt that, if things had come to extremities, the *Dutch* in the *Indies* would very soon have delivered themselves from their competitors by sinking or taking their ships, from which they were restrained only from the apprehension of reprisals being made in *Europe*; but, after the conclusion of the treaty of *Lianozur*, this apprehension

was in a great measure taken away, and therefore we need not wonder that the Emperor consented to a suspension of that commerce, when, in fact, he saw plainly, that it could be carried on no longer; for if hostilities had begun in *Europe*, they would have begun and ended too in the *Indies* in a very short space of time (16).

(16) *Rousser Recueil Historique d'Actes, Negotiations, Memoires, et Traitem*, tom. v. p. 119.

press the two courts so closely, as that they might be obliged *still in-* to declare whether they meant to carry things to extremities, *clined to* or were inclined to propose some terms upon which this new *delay com-* company might be suppressed, that they might know what *ing to ex-* measures themselves were to take, and what assistance the *tremies* republic would expect from them in a case where the commonwealth might be obliged to risk its own safety in defence of those privileges which they had granted to this company. Of the expediency, and even necessity of taking some such vigorous step the States-General were so sensible, that they resolved to repeat their applications at the courts of *Vien-* *enna* and *Madrid*, in order to obtain redress *. They were strongly seconded by the courts of *London* and *Paris*, who, in the mean time, considering how little advantage had hitherto been obtained by slow and pacific measures, resolved, if possible, to quicken them by some step of another kind, which might convince both the Emperor and the King of *Spain* that they were not to be frightened with high words, or persuaded out of their properties. They took advantage therefore of the disposition the King of *Prussia* was in, who saw with some displeasure the exorbitant, and, as he conceived, the anti-constitutional power of the Emperor in *Germany*, the consequences of which he thought might be fatal to the prerogatives of himself and of other princes, with which notions striking in they concluded a defensive treaty at *Hanover*, dated *September* the third, 1725; which treaty was to subsist for fifteen years, and to which the States-General were to be invited to accede *. Tho' there is not the least mention in this treaty of the *Ostend* company, yet in the second article, it being provided that the contracting powers guaranty ~~not~~ only each other's dominions, countries, and cities, as well in as out of *Europe*, but also all their rights, privileges, and advantages; particularly those relating to trade, it was well enough understood, that under this phrase *particularly*, the *Ostend* company was included, since it was impossible it should so subsist, and the contracting parties preserve their rights and privileges relating to trade. As soon as this alliance was concluded it was not only made known to the States-General at the *Hague*, but they were likewise invited and pressed to come into it as the most effectual, and indeed the only way of procuring what they of all other powers were most interested to procure, the abolition of the new company. For, while the Emperor and the King of *Spain* continued so

* Historical Register, vol. xi. p. 23.

* Corps Universelle Diplomatique, tom. viii. P. 11. p. 127.

closely united, and the rest of the princes of *Europe* unconnected by any counter alliance, it was evident they had it in their power to do what they pleased, which was likewise visible they intended to use for many purposes absolutely irreconcilable to the interest of other princes and states; more especially, in the case of this company, which stood now upon such a foundation as must have enabled it in a few years to have sustained itself against any force brought to disturb it, since never any establishment of this kind was possessed of equal advantages, or supported by the authority of two such potentates ².

*Are slow
in resolv-
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should ac-
cede to the
treaty of
Hanover.*

BUT the *Dutch*, tho' they could not help acknowledging in general terms, the wisdom and prudence of the treaty of *Hanover*, yet did not immediately accede to it; on the contrary, they resolved to try once more the force of applications at the court of *Madrid*. It was with this view that they directed Mr. *Vander Meer*, their ambassador at that court to present a memorial to demonstrate the injustice that was done them by this late treaty with the Emperor, which memorial was actually presented on the 4th of *November*, 1725, and contained a most excellent deduction of their rights under several treaties, and a very strong, tho' succinct representation of the infractions upon these rights, made by the treaty of which they complained ³. This memorial was supported by the *English* and *French* ministers, tho' presented only by the *Dutch*, and tho' the ministry dissembled it as much as possible, yet it was known that some of the ablest members of his Catholic Majesty's council made no scruple of declaring, that the facts laid down in that memorial were not to be denied; so that from this time there wanted not a party in *Spain* that testified as great resentment against the concessions in the late treaty of commerce as the ministers of the Maritime Powers. By degrees this humour prevailed so far, that a paper was affixed at the gate of his Catholic Majesty's minister at *Rome*, containing these words: *The Spanish nation do hereby promise a reward of a hundred pistoles to any ingenious person who shall point out a single article in the three treaties lately concluded at Vienna, by which they are to be gainers* ².

² Remarks on the Treaty of Hanover, p. 33.

³ Recueil Historique, d'Actes, Negotiations, Memoires, et Traitez, par M. ROUSSET, tom. ii. p. 214.

As soon as the conclusion of the *Hanover* treaty was reported in the *Austrian Low-Countries*, the proprietors of the *Ostend* company discovered great uneasiness, on which their directors called a general court, and declared therein a dividend of the six *per cent.* upon their whole capital; tho' as we observed before, there was still a fourth part unpaid. There is no doubt that this was a very prudent measure, and well-timed, but all the effect it had was to keep their stock from sinking so fast as it would otherwise have done *. The directors likewise sent more ships to the *Indies*, and applied themselves with greater earnestness than ever to their protectors at *Vienna*, who gave them all the assistance in their power, and indeed the Imperial court for some time appeared firm in its resolution to support an establishment that in so short a time had been brought to bear, and the advantages resulting from which were perfectly well understood. The news, however was no sooner divulged, that the *English* had sent a strong squadron into the *American* seas, in order to block up the galleons, than all the politicians began to apprehend that the period was at hand when the new alliances that had created so much wonder throughout *Europe*, would be gradually broken and dissolved, without creating any wonder at all, and therefore such as were cautious, and could find any opportunity, disposed of their actions in the new *East India* company, in order to place their money in other funds, where, if it produced less, it might be however more secure. These precautions, tho' taken with as much privacy as possible, operated much to the disadvantage of the *Ostend* company, and more especially, as it deprived them of the advice of some very able heads at a time when their assistance was become most necessary †.

BUT, whatever might pass in the cabinets of princes, the public face of affairs still continued to wear a threatening aspect, and the two potent confederates, notwithstanding they saw how much the game was against them, did not hastily throw up the cards. On the contrary, the court of *Spain* set a good face upon the matter, entertained the *Dutch* minister at *Madrid* with the fairest words possible, and with unusual marks of civility and respect, affected to make light of the remonstrances from the *French* and *English* ministers, and actually sent an ambassador into *Holland* to persuade the *States-General* not only to refuse their concurrence to the *Hanover* treaty, but even to accede, under certain restrictions, to that

* *Mercuré Historique & Politique*, vol. lxxix. p. 694. † *Histoire des Indes Orientales*, tom. iii. p. 71.

of *Vienna*; in all which, tho' there was not the least air of probability, yet they left no step untried to make the world believe that they were not without hopes of success. The Emperor on his side shewed as great obstinacy, and indeed with more reason, for all the articles of the *Vienna* alliance were entirely in his favour, and the establishing the *Offend* company in the manner he designed, was a point of such infinite consequence, both with respect to honour and interest, that we need not at all wonder that he pushed it on in the manner he did, or that he laboured by several negotiations in the North to engage most of the crowns there in the support of his schemes, in which at first he had extraordinary success, but by degrees the aspect of affairs was changed, by measures which we shall next explain ^d (N).

*Their
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nesses tired*

THE States-General, seeing how little they were able to effect by memorials and representations, and beginning to feel daily more and more the bad consequences of the esta-

^c Historical Register, vol. xi. p. 35. ^d Recueil Historique d'Actes, Negotiations, Memoires, et Traitez, par ROUSSET, tom. iii. p. 151, 158, 314, 237.

(N) It appeared from a variety of circumstances, that the court of *Spain* was inclined punctually to fulfil the treaties of *Vienna*, if it had been in her power, and, after all, to have gone as far in the performing them as it was in her power, which appeared strange to such as had not considered the views of this court with attention, and very easy and natural to those who had: it is very certain that the *Spanish* nation have no reason to be pleased with the new system, injurious and prejudicial to them in all respects; but it certainly promised fair to the royal family, since if Don *Carlos*, the present King of the *Two Sicilies*, had married the eldest Archduchess *Mary Theresa*, at present the Empress Queen, it would have raised a new and

formidable power, to which it would be exceeding difficult to have set bounds, and the safety and independency of *Europe* must have depended continually on the jealousies and misunderstandings between the branches of one great family (17). According to this new system, all the immediate benefits flowing from these treaties would have resulted to the Emperor; but if that marriage had taken place, they would all have centered in the possessions of their Catholic Majesty's descendants. This accounts clearly for the conduct of the court of *Madrid*, and as it could be accounted for no other way, there is the greatest reason to believe that the secret hopes of such marriage were her real and only motives.

blishment of the *Ostend* company, with regard to their commerce in the *Indies*, took at last a resolution of acceding to the treaty of *Hanover*, notwithstanding all that their Imperial and Catholic Majesties could do to hinder it. They did accede accordingly, which very clearly demonstrated to the courts of *Vienna* and *Madrid* that it was impossible to prosecute their designs farther without the immediate hazard of a war. *Spain* seemed resolved to run the risque, and actually committed hostilities against *Great Britain*, by besieging *Gibraltar*, with very little effect and without any assistance from the Emperor, who on his side was unable to make the necessary provisions for a rupture without the receiving such supplies from *Spain* as at that time she could not afford. The court of *France* remained steady to her engagements, and appeared so willing to enter into a war against *Spain*, in conjunction with the Maritime Powers, that this court at length began to dislike the situation she was in, and to wish for reasonable terms. The court of *Vienna*, perceiving that *Spain* began to open her eyes to her own interest, and having never had really any inclination to comply with a certain marriage which their Catholic Majesties had set their hearts upon, thought likewise of a timely return to her old friends, and of renews those engagements which had been formerly productive of so many and so great advantages.

S E C T. V.

After a long Train of Operations and Negotiations, the Court of Vienna finding it absolutely necessary to temporize, consent to a Suspension of the Company's Charter, in Hopes of gaining Time, and availing themselves of some more favourable Conjunction for reviving, and carrying their Scheme into Execution.

THINGS being in this situation, it was not long before preliminaries were settled, in which there was an article that took away for the present those apprehensions that settlement of this company had raised. It was some time before it could be so digested as to satisfy all parties; but at length, the preliminaries being absolutely settled and signed at *Paris* on the twentieth day of *May*, 1727, the first article of them ran thus: "His Imperial and Catholic Majesty,

Historical Register, vol. xi. p. 39. Recueil Historique d'Actes, Negotiations, Memoires, et Traitez, par ROUSSEAU, tom. ii. p. 382.

having no other view than to contribute to the public tranquillity of *Europe*, and observing that the commerce of *Ostend* has given birth to jealousy and uneasiness, consents that there shall be a suspension of the charter of the *Ostend* company, and of all the traffic between the *Austrian Netherlands* and the *Indies* during the term of seven years. By the fifth article of the same preliminaries it was agreed, that the ships which sailed from *Ostend* before this convention, the names whereof were to be given in a list on the part of his Imperial Majesty, were to be permitted safely to return home; and, in case any of them should be taken, it was agreed that they should be *bona fide* restored with their cargoes. * This gave the decisive blow to the new company at *Ostend*, notwithstanding the prosperous condition in which their affairs had been affirmed to be in the month of *September* preceding, when, in a general assembly of the proprietors, the directors had declared, that their last sale having produced upwards of five millions of florins, they had placed a part thereof to the account of their capital, which being thereby rendered compleat, they had no farther demands upon their subscribers, which was therefore looked upon as equivalent to a dividend of twenty-five *per cent* ^h (O).

It

* Corps Universelle Diplomatique, tom. viii. P. 11. p. 146.

^h Mercure Historique & Politique, vol. lxxxi. p. 358, 359.

(O) On the 30th of *August*, 1727, his Imperial Majesty's minister, Count *Konisegg Erpi*, delivered with a very short memorial (18), a list of twelve ships belonging to the *Ostend* company that were in the *Indies* at that time, and consequently were to return under the protection of the preliminaries. But, to make this history as compleat as possible, we will not only give the reader the names of those ships, but of all the ships that were fitted out by this company while it so continued (19).

" In the year 1724, the di-

rectors sent out three ships, viz. the *Emperor Charles*, Captain *Michael Caiffes*, carrying thirty pieces of cannon, bound for the bay of *Panagal*, but was lost in the river *Ganges*. The *Empress Elizabeth*, Captain *Balthasar Rose*, carrying twenty-eight pieces of cannon bound for *China*; the *Eagle*, Captain *Nicholas Charpentier*, carrying five and twenty pieces of cannon, bound likewise for *China*. These two ships returned.

" In the Year 1725, there sailed from *Ostend* three vessels for the *Indies*, *Charles*

(18) *Recueil Historique d'Actes, Negotiations, Mémoires, et Traitemens*, tom. iii. p. 415. (19) *Mercure Historique et Politique*, tom. lxxxi. p. 388. *Recueil Historique d'Actes, Negotiations, Mémoires, et Traitemens*, tom. iii. p. 415.

It may be observed, that the antient allies of his Imperial Majesty were content, provided full satisfaction was given them, that it should be given in the gentlest manner, and in that which least affected the credit and authority of so great a monarch; for it is not to be doubted, that tho' nothing more than a temporary suspension appeared in the preliminaries, yet an absolute suppression of the *Ostend* company was concluded, for nothing less could answer the ends of the Maritime Powers, nor would they have gained any thing by this suspension of commerce for seven years, considering what was stipulated on their side, but would rather have done their competitors a favour. Whereas, considering it in the other light, and that they relied on the tacit assurances given them, with which his Imperial Majesty afterwards punctually complied, that the commerce of this company should never be restored to activity, their concession appears to have been well founded, and to have been a caution necessary for preventing new jealousies or disputes, which it was expedient for both parties to avoid as much as possible: and thus this

the Sixth, Captain *James Winter*, carrying thirty-six pieces of cannon, bound for the Bay of *Bengal*; the *Empress*, Captain *Clarke*, carrying thirty-four pieces of cannon, bound for *China*; the *Marquis de Prie*, Captain *Andrew Vlaendering*, carrying thirty-six pieces of cannon, bound likewise for *China*; all these vessels returned.

In the year 1726, there failed five vessels, the *Lion of Gold*, Captain *James Larne*, carrying thirty-six pieces of cannon, bound for *China*; the *Eagle*, Captain *John Wael*, carrying thirty-four pieces of cannon, bound likewise for *China*; the *Peace*, Captain *Philip Perronet*, carrying thirty-six pieces of cannon, bound for *Bengal*; and the *Hope*, Captain *Nicholas Charpentier*, carrying thirty-four pieces of cannon, likewise for *Bengal*.

In the year 1727, there failed four vessels for the In-

cludes, the *Archduchess Elisabeth*, Captain *Michael Cai-faes*, carrying thirty-two pieces of cannon, bound for *Bengal*, *Charles the sixth*, Captain *De Meyenne*, carrying twenty-eight pieces of cannon, bound likewise for *Bengal*. The *Concord*, Captain *Ryngaert*, carrying thirty-six pieces of cannon, bound for *China*; the *Marquis de Prie*, Captain *Branwer*, carrying twenty-eight pieces of cannon, bound likewise for *China*. The *St. Anthony of Padua*, commanded by *John Van Braekel*; the *St. Ann*, commanded by *Matthew Clyngaert*; and the *St. Joseph*, commanded by *Daniel Petre*, sailed in May and June, in nature of advice-boats for the coast of *Brasil*, in order to meet the homeward-bound ships, to inform their commanders of the state of affairs; and these last twelve were the ships in the list before-mentioned."

thorny and perplexed business was at length adjusted, which had so long attracted the attention of all Europe, the Emperor preferring the security of the succession in his family, and the welfare of his dominions in general to this favourite project on the behalf of the *Austrian Low-Countries*; as, on the other hand, the *Hanover* allies satisfied in carrying this great point, were willing to afford his Imperial Majesty, as they some time after did, the most convincing marks of a sincere and thorough reconciliation: ¹ (P).

The facts laid down in this account make the history of this section independent of arguments.

THERE have been, we are very sensible, accounts very different from this, in regard as to the motives, measures, and issue of the *Hanover* alliance, in which it is suggested that the plan of the *East Indies* was only a plausible pretence; that the real ends of that alliance were of very little, if any importance to the Maritime Powers; and that in the conclusion, *France* found her particular interest better served by

¹ Recueil Historique d'Actes, Negotiations, Memoires, et Traitez, par ROUSSEAU, tom. v. p. 133, 134, 135.

(P) It was impossible fully to discuss this affair without entering into the history of the negotiations with which the suspension and suppression of the *Ostend* company was attended; but we have brought these into as narrow a compass as possible, and with this view have avoided saying any thing of the treaty of *Seville*, or the disputes it occasioned, reserving this note to inform the reader that the crown of *Great Britain* having concluded with his Imperial Majesty a treaty, which was signed at *Vienna*, March the 16th, 1731, by the fifth article of which his Imperial Majesty consents to the total and absolute suppression of the *Ostend* company, and undertakes that neither that shall be revived, nor any other of the same nature erected in any part of the *Spanish Low-Countries*, at any time to come; but, at the same time stipulates, that the *Ostend* company may, for the last time,

send two ships to the *East Indies*, which were to be permitted also a safer return, and thenceforward all their power and privileges were to determine; granted on the other hand her guaranty for the Pragmatic Sanction, and undertook to procure the guaranty likewise of the States General of the United Provinces (20). It is therefore plain, that in the sentiments of the contracting parties to these treaties, there were reciprocal advantages stipulated with which they were mutually content; and, as the Maritime Powers by this act took upon themselves a trust of the highest importance, and which they have since executed with great hazard and at an immense expence, we may safely infer that they have purchased, and dearly purchased, whatever benefits they either have derived, or may derive, from the concessions made in this treaty by the house of *Austria*.

(20) Corps Universelle Diplomatique, tom. xv. p. 288.

this treaty than any other power. It would be much beside our purpose to enter into this controversy, which, whatever way it turns, will not in any degree affect what we have advanced; to prove which, is indeed the only reason that we mentioned it. For whether this new commerce to the *Indies* was in itself so directly contrary to treaties; or whether the destroying it was the prime ground of *Great Britain's* entering into this alliance, are matters which we are not bound to discuss. What related to our subject, and what concerns the business of this section, was to shew how, and by what authority, the new company was erected; whence so much umbrage was taken to its commerce; what arguments were advanced to prove its incompatibility with the general system of *Europe*; the means by which the powers insisting upon these arguments brought them at length to bear; and how, in consequence of all this, a company established with such high expectations, and carried on for some time with such extraordinary success, came at last to sink, and to be suppressed by that power which erected it, and was alone concerned in interest to support it. These are all matters of fact, and matters of fact that very nearly concern us; if therefore these be set in such a light as is agreeable to truth, and give the reader a clear view from first to last of a very important transaction; those other political conjectures and discussions are out of the question, with respect to us; for whatever the secret views of this treaty might be, how much soever *France* might avail herself of this alliance, to bring back *Spain* to a dependency upon her, yet the suppression of the *Ostend* company, which was a thing of infinite importance to the Maritime Powers, and to which therefore they owed particular attention, was thereby absolutely accomplished; and so far at least they were great gainers by this alliance ^k.

BUT it was not barely attachment to punctilio, and a desire of having every thing treated with the greatest decorum, which induced the Imperial ministers to procure the first point in the preliminaries to mention a suspension only; though a suppression was really intended of the company at *Ostend*, they had several other reasons for insisting upon that step; and, as some of these regard our subject, we shall mention them. The hopes of sharing in this lucrative commerce, having brought many rich as well as active people to interest themselves therein, it was held convenient to manage this

^k *Mémoires des demandes faites, par les Plenipotentiaires des Etats Generaux, au Nom des Allies de Hanover, aux Allies de Vienne, juip 30, 1728.*

affair with much caution, to avoid as far as possible, either injuring or disobliging them, towards which, nothing could contribute more than proceeding with visible slowness and reluctance on the part of his Imperial Majesty¹. The gaining time in this matter was of consequence to the Imperial Ministers in another respect, as it afforded them an opportunity of magnifying the sacrifice they had made, and of procuring reciprocal acts of friendship from those in whose favour they had made it, which, in process of time, they in a great measure accomplished by the subsequent treaty of *Vienna*. Lastly, it afforded them leisure to consider whether, notwithstanding the suppressing the company at *Ostend*, some other method might not be found for establishing either that, or the like beneficial commerce, in some other part of his Imperial Majesty's dominions, where it might not be liable to those formidable objections which had been already raised against this attempt in the *Austrian Netherlands*, in which, however, they were not very lucky, though they employed much attention and spared no pains about it; and as this likewise has a strict connection with our subject, it will not be amiss to shew the nature of those endeavours in a manner as clear and as succinct as possible^m.

S E C T. VI.

The Methods taken to support the Company, and elude all Stipulations for suppressing their Commerce with the Indies, by obtaining Passports from neutral Powers, and bringing their Cargoes into different Ports, which protracted things for some time, but in the end proved ineffectual.

A project for transferring this commerce to some other ports in his Imperial Majesty's dominions.

THE places that were thought of upon this occasion, were *Trieste* and *Fiume*, two small towns which are about fifty miles asunder. The former is situated in the principality of *Carniola*, at the bottom of a gulph which passes by the same name, and opens into that of *Venice*; the other in *Croatia*, upon the gulph of *Venice* likewise, with several islands before it. The peninsula of *Istria* lies between them, which belongs to the republic of *Venice*; and the communication through the country behind them is none of the safest or

¹ Recueil Historique d'Actes, Negotiations, Memoires, et Traitez, par ROUSSET, tom. vi. p. 3. ^m Mercure Historique et Politique, tom. lxxx. p. 639.

most convenient. These ports are neither of them large or commodious; of some improvements indeed they are capable, and these have been made, and the fortifications, which were tolerable, repaired. After all, however, they were but poor places and ill situated, so that it was plain their chief recommendation arose from their being the only ports that the Emperor had: all the measures were practised that could be devised to give these little havens an air of importance; the mole at *Trieste* was completed, magazines erected, and a man of war was said to be put upon the stocks. At *Fiume*, the harbour was cleaned, a fort or two erected in its neighbourhood, and an Inspector of Marine sent thither. New privileges were granted to the inhabitants; all sorts of immunities offered to strangers who would settle there; and, in a word, every art practised that might probably contribute to draw trade to them; and, as marks still of greater favour, his Imperial Majesty *Charles* the sixth, went thither towards the close of the year 1728, saw the man of war launched at *Trieste*, and made his public entry into *Fiume*, where a triumphal arch was erected with a pompous inscription, celebrating his great power by sea as well as land, and complementing him on his being the protector of commerce, and the guardian of the arts of peace. But all was ineffectual, the deficiencies of these places were apparent and not to be remedied; so that all the rhetoric of the court of *Vienna* was thrown away, and such of the *Ostend* projectors as embarked themselves in this scheme, lost some of their money and all their reputation.

THE manufactories too, that had been erected in the duchy of *Austria*, and in other of the hereditary dominions, hardly supported themselves, and nothing but the interposition of their Imperial Majesties, in favour of that of porcelain at *Vienna*, could have prevented it from being given up; and it now turns to some account. These disappointments drove the undertakers for establishing an *East India* commerce, from the Imperial court, and lessened very much that attention, which, for some years, the principal ministers had paid to trade; which they began to consider as a plant of foreign growth, that would not thrive in any soil where they could place it: some of the younger ministers, however, began to take a pleasure in considering these schemes, and enquiring into the true causes of their proving always abortive, which they quickly discovered to be their introduction by strangers, to whom the people, in those countries have a great aver-

But, notwithstanding all imaginable endeavours to bring it to bear, proves abortive.

ⁿ *Geographie Moderne*, par *ABRAHAM DU BOIS*, p. 189.
^s *Dictionnaire de Commerce*, tom. ii. col. 295.

sion, and the weight of their taxes, and the bad management of the finances, by which all branches of public service were in arrear at the same time that the subject was exhausted, and in no capacity of undertaking any thing that would do more than supply immediate subsistence.^p By degrees, as some of these statesmen have risen in employments, they have made use of such lights as those enquiries furnish'd, have put many things upon a better footing, rendered the great roads more commodious, and have brought several manufactures to bear; all which ought to be attributed to the memorials that were presented by such, as if the thing had been practicable, would have repaired the loss the subjects of his Imperial Majesty had sustained by the suppression of the company at *Ostend*; and if, in those days the court had been as well disposed in favour of the people of *Hungary* as they are at present, something might have been done on that side more considerable, while *Belgrade* was in the hands of his Imperial Majesty, which was very advantageously situate for carrying on of trade with the several Christian nations that were subjects of the *Ottoman empire*.^q But, while these measures were taking at *Vienna*, the directors of the *Ostend* company (without his Imperial Majesty's privity) were contriving to keep their commerce still on foot by a variety of methods, which, tho' they sometimes promised success, in the close, however, proved absolutely fruitless and ineffectual.

The directors of the Ostend company, however, enter into schemes for carrying on their commerce.

AFTER the first astonishment, on the suspension of their commerce was over, those who were intrusted with the secrets of the *Ostend* company began to reflect with themselves, that ships had found their way to and from the *East Indies* without any better protection than passports, before they had any charter; and they concluded from thence, that it might not prove impossible to send some vessels thither still by the same method, and get them back again with the like success, provided passports could be obtained from some crowned head. Accordingly they formed a project upon this basis, and, as it is said that money will purchase all things, so, by the help of that, they found a proprietor and a protector for some of their ships (Q). The former was Mr. *Adam Pruner*, a
rich

^p From private Information. ^q *MARSILII, Opus Danubiale, tom. vi.* ^r *Recueil Historique, d'Actes, Negotiations, Memoires et Traitez, tom. viii. p. 303.*

{Q} The dexterity of those trading company at *Ostend*, appeared in every thing they did; and

rich merchant of *Lintz*, in *Austria*, who, on certain necessary occasions, was to pass for the owner of ships and cargoes; the latter was the late king of *Poland*, from whom the *Austrian* merchants procured a passport for the *St. Theresa*, and other ships, the names of which are not known. In the *Indies* the company had a very able agent at the head of their affairs, one who had an equal share of intrepidity and industry, and who, residing in the factory on the *Ganges*, pro-

and, more especially, in that diversity of methods by which they endeavoured to secure themselves a retreat, at the very same time that they laboured to keep up an opinion as well in the *Indies* as in *Europe*, that they should still be able to stand their ground; and that, notwithstanding the situation of the Emperor's affairs, was such as obliged him to consent to a suspension of their commerce; yet this was only to give time for examining into the rights upon which their charter was granted, and, as these were incontestible, all things would at last issue in their favour. By these arts, and by the help of some ships that arrived from the *Indies*, they kept up the price of their stock for above a year after the signing preliminaries, upon which many knowing people thought it would have sunk to nothing (21). However, in *October* 1728, they discharged the workmen in their yards, and many other of their inferior servants, upon which their stock fell very considerably in the summer of 1729; however, they contrived by a variety of reports to raise it again to seventy-four; but, before the close of that year, it fell to little more than fifty.

After all these misfortunes, in a general court held *March* 30th, 1730, the directors produced their accounts, and acknowledged that the cash of the company amounted to upwards of seven millions and a half, exclusive of four millions, that it was believed would arise from the sale of their effects, fixed for the first of *June*; and, in consequence of this, they declared a dividend of forty *per Cent.* (22), ten *per Cent.* of which was to be paid in money, and the other thirty in bills that were to be discharged in a reasonable time after the sale; an artifice by which numbers of the proprietors were deceived, and still flattered themselves with hopes that their directors, who had already done so much, would be still able to do more, and find the ways and means of carrying on their trade by some secret canal, in spite of all the negotiations and treaties, and in spite too of the vigilance of the maritime powers, who made no scruple now of owning their intention to seize and make prizes of any vessels that should appear to have sailed from *Europe* after the signing of the preliminaries (23).

(21) *Mercurius Historicus et Politicus*, tom. lxxxv.—p. 475, 476 (22) *ibid.* tom. lxxxviii. p. 475, 476.

(23) See the *Historical Register*, and other periodical works in these years.

vided ladings for such ships as came thither; and particularly for two, of which the *St. Theresa* was one, at the proper season in 1730 *. This, tho' carried on very secretly, could not escape the notice of the *English* and *Dutch*, who, towards the close of the month of *January* in the same year, sent a Squadron under the command of Captain *Goffright* in the *Fordwich* to block up the river. Upon his arrival, in his station, he found the two ships at anchor, upon which he ordered the *Princess Caroline* to attack them, and the *Duke of York*, another ship under his command, to support him. As soon as the *Princess Caroline* was within reach of the lesser of the two ships, she fired a gun, by which one of the men on board her lost his leg, and another had his arm broke, and the Captain was very near being killed, who, perceiving that the *Duke of York* was preparing to grapple and board her, struck to the *Princess Caroline*, while his consort slipped and took shelter under the cannon of the factory, where it was not thought expedient at that time to follow and attack her, and she afterwards had the good fortune to escape †.

In order to which they find means to procure passports from the crowns of Poland and Prussia. UPON the bringing of the prize to *Fort William*, she appeared to be the *St. Teresa*, commanded by Captain *Dominick Braco*, but she had not taken in above one third of her lading. Not long after this news arrived in *Europe*, the directors of the *Ostend* company procured an application to be made by his *Polish* Majesty's minister for the discharge of this ship, as having sailed from *Europe* under his protection, which, however, did not succeed so well as they expected †. This was, in all probability, the reason that they had recourse to another court, which was that of *Prussia*, and obtained from thence a protection for the *Apollo*, commanded by Captain *Michael Caiefas*, of the burthen of four hundred ton, which passport was dated at *Berlin*, on the first of *May*, 1729; but, as the blanks for the name and burthen of the ship appeared, upon inspection, to be filled up long after it was granted, there was great reason to believe that the court of *Prussia* was not acquainted with the use that was intended to be made of it; and, that this surreptitious pass was conveyed to the commander of that vessel, when he was homeward bound, by some of the advice-boats belonging to the *Ostend* company; but, however it was, this matter, was ma-

* *Mercurie Historique et Politique*, tom. xci. p. 100. † Extract from a private letter, dated at *Fort-William* in the Bay of *Bengal*, February 26th, 1729-30. * From private information.

naged with such dexterity and diligence, that the secret was never absolutely discovered ; but Captain *Caiefas*, having got this passport into his hands, availed himself of it, as the reader will see, and thereby preserved both ship and cargo, tho' not without running through some difficulties and dangers *.

UPON his returning into the seas of *Europe*, he hoisted *Prussian* colours, and, being obliged to put into a port in *Ireland* for shelter, received such succours as he wanted, and then continued his voyage for the *Elbe*. In proceeding up that river he came to an anchor under the fortress of *Stade*, belonging to his *Britannick* Majesty, as Elector of *Hanover*, where he paid the port-duties, was received and treated as a *Prussian* ship, and when he had dispatched whatever affairs he had there, sailed for *Hamburgh*, in which port he arrived the 12th of *September*, 1731 †. The directors of the *Ostend* company, being informed of the safe arrival of the *Apollo*, were transported with joy ; and, to revive the drooping spirits of their proprietors, very imprudently gave out, that notwithstanding they were deprived of the liberty of supplying their magazines in the *Netherlands*, they would notwithstanding furnish all *Germany* and † the North with *East India* commodities, and for this purpose were determined to establish their staple at *Hamburgh* ; and, in support of these declarations, they published advertisements in all the gazettes, of the time when their public sale was to commence in that city †. They grounded their hopes of being able to go through this affair with the same success which had hitherto attended it, upon the great privileges granted by the empire for encouraging the navigation of the *Elbe*, and upon the authority of the free city of *Hamburgh*, not doubting that the magistrates for the sake of the advantage their citizens would reap from these sales, and the great resort of merchants thither, on that account, would give them all the assistance in their power ; in which, as the event shewed, they were not much mistaken, and, all circumstances considered, this was certainly as shrewd a contrivance as they could possibly have devised in the then desperate state of their affairs, and shews that these managers were men of very great abilities, and would have sustained this traffic if it had been possible ‡.

* *Recueil Historique d'Actes, Negotiations, Memoires et Traitez*, tom. viii. p. 303, 304. † *Mercure Historique et Politique*, tom. xci. p. 342. ‡ See the memorial of Sir *Cyri! Wyche*, and Mr. *Mauritius*, in which those facts are affirmed.

‡ *Recueil Historique d'Actes, Negotiations, Memoires et Traitez*, tom. viii. p. 304.

*Application there-
upon, by the
ministers
of the Ma-
ritime
Powers, to
the regency
of that
city.*

BUT the Maritime Powers foreseeing that the last mischief would be worse than the first, if a speedy and effectual remedy was not applied, agreed upon a joint application to the magistrates and senate of *Hamburgh*, and accordingly Sir *Cyril Wych*, and Mr. *Mauricius*, the *British* and *Dutch* ministers, presented a memorial conceived in very strong terms, in which they set forth, that an interloper employed in a clandestine and illicit trade, in direct breach of treaties, had taken shelter in their port and pretended to expect protection and impunity. That this vessel, called *the Apollo*, was returned with a cargo from the *East Indies*, to which they had no right to resort; and therefore insisted the vessel should be sequestered, and her contents secured, so that no clandestine sale might be made, before the Maritime Powers had an opportunity of discussing this matter with such potentates, as might unexpectedly interfere; adding, that they relied upon this, the rather as it would give them an opportunity of doing justice to the magistrate and senate, to their high constituents, whose favour it behoved them to consider, rather than expose the commerce of their great and opulent city to imminent dangers in the cause of they knew not who^a. This memorial was dated the 10th of *December*, and the magistrates easily comprehending the importance of this affair, engaged the senate to communicate it immediately to the great Assembly of their citizens, who, by the constitutions of *Hamburgh*, are the judges of such matter in the last resort; and, having received their sentiments, the result of them was signified on the twelfth of the same month, to the *British* and *Dutch* ministers to the following effect^b.

*Answer
made to
this memo-
rial, on be-
half of the
free Impe-
rial city of
Ham-
burgh.*

THAT the senate had been indeed informed, that the ship called *the Apollo*, came from *China*, and was expected from thence some time before her arrival; but that this vessel had put into a port in *Ireland*, had passed freely through the *British* chanel, had declared whence she was bound, and her cargo, and had paid duty at the custom-house of *Staden* belonging to the king of *Great Britian*, as duke of *Bremen* and *Verden*, and had been now three months in her port, where she had delivered most of her cargo without interruption or complaint. That in this case they apprehended themselves not able to comply with what was desired, but that they hoped their reasons would be fairly represented. That, in the memorial demanding the arrest and sequestration of the ship and cargo, two points seem to be laid down; the first, that this vessel was not under any protection; the se-

^a See that Memorial in the work last cited. ^b Recueil Historique d'Actes, Negotiations, Mémoires, et Traitez, tom.viii. p. 307.

cond, that, coming from the *Indies*, she had no right to anchor in their road: with respect to the first, the vessel had indubitably a *Prussian* passport, which had been examined and respected at *Stade*, and her having been three months in their harbour in that quality, and this fact being published in the gazettes, without any complaint from the court of *Prussia*, they could have no reason to question the fact. That the senate knew very well it did not belong to her to decide the rights and pretensions in question between great powers; and, that as these ministers suggested in their memorial, that this point was to be cleared between their high constituents and some other potentates, that ought, in justice and equity, to excuse them from interposing precipitately, and thereby involving themselves in the dispute, not only with his *Prussian* Majesty, but with those other potentates whoever they were: that, as to the second point, the *Elbe* was a common and free river to the whole *Germanic* empire, appertaining to his Imperial Majesty as chief of the Empire, and to the electors and princes, more especially to those that have territories lying thereon; that therefore it is not in the power of the city of *Hamburg* to violate the liberties and privileges of a river which belongs to the Emperor and the Empire, since that would be a manifest departure from her fidelity and duty; and that, besides, it is utterly consistent with her interest and constitution, her inhabitants subsisting entirely by her free commerce, having a right to admit any ships whatever into her harbour, not known to be enemies to the Empire, or pirates, so that she could not avoid receiving a vessel, having his *Prussian* Majesty's passport, and carrying *Prussian* colours; more especially, after she had been respected and treated as such at his *Britannic* Majesty's fortress and custom-house at *Stade*. That, as to the remaining part of the memorial, the senate, after the duties were once paid, never interfered farther with the cargoes of any ships, but left the proprietors of them to dispose of them as they thought proper, according to the usage of all free-trading cities; so that, except the general declaration at the custom-house, they had no knowledge whatever of the contents of this vessel, so that it was absolutely impracticable, at the distance of three months to do what was required; more especially as it was impossible for them to learn to whom the remains of these goods belonged, or how the property might be changed by their being sold, pledged, or bartered, not to mention their being bound by their oath, agreeable to the fundamental laws and constitutions of the city; not to search houses, warehouses, cellars, and other places, appertaining to the citizens and inhabitants,

inhabitants, unless for some capital crime; which, if they should attempt, it would be fatal to what little commerce and trade they had still left, and would be, at the same time, fruitless, and to no purpose. That therefore the honourable senate besought the Envoy extraordinary *Wych*, and the Resident *Mauricius*, to represent favourably to his *Britannic* Majesty, and to the States-General, the impossibility of the senate and city's complying with the demands contained in their memorial; and that, on the other hand, the senate is ready and willing to do, to the utmost of her small power, whatever may contribute to promote and render flourishing the *British* and *Dutch* commerce in their city.

But, at the same time, THE magistrates and senate of *Hamburg*, the very same day that they returned this answer to the maritime powers, the regency wrote a letter to the Emperor, conceived in very strong, but very wisely demand his Imperial Majesty's protection.

At the same time in very respectful terms; setting forth the difficulties they were under, the apprehensions they had of incurring the displeasure of two great powers, and their inability to avoid this, without breach of their fidelity to the empire, violating the constitution of the liberties of their city, and sacrificing those privileges and immunities by which not only its commerce was preserved, but upon which also its very subsistence depended; and therefore claiming his Imperial Majesty's interposition and protection, in a case of such high importance, and as their sole resource in that peril and perplexity in which they were. But, before they could receive any answer to this letter, the ministers of the maritime powers presented another memorial, on the 14th of the same month, conceived in still stronger terms; requiring, that they should use their utmost endeavours to preserve the cargo of the *Apollo* intire, and that they should forbid, or at least suspend, the public sale, advertised for the *Wednesday* following, at the house of one *Govers*, inasmuch as they were well informed, that those goods were not his property, but belonged to foreigners, and particularly to *Dutchmen*, for whom he was only factor; that it was not the intention of his *Britannic* Majesty, or their High Mightinesses, to offer the least wrong or prejudice to the city of *Hamburg*, or inhabitants, unless they drew it upon themselves, but was principally designed to hinder their own subjects from carrying on an illicit trade, under colour of some foreign protection; and that therefore the magistrates would easily comprehend, that, in case they tolerated this sale, after this notice, it would be

° Lettre du Magistrat de Hambourg à l'Empereur, du 12 Decembre 1731.

come

come a very serious affair, since they did not protect therein their own subjects, but those of other nations, in the breach of the laws of their respective countries *.

To this memorial, those to whom it was addressed made a speedy and copious reply, still insisting on the grand privilege of the river *Elbe*, the great impropriety of their taking upon them to be judges in disputes between the principal powers in *Europe*, and the hazard they should run of dis- obliging the king of *Prussia*, and of being thought to dishonour the whole empire, if they pretended to do what was demanded *. They likewise wrote again to the Emperor, on the 19th of the same month, in terms more pathetic than before, beseeching him to take some measures for securing their sinking commerce, and to engage the maritime powers not to attempt any thing to the prejudice of the free navigation of the *Elbe*, which till now had never been disputed †. But, notwithstanding all these memorials, the maritime powers found themselves in no situation to push this matter to the utmost; for, soon after, certain persons interposed, of too high a rank to be disobliged; so that, notwithstanding the goods were sold, they chose rather to let the thing be spun to a great length, and at last be intirely dropped, than to proceed to extremities, as not knowing how far his Imperial Majesty might find himself obliged to support the free navigation of the *Elbe*, or whether the king of *Prussia* might not at length interfere, from a point of honour, in support of his flag, with whom, at that juncture, it was by no means convenient to have any difference. In this instance, therefore, the *Ostend* company seemed to prevail; with which the directors were highly pleased, and flattered themselves from thence, that they had fallen upon a method of carrying on their trade, notwithstanding what was stipulated in treaties; but it was not long before they found the contrary, and that his Imperial Majesty was determined to make his peace with the maritime powers, at their expence ‡.

UPON receiving advice at *Ostend* of the time when another ship of theirs, called the *Syren*, was to return to *Europe*, they took care to send an advice-boat, with orders to the commander to put into the port of *Cadiz*; where, on his arrival, he found a French ship, called the *Maria Armand*, on board which, all

* *Memoire historique et politique*, tom. xci. p. 553. *Recueil historique d'Actes, Negotiations, Memoires, et Traitez*, tom. viii. p. 319, 320, 321.

† *Memoire historique et politique*, tom. lxxxi. p. 692, 693.

‡ *Lettre de la Ville de Hambourg ecrite à l'Empereur*. * *Merçure historique et politique*, tom. xxi.

p. 336.

burgh,
under pre-
sence of
being Spa-
nish pro-
perty.

the cargo was transferred, and the *French* captain took a bill of lading, importing, that the goods were the sole property of a *Spanish* merchant, and then sailed for *Hamburgh*, where they had their agents to sell them privately ^a. The maritime powers, however, had intelligence of the whole transaction, and, to avoid the inconveniencies they had met with in the former affair, applied themselves directly to his Imperial Majesty; representing, that these artifices were direct violations of the treaties which his Imperial Majesty had concluded. The Emperor, having considered this representation maturely, sent his rescript to his minister at *Hamburgh*, dated *October* the first, 1732, at *Lintz* in *Austria*; by which he signified to the magistrates and senate, that being informed that the late company at *Ostend*, notwithstanding the signification of his pleasure, had caused a ship freighted with commodities from the *Indies* to be sent thither, in order to be exposed to sale in that city, his Imperial Majesty, being resolved not to permit either the late company, or any of the subjects of his hereditary countries, to carry on an illicit trade, contrary to treaties, desired, that they would not only prevent any such sale, but also that they would cause the goods to be sequestered ¹. The burgomasters and council of *Hamburgh*, instead of complying with this rescript, remonstrated, that, upon inquiry, it had been made appear to them, that neither the ship nor the goods belonged to the *Ostend* company, or to any of the subjects of his Imperial Majesty, but that the ship was *French*, and the cargo belonged to a *Spanish* merchant, as might appear by the papers subjoined. His Imperial Majesty, however, was so well apprised of every artifice that had been used, that he persisted in his demand; and this notwithstanding the *Spanish* court signified to the agent of *Hamburgh* at *Madrid*, that the cargo of the *Maria Armand* was *Spanish* property ² (R).

S E C T.

^a Recueil historique d'Actes, Negotiations, Memoires, et Traitez, par M. ROUSSET, tom. viii. p. 89. ¹ Mercure historique et politique, tom. xciii. p. 573, 574. ² Recueil historique d'Actes, Negotiations, Memoires, et Traitez, par M. ROUSSET, tom. viii. p. 343.

(R) At the very same time that the directors were contriving and putting in practice these schemes to keep their commerce alive, notwithstanding the treaties that had been

or might be made for its suspension or suppression, they made no scruple of availing themselves of the stipulations his Imperial Majesty had made in their favour, in respect to their

S E C T. VII.

The Conclusion of this Affair, and the total Extinction of the Ostend Company; with some curious Remarks upon this interesting Subject; and a Display of the Difficulties that will attend all Projects for establishing any new Companies of this Sort, from the Opposition of the European Powers already in Possession of this Trade.

AFTER the sequestration was made, this affair was spun ^{His Imperial Ma-} to a great length, no endeavours being spared to get it ^{justly inter-} removed; but when these were found altogether ineffectual, ^{posed his} some overtures were made of another kind; and at last things ^{authority,} were brought to this conclusion. The magistrates and senate ^{in order to} of *Hamburg* published a decree; in which they recited, that ^{put an end} the *Ostend* company being abolished, in conformity to treaties; ^{to all these} and that whereas the sale of the cargo of the *Apollo*, and the ^{practices.} arrival and delivery of the cargo of the *Maria Armand*, had given great suspicions and uneasinesses to the maritime powers, at whose solicitation his Imperial Majesty had signified his pleasure to them, that no countenance should be given to such illicit trade; they therefore, to shew the honour and respect they had for his Imperial Majesty, as well as to remove the before-mentioned suspicions, directed their subjects,

their sending two ships to the *Indies*, to which the maritime powers were to give no disturbance, either in their outward or in their homeward-bound passage. These vessels were the *Concord*, of five hundred tons, forty pieces of cannon, and eighty men, commanded by Captain *James de Lormes*; and the *Duke of Lorraine*, of the same burden, carrying forty-four pieces of cannon, and one hundred and ninety men, commanded by Captain *Le Clerc*; which sailed from the road of *Ostend*, with *Dutch* passports, in the beginning of the month of *April* 1732, having on board a large quantity of timber and stores, for refitting a ship belonging to the company, then lying in the bay of *Bingal* (24). These ships returned safely to *Ostend*, towards the latter end of the year 1734; and his Imperial Majesty being then engaged in a war with the crowns of *France* and *Spain*, and having a greater dependence than ever on the interposition of the maritime powers, all thoughts of supporting this commerce were intirely laid aside (25).

(24) *Mémoire historique et politique, tom. xcii. p. 480.* (25) *Recueil historique d'Actes, Négociations, Mémoires, et Traitez, par Roussier, tom. viii. p. 343—479.*

the present circumstances considered, not to interfere with- or to have any thing to do, for the future, with such inter-lopers. And, upon the publication of this decree, the sequestration was taken off, and the goods in question were privately withdrawn ¹. Thus ended these tedious disputes, and with them the artificial contrivances of the directors of the *Ostend* company, to elude the suppression of their commerce with the *Indies*, which had given so much trouble and disquiet to the maritime powers, and which raised a spirit which, though quelled in the *Low Countries*, has not, however, ceased to appear in other parts, as the reader will be informed hereafter, and which, it is very possible, may occasion, some time or other, new disturbances, when an acquaintance with the facts contained in this chapter will prove a very useful and necessary kind of knowledge; nor will it be amiss to add a few farther particulars flowing from the same subject.

Some
thoughts
have been
since en-
tertained
of sending
ships to the
East In-
dies.

WHEN, in consequence of a long train of negotiations, the grand-duchy of *Tuscany* came into the possession of the duke of *Lorrain*, and that prince espoused the heiress of the house of *Austria*, some new schemes in favour of commerce, and even of an *East India* commerce, came again under consideration; which, however, were postponed upon the death of his Imperial Majesty, on account of the war which that event produced, and the complaisance that it became necessary to have for the maritime powers. Yet it is reported, that certain privateers, fitted out in the havens of one of the maritime powers, had actually commissions to make reprisals in the *Indies*, for some injuries done, or said to be done, to the subjects of his late Imperial Majesty, when they traded there under the sanction of the charter granted to the *East India* company in the *Austrian Netherlands* ^m. What the consequences might have been, if those ships had reached *India*, and had made captures amongst the *Moorish* ships, by virtue of this commission, cannot with any certainty be affirmed; but, without doubt, they would not have done either honour or service to the country from whence those ships were to have sailed; and where some notice being given of their design, it was very happily prevented. Yet these vessels entering afterwards into the Emperor's service, as grand duke of *Tuscany*, a report prevailed in the world, as if a new *East India* company would be erected at *Florence* or *Laghorn*; but, whether this was only a report, or whether upon trial the

¹ This decree was dated January 15th, 1734. ^m This fact is too recent, and of a nature too delicate, to admit of any explanation.

thing was found impracticable, the design seems to be laid aside, and another, better calculated to succeed, substituted in its room; which, instead of an *Indian*, respects a commerce in the *Levant*; where, by means of the treaties concluded with the Porte, and all the corsairs of *Barbary*, it is supposed they may carry on a trade with advantage, and, in this case, the ports of *Trieſte* and *Fiume*, which, in consequence of the pains taken about them have more shipping and traffick than they had, will likewise receive benefit. Here then is an additional advantage, arising even from disappointed projects; so that it seems as if the very endeavouring to introduce trade into countries where it is not already settled, or opening new branches where it is, brings, sooner or later, benefits of some kind or other, though perhaps not precisely what were expected.

ALL these endeavours, disappointments, and new projects, are so many cogent and incontestible proofs of the value of that commerce, by the hopes of attaining which they were excited. For if the ministers of the Imperial court were not fully satisfied, that it was in truth the master-wheel which put in motion all the rest, why did they express so much concern and uneasiness about it; or why embark in such a multiplicity of negotiations to preserve it, to recover it, or to retrieve but part of it? All this certainly could not proceed from their being the dupes of projectors, but from a thorough conviction, founded on experience, which made them so heavily regret a loss, the value of which themselves could not compute, though they had made several trials while the trade was still subsisting. And with the sight of something of this kind, perhaps the reader will not be displeased, since it will at once furnish an apology for their conduct, and for our own, in prosecuting this matter so minutely. They conceived them, if the *Ostend* company had been once effectually established, the whole *East India* trade, in less than a century, would have been confined to the *Austrian Netherlands*, and, perhaps, the greatest part of the trade in *Europe* must have followed it. In order to explain this, we must remember, that the *Austrian Low Countries* are in themselves much finer than the provinces which compose the *Dutch* republic, and much better situated for trade. Their sales of *East India* commodities would have brought prodigious sums of ready money into those provinces; and this must have revived and restored those manufactures, which formerly flourished there more than in any part of *Europe*, which would have secured to them all the commerce of *Germany*, and, by degrees, that of the north. In such circumstances, what should have hindered their

*Proofs collected from
hence of
the value
of this
trade, in
the sentiments
of the ablest
statesmen.*

their attempting and acquiring the fisheries? and, by opening the port of *Trieſte* and *Fiume*, on the *Adriatic*, what could have prevented their ingroſſing the *Italian* trade? It may be ſaid, that all theſe are ſuppoſitions; but, what then? they are reaſonable ſuppoſitions, and, which is much more, they were ſuch ſuppoſitions as induced the late Emperor to eſtabliſh this company, and to ſtruggle ſo hard as he did for the maintenance of it; nay the *Dutch*, who, beyond a queſtion, were the beſt judges in the world of what might be done, and what could be done, thought all theſe ſuppoſitions both poſſible and practicable, which induced them to act in the manner they did. Take then all this together, and it will appear a very ſtrong argument, that the trade of the *East Indies* is in itſelf the foundation of commerce and maritime power, at leaſt in the hands of ſuch as know how to manage it; and thoſe who were intruſted with that by the Imperialiſts, ſhewed themſelves very capable, in every reſpect, during the few years they were employed.

Diffipation of the projectors and principal proprietors into diſſerent parts of Europe. THE great, and indeed the only, miſtake of the projectors, was their not being ſufficiently verſed in the general ſyſtem of affairs, and the conditions under which his Imperial Majeſty held the *Low Countries*. Their miſcarriage taught ſome of them more wiſdom; and being perſuaded, that the experiment they had already made had removed all ſuſpicion that their ſcheme was an impracticable chimera, part of them removed to *Copenhagen*, in order to graſt upon the old *Daniſh* company; and of their ſucceſs the reader has been already informed. Others again thought of applying to the *Swedes*, that nation having been for ſome years employed in retrieving their affairs, improving their lands, raiſing new manufactures, reviving their commerce, and reſtoring their naval power. What reception they met with there, and how, by degrees, they brought their deſign to be reliſhed and countenanced by the court, and ſupported by people who had money, whether *Swedes* or foreigners, will be the buſineſs of the next chapter, in which we ſhall preſent the reader with the hiſtory of this new company, which was but the other day the youngſt in *Europe*.

C H A P. XI.

History of the Company established for carrying on a Commerce to the East Indies from Sweden; the Opposition which it at first met with from the Maritime Powers; the Firmness of the Swedish Government in its Support; the Means used to carry the Scheme into Execution; with some Observations as to its Consequences.

S E C T. I.

The Swedes, for many Ages, inattentive to Commerce, and to the Arts of Peace; but at length come to form a right Notion of their Importance; and, upon an Application and due Information as to the Benefits of the East India Commerce, a Charter is granted, in the amplest Form, for the Advantage and Encouragement of the Proprietors.

THE martial disposition of the Swedes, and the wars al-
 most continual in which they were engaged, either in *The com-*
 defence of their freedom at home, or in pursuit of glory Sweden
 abroad, hindered them, for many ages, from making any *limited,*
 figure at sea, though few nations were better qualified in all *and very*
 respects. The situation of their country, which has a long *inconsider-*
 extent of coast; with several good ports, and many more *able for*
 that might be made so; the vast abundance of timber, as proper *many ages.*
 as any in the world for shipping; their great plenty of all
 other naval stores; the large quantities of excellent iron, which
 the mines produce; and, above all, the good understandings,
 calm and determined courage, and cool temper of their minds,
 joined to the active and robust bodies of their people; gave
 them vast advantages ². With all these, they contented them-
 selves with fishing upon their own coasts, exporting their com-
 modities, chiefly iron and copper, to Dantzick, or to Bremen
 at farthest, maintaining, however, a tolerable naval force, in
 which, as often as occasion required, they shewed themselves
 both brave and skilful seamen. The chief reason of their being
 thus confined in their commercial correspondence, was in part

their natural frugality and love of their own country, but chiefly the address of the hanse towns, the traders of which bought up and exported *Swedish* commodities into foreign countries, where for a long time they were not known to much as to come from *Sweden* ^b, till at length the *English* and the *Dutch* sent ships to *Stockholm*, and in process of time their wars in *Germany*, and the settling amongst them many thousands of *Scots* brought them to have more extended notions of trade, and to take such measures as had a tendency to increase and render it more beneficial, in which they were successful in some degree, ^cbut not in any proportion to what they might have been, if their affairs had been in that respect rightly conducted. Yet, as their native commodities were valuable and necessary to other nations, and themselves in those days very frugal, what trade they had turned to account ^c.

Gustavus
Adolphus
and Queen
Christi-
na, first
thought of
extending
it.

THE famous *Gustavus Adolphus*, one of the greatest princes that ever reigned in *Sweden*, or perhaps in any other country, had very early views in favour of the commerce of his subjects; and even while he was engaged in the war with *Poland*, formed the first design of opening a passage for them to the *East Indies*, to which he invited such as were desirous, of reaping a share in the profits of this advantageous commerce by his letters patents, dated at *Stockholm*, June the fourteenth, 1626 ^d; but the wars in *Germany* which followed soon after, and engrossed his attention during the remaining part of his reign, hindered in all probability that design from taking any effect. His daughter, the celebrated queen *Christina*, was also very desirous of promoting the glory and welfare of *Sweden* in this respect; that is, in regard to its trade, and with this view projected a settlement upon the coast of *Guinea*, and the establishing colonies in the *West Indies*, and in some degree succeeded in both; but the *Dutch*, always attentive to their own interests, and preferring them in a very high degree to those of other nations, taking advantage of the circumstances of the times, soon worked the *Swedes* out of these establishments, and converted them to their own use ^e. There are, however, still some remains of the latter in the *English* province of *New Jersey* in *North America* recovered from the *Dutch*, and where the descendants are yet remaining of the inhabitants of three *Swedish* towns, in which

^b Bishop ROBINSON'S Account of Sweden chap. xiv. ^c Reflexions sur le Commerce de Suede. ^d Dictionnaire de Commerce, tom. ii. col. 1145. ^e Reflexions sur le Commerce de Suede.

consisted their plantation in those parts ^f (A). These discouragements, together with the succeeding wars against the *Danes* and *Poles* took from them all thoughts of renewing their endeavours to benefit themselves, in this way; foreseeing that wherever they attempted to settle, their title might be questioned, and their plantations overthrown by some other *Europeans* stronger at sea, and consequently better able to support their claims, whether well or ill founded, than themselves, from their having had these thoughts earlier, and derived from thence those advantages.

WHILE the *Swedes* remained closely attached to *France*, *its declension* in consequence of the subsidies, their monarchs received from that crown, and the pensions and other favours conferred on their nobility, their councils were absolutely guided by the views of the court of *Versailles*, and while they were totally occupied with the desire of glory and the thirst of ambition, they exhausted their dominions both of men and money, in hopes of extending their conquests, instead of labouring to improve their country or enlarge their commerce &c. *Charles* the eleventh, indeed, in the latter part of his reign, had other views, and acted upon a very different plan, which, however advantageous to the crown, was in many respects detrimental to the subject. He it was who formed the plan of making himself from a very limited king, an absolute monarch in *Sweden*, in which he succeeded, by gaining the con-

^f British Empire in America, vol. 1. p. 228.
ROBINSON'S Account of Sweden, chap. ix.

Bishop

(A) The names of these towns were *Christina*, called by the *Indians*, *Audastaka*, *Elfsinbourg*, *Gottenbourg*, on the East side of *Delaware* river, at the mouth of which there is a fort which bears the name of *Elfsinbourg* at this day. When the *Dutch* settled in this country, they gave it the title of *New Belgia*, but when it was reduced by Sir Robert Carrs in 1664, and left to the crown of *Great Britain* by the subsequent treaty of peace, it became divided into three provinces, *New York*, *East Jersey*, and *West Jersey*:

and in the last of these lie those places that were planted by the *Swedes* (1), and by the improvements that have been since made, it appeared that the *Swedish* project was very practicable, and if it had been pursued might have turned very much to their advantage. But at that time the nation was little disposed to such undertakings, which, if not well supported at the beginning, speedily dwindle away and come to nothing, as the case was here.

(1) British Empire in America, vol. 1. p. 222.

sidence of the common people, administering justice impartially, repressing the insolence of the nobility, and laying open the corruptions that had been practised in the assemblies of the states. Something however he did for the trade of his subjects, and more he would have done if he had lived; for he was a prince who knew that to make a rich king there must be a rich people, and therefore he put many things upon a new foot, encouraged his subjects to manage their own traffic, and did whatever he apprehended might contribute towards rescuing them out of the hands of foreigners, and engaging them to transport their goods and manufactures in their own bottoms^b. But the minority which followed upon his death, made way for cancelling, or, at least, neglecting these benefits; and his son, *Charles the twelfth*, being never out of the field after he was old enough to take it, whatever he did to raise his own character, as a hero, certainly did little towards promoting the welfare of his subjects, since, at the close of his reign, *Sweden* was so much exhausted, that there was hardly any but old men and boys left in the country, which was impoverished to the last degree, and her trade and naval power fallen much below what it had ever been; to say nothing of the loss of some of her finest provinces, from whence she drew many of the most valuable commodities that maintained her commerceⁱ (B).

It is not
the Swedes
were led
to change
their

BUT, after the peace with *Russia* was made, and the late king, then Landgrave of *Hesse*, was placed on the throne by election, new measures were pursued, and experience and necessity, which are able mistresses, taught the *Swedes* that

^a Vie de Charles XI.
p. 195.

^b Histoire de Suede tom. iii.

(B) Amongst these we may reckon the large and fruitful province of *Livonia*, part of *Pomerania*, and the duchies of *Bremen* and *Verden*, all of which might have been of prodigious use to the *Swedes*, in case they had attempted this commerce to the *East Indies*, while they were possessed of them, or had even encouraged the industry and commercial spirit of their inhabitants; for want of which

they brought no great revenue into the royal treasury, and contributed but little to the wealth of the nation. Their loss therefore was great, considering what they might have been; but very supportable, if we reflect on what they really were, and that being acquired by conquest, they kept *Sweden* always upon bad terms with her neighbours (2).

^c Bishop Robinson's Account of Sweden, chap. xv.

the

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the welfare and honour of a country might be supported, tho' every man in it was not a soldier. The states being re-aim at cultivating the art of peace stored to their authority, endeavoured to make all ranks of people comprehend what a real blessing liberty was, and how soon the affairs of a country might be retrieved, even in the most distressed circumstances, when every man in his sphere, let that be what it would, made this his principal business *. The grievances introduced under the late reign were redressed, several abuses, that had crept in under plausible pretences, were removed, and the weight of taxes was as much softened as the circumstances of the government would permit †. Besides these, many other remedies were applied; new methods of agriculture were put to the trial for the improvement of the soil; a variety of machines invented to mitigate the labour of such as were employed in the mines; new manufactures erected; encouragement given to strangers; and, in short, every possible method was practised that might give a new face to affairs. These endeavours had quickly good effects; and, amongst others, they produced an active spirit of industry, sharpened by emulation; and every man who had an opportunity, striving to distinguish himself as far as he was able, both in acting and thinking for the public benefit, as it stood connected with the method in which he pursued his own private advantage; and this was the situation Sweden was in at the time of the suspension of the *Ostend* company, by which a number of busy and able men were thrown out of employment, and left under a variety of discouragements to seek it where they could ‡ (C).

ENCOURAGED

* *Etat de Suede*, p. 39.
p. 271.

† *Histoire de Suede*, tom. iii.

‡ *Reflexions sur le Commerce de Suede*.

(C) It appears from hence, that it had been much better policy in those nations that found their commerce hurt by the *Ostend* company, to have granted an indemnity to all their subjects that stood in need of it, when they procured a suspension of that commerce, than to leave them exposed to those severe laws, that were calculated to prevent their going

into the service of that company (3), and, from their not perceiving this in time, both the *Danish* and *Swedish* companies arose. Severity is very seldom beneficial to a prince, but almost always destructive to a people. Desperate men are very dangerous creatures, more especially, when their country is the object of their resentment; and therefore for the sake of prudence,

(3) *See Stat. g. G. I. c. 26. § 6, 7, 8.*

tho'

At what
time, and
from what
motives,
their East
India com-
pany was
erected.

ENCOURAGED by this and other coinciding circumstances, one Mr. Henry Koning, an eminent merchant at Stockholm, formed the scheme of establishing an *East India* company in Sweden^a. In order to this, he represented to the king and his ministers, that there were various parts of *Asia* and *Africa* to which an advantageous commerce might be carried on, without infringing of treaties, or breaking in upon the trade of other nations; that this was what *Sweden* had a right to at all times, but that there never was a juncture in which she might avail herself of that right with so much facility as at present; that it was impossible to undertake an enterprize of this nature without the assistance of foreigners, as well in contributing to the expence with which it would be necessarily attended as in entering into a service that the *Swedes* were, as yet unacquainted with; that many who had in time withdrawn their money out of the *Ostend* company were desirous of employing it elsewhere, more especially if it could be done with secrecy; and that there might be easily found persons every way capable of conducting such a design in its infancy, if the season was not let slip. These arguments had their weight, more especially, when, upon due examination, Mr. Koning made it appear to the College of Commerce, or, to use our own phrase, the Board of Trade; that he had advanced nothing which it was not wholly in his power to make good^c. Upon mature deliberation therefore, his proposal was accepted, and his *Swedish* Majesty, by and with the advice of the senate, granted him a charter for his new company, dated *June* the 14th, 1731^d, precisely one hundred and five years after the letters patents of *Gustavus Adolphus* for the like purpose; the substance of which, because it is generally regarded as one of the best digested instruments of its kind that is any-where extant, we will give the reader, bringing it however into as narrow a compass, as, without prejudice to its scope and meaning, is possible; because, without the knowledge of its contents, whatever we have farther to say upon this subject, would not be so perspicuous or intelligible.

^a Histoire de Suede, tom. iii. p. 257.

^b Dictionnaire de Commerce, tom. ii. col. 1146.

^c Supplement au Corps Diplomatique des Droits des Gens, tom. ii. p. 305.

^d Histoire de Suede, tom. iii. p. 257. ROUSSET, Recueil Historique d'Actes, &c. tom. viii. p. 343.

who not of pity, every method should be tried to reclaim them, foresee how far the reach of their malice may extend, since it is hardly possible to

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THE king thereby concedes to Henry Koning, and his associates, the liberty of navigating and trading to the East Indies for fifteen years, with the inhabitants of all countries from beyond the Cape of Good Hope to the islands of Japan, wherever they shall think proper or convenient; with this single restriction, that they shall not trade in any port belonging to any prince or state in Europe without free leave first had and obtained. The ships employed in this commerce shall constantly take in their lading at Gottenburgh, to which port they shall return with all the merchandize they bring from the East Indies, and cause the same to be publickly sold as soon as conveniently they can. The said Henry Koning and company shall pay to the crown of Sweden during the said fifteen years, one hundred dalers per last for every ship they employ, such ships being measured before their departure from Gottenburgh; which money is to be paid within six days after the safe return of the said ship from the Indies; and they shall likewise pay two dalers per last, in full satisfaction for the town duties. The said Henry Koning and company may employ, equip, and arm as many vessels as they shall think proper, provided those vessels are built or bought in Sweden, and whatever else is necessary for equipping and furnishing them be had in the Swedish dominions. But, in case this should be found at any time impracticable, then the company may provide themselves with ships, or whatever else shall be found requisite for their commerce, wherever they shall think fit; provided always that they give the preference to, and promote as far as in them lies, the building, manufactures, and produce of Sweden. The said ships shall carry the Swedish flag, and shall be furnished with passports under the king's hand, as also from the republic of Algiers. The said company shall be at liberty to raise what sum they think fit for the carrying on their commerce, by voluntary subscription, or otherwise, as they shall think proper; and such as shall become subscribers, shall be obliged to pay in their money at the times prescribed on pain of forfeiting their interest in the said commerce.

THE company may transport what ordnance or small arms they think proper, as also silver coined or uncoined, Swedish money only excepted, and may likewise bring from the Indies what kind of goods or manufactures they think fit, without any restriction; the vessels of the company, when freighted and ready to sail, shall not be stopped or hindered on any pretence whatever; nor shall they at their return be impeded from entering into the port to which they are consigned. The goods of the said company may be transported at their pleasure

pleasure from place to place within his *Swedish* Majesty's dominions, being first furnish'd with proper passports, without paying any other duties than those before stipulated. The captains of the company's ships shall have the like powers for maintaining discipline amongst their crews as the captains of the King's ships; and, with respect to trade, they shall conform to the instructions given by *Henry Koning* and company, provided always those instructions are not repugnant to the privileges granted by this charter. The seamen and soldiers entered on board the company's ships shall not be liable to be pressed into the king's or any other service; and, on the other hand it shall not be lawful for the company to take into their service any who shall have deserted that of the crown. The seamen and soldiers belonging to the ships in the company's service, and deserting from it, may be apprehended and detained, but according to the usual forms of law, and by the hands of the proper officers. The ships belonging to the company being returned, and entered, having the merchandize on board them, the goods shall be duty-free, except only a very small acknowledgment to be paid on removing them.

THE persons acting under this character shall constantly chuse out of their own number at least three directors, who shall be all men of distinguished probity and known abilities, of which *Henry Koning* shall be one; and in case of his demise, the members of the company are directed and empowered to make choice of another person in his stead, provided always that these three directors be natives of the kingdom of *Sweden*, or, at least, naturalized *Swedes*, protestants, and resident in the king's dominions, unless necessarily absent in foreign parts for the service of the company, in which case the proprietors may substitute another director at home. The said *Henry Koning*, and his associates, may make such regulations for the management of their commerce as they shall think proper, provided they be agreeable to this charter. They shall render a faithful account to all the persons interested, as well of the profits and losses as of the capital of the said company; but they shall not be obliged to discover the names of their subscribers, or the sums they subscribed; nor shall they be obliged to produce or suffer their books to be inspected on any pretence whatsoever. In case any of the directors shall find that the rest betray their secrets, or are guilty of any other fraud or misdemeanor, they may apply to the board of trade for justice and reparation, and, upon due proof, such offender, shall be suspended or degraded from his

his office of director, and the company shall be at liberty to chuse another in his room.

In like manner, if any of the proprietors shall find that *Henry Koning*, and the rest of the directors betray their trust, or are guilty of any frauds, they may make the same application, and obtain the same redress. The said *Henry Koning* and company may employ what number of supercargoes, officers, mariners, or soldiers they shall think fit, either *Swedes* or foreigners, who, on their being so employed, shall enjoy the same privileges as if they were born *Swedes*, and the money employed either by natives or foreigners in the capital of the company, shall not be liable to any stoppage or seizure. Such persons as are interested in, or employed by, the company, shall be naturalized according to their respective qualities, upon their applying themselves to the king for that purpose. The said *Henry Koning* and company, and such as are authorized or employed by them, in case they are molested or disturbed in their commerce by any person, or in any part of the world whatever, shall have full power from his majesty to obtain ample justice and satisfaction by all convenient methods, and shall be at liberty to oppose force by force, and to consider such disturbers as pirates and enemies to the public peace. His majesty will grant them these powers, especially in such commissions as their captains shall receive; and in case notwithstanding they should be attacked, and suffer any injury or injustice from any nation whatever in the carrying on of this commerce, his Majesty upon due information thereof, will grant them his high protection, and will endeavour to procure for them speedy and ample satisfaction, either by way of reprisal or otherwise. The rest of the subjects of the crown of *Sweden* are expressly prohibited and forbid to engage in, or interfere with the trade of the said company under pain of his Majesty's high displeasure, and the confiscation of their vessels and effects. The king promises to alter or augment these privileges upon application from the company, as often and in such a manner as shall be found necessary for promoting the trade to the *East Indies*, and the interest of the persons concerned therein.

THE reader will perceive that the powers contained in this charter, are such as concern commerce abroad, and are not calculated to give the company or its directors too much power at home, because it subjects them to the College of Commerce; which consists of the president of the treasury and four counsellors, who hear and determine whatever comes before them in a summary way, according to the laws of any.

Why this instrument is esteemed one of the best drawn and least embarrassed of any.

of the kingdom and the general maxims of equity¹. There were great expectations formed of this company for various reasons. Because they had all the powers granted them that they could reasonably expect or desire. Because they were not limited in their capital, but allowed to raise such sums, and in such manner, as they shall esteem most for their benefit. From their being prohibited from interfering with the commerce of other nations, and thereby running themselves and their country into difficulties and disputes. From their having the king's protection secured to them in such a manner, and for such purposes, as might serve to answer all good ends, without involving the crown of *Sweden* in any controversies with the Maritime Powers, or any other of her allies. And lastly, because, from the nature of the constitution in *Sweden*, there seemed to be as high security for the properties of such as interested themselves in this affair as in any other country whatever. It is not therefore difficult to conceive that the capital was quickly subscribed, and such a proportion of it raised as enabled the directors to make the necessary dispositions for dispatching two ships to the *Indies*, in which, however, they acted with great caution and deliberation (D).

S E C T.

¹ Oñroy accré-dé par le Roy de Suède, pour l'Erection d'une Compagnie des Indes, dans ses Etats. art. xv. Corps Diplomatique du Droit des Gens, tom. ii. P. ii. p. 305.

(D) The custom of *Sweden* has been always to have causes of every kind examined by persons who must have a peculiar knowledge of the matters to which they relate. Thus, in all disputes about maritime affairs, things are decided by the sea-laws of *Wibsy*, which are commonly known by all seafaring people. The miners have likewise courts of their own, in which all suits are tried before persons of skill and experience in that kind of business, and in the customs of the miners; and so in respect to trade, a suit may be com-

menced for any thing that is a breach of honesty, tho' there be no express law against it, and the board of trade are not restrained to particular punishments, but may decide all controversies in an equitable way (4). But what is the greatest advantage in the proceedings before these courts, is their not being tied to forms, so that every man may be, if he pleases, his own lawyer, or he may employ one if he thinks fit, at a very small expence, which makes those of the profession but poor in *Sweden*, at the same time that it keeps the

(4) *Bishop Robinson's Account of Sweden*, chap. iii. xiv.

S E C T. II.

Conduct of the Swedish Monarch, and of the Nation, in supporting this Establishment, very candid and open, more especially in regard to the Maritime Powers, but, at the same time, very steady; by which, they carried their Point, tho' not very acceptable to these, or to some other Potentates, who notwithstanding desist from their Opposition.

AS soon as this charter was granted, his Swedish Majesty His Sw^e directed his minister at the Hague to present a memorial to their High Mightinesses the States General, signifying that his Majesty had thought fit to erect such a company in his dominions, and that at the same time, they were restrained expressly by their charter, from interfering with or disturbing the trade of any Christian nation whatever in those parts; and that he chose to inform their High Mightinesses thereof, that such as were employed in the Swedish company's service might not be treated by any of their subjects in the Indies as people belonging to they knew not who, but as acting under the authority of a prince in alliance and friendship with their republic, a free and independent king, who had an unquestionable right to make use of his power for the benefit of those he governed. This memorial was accordingly presented July 18th, 1731, but no answer being returned to it by the States, the Swedish minister, by direction from his court,

jefty gives notice of this charter to the States General.

* ROUSSET, Recueil d'Actes, Negociations, Memoires, &c. tom. viii. p. 355.

people from being impoverished by long suits and large costs. It was therefore a great advantage to the new company to have all controversies referred to the college of commerce, because they were speedily and effectually decided; without which, as many difficulties naturally arise at the setting up any new branch of trade, they might have been exceedingly embarrassed, thro' the folly or obstinacy of such as entered into their service;

and besides, the knowledge that they might be immediately called to a strict account, was a very necessary and useful check upon the directors themselves, and probably contributed not a little to their making up clear accounts, and declaring dividends in as short a time as possible after their sales were over; which has given great satisfaction to the proprietors, and operated powerfully to the maintenance and support of the company.

presented another memorial on the 21st of *October* following; in which he set forth, that the King, by establishing this company, intended to consult the welfare of his own subjects, without prejudice to those of any other prince or state whatever; and that he was particularly careful to avoid giving any just cause of offence to their High Mightinesses: that, as in the course of so long a voyage, the vessels in the service of the *Swedish* company might be obliged by distress of weather, or other accidents, to take shelter in the ports or roads of some of the *Dutch* settlements in the *East Indies*, in which case he hoped they would receive the same testimonies of kindness and humanity as they were accustomed to shew to other *European* nations, such as the *French*, *English* and *Danes*; that his Majesty had expressly directed, that the masters of those ships, in such cases, should pay in ready money for whatever succours they received, and should not presume to enter into any kind of commerce; and should, upon these and all other occasions, whether in the open sea, or in any port or road, behave in every respect to the ships and subjects of their High Mightinesses as became them towards the good friends and allies of the king their master; and that his Majesty persuaded himself that their High Mightinesses, from the same principles of equity and friendship, would direct their subjects in the *Indies* to treat the *Swedes* upon the same foot; and that his Majesty had further commanded him to assure them, that as his Majesty had nothing more at heart than to cultivate the good correspondence, and to augment the harmony subsisting between him and their High Mightinesses, so, nothing could be more agreeable to him, than an opportunity of shewing their High Mightinesses, or their subjects marks of his sincere affection and good will: and that, the premises considered, he hoped to receive their favourable resolution thereupon.

Their answer to the memorials presented upon this occasion.

THE States General, finding it absolutely necessary, as well in regard to their interest as with respect to decency, to give an answer to these memorials, couched it in the following terms: The King of *Sweden* will always find their High Mightinesses disposed to the most strict friendship with him; but, as his Majesty cannot be ignorant that the company established in his dominions for carrying on the commerce to the *East Indies*, must be prejudicial to the interests of that long since established under their protection, he cannot ex-

¹ *Mercure Historique et Politique*, tom. xci p. 80. *Rousset Recueil Historique d'Acts, Negotiations, &c.* tom. vii. p. 357.

² *Ibid.* p. 359.

pest that they should favour this new company, tho' they are at all times willing to afford succours to his *Swedish* Majesty's subjects. This dry answer was, in all probability, such as the court of *Sweden* expected; but however, as nothing contained in it derogated in the least from his Majesty's authority, or from his right of employing this or any other method that he thought proper for the benefit of his subjects, it did not in the least retard the preparations made for sending two ships directly for *China*; on the contrary, it raised the spirits of those concerned, who, expecting no assistance, were satisfied if they met with no opposition (E).

In compliance therefore with their charter, the directors of the *Swedish East India* company caused two new ships to be built, one of which was called the *Frederick King of Sweden*; and the other, in honour of the Queen, the *Ulrica*, very strong and compleat, of proper force, and every way fit for the expedition in which they were to be employed. They proceeded with the like caution and diligence in the choice of the persons who were to be employ'd in all stations; as also in their seamen, and very fortunate they were in both respects; so that, by the time these vessels sailed from the harbour of *Gottenburgh*, the sentiments of those who attended to things of this nature were very much changed, and, notwithstanding the length of the voyage, the want of settlements where they might touch for refreshment, and other visible disadvantages under which this new company laboured, and which were thought scarce surmountable, it was generally believed they would make the voyage with success, more especially, as there was not now the least apprehension of their meeting with any hindrance or ill

Two ships built for this trade by the Swedish East India company.

Mercure Historique, & Politique, tom. xci. p. 691, 692

(E) The reader cannot but remark great dignity and firmness in the conduct of his *Swedish* Majesty throughout; and it may not be amiss to observe, that his Majesty was very secure of being thoroughly supported by his subjects in whatever related to this affair, since he did not grant his charter for erecting the *East India* company till the matter had been

thoroughly debated and solemnly approved in the general dyet of the states of the kingdom (5); and, very probably, this was the reason that foreign powers did not present any memorials to the king upon the subject; because, being a national concern, and having the authority of a general dyet, they might well conclude it would be to no purpose.

(5) *L'histoire de Suède, t. m. iii. p. 269.*

usage from other nations. It imported indeed very highly the directors of the new company, that all things should be well considered in this their first attempt, since, from the temper of the *Swedish* nation, they might easily foresee that any disappointment would be fatal; which is the case in most countries where they are not used to long and perilous voyages, and where the first defeat of their expectations is commonly regarded as a proof that things are impracticable, and against which no arguments, however just or reasonable, will prevail.

One of them seized in their return into the ports of *Sweden*, Mr. Henry Koning received a letter, brought by some of the European return shipping, from Mr. Colin Campbell, who was vested with a public character from his *Swedish* Majesty to the Emperor of *China*, and other sovereign princes of the East, and had also from the company the charge of supercargo on board the *Frederick King of Sweden*, by which letter he acquainted him, that when in their return from *China* they were about to enter the streights of *Sonda*, they saw seven ships lying at anchor, which, as soon as they descried the *Frederick*, weighed and put to sea; upon this the *Frederick* endeavoured to get the wind, and to get through the streights, but was unluckily prevented by the setting of the current, which obliged them to come to an anchor. Upon this Mr. ^Pomer was sent on board the commodore; for the seven ships now came down upon them with *Dutch* colours displayed, to know the meaning of this, and carried with them copies of their passports. The commodore detained *Bremer*, the shallop, and all that were in it, and continued to bear down upon the *Frederick*; and, upon their coming near, the commodore fired a gun, to oblige them to strike. The next day in the morning he sent on board for the captain, and ordered him to bring his passports and commission, which he was obliged to obey; then the *Dutch* called a council, in which a resolution was taken to oblige a part of the *Swedish* crew to quit their ship, a proper number of *Dutch* seamen being sent in their room; and, in the afternoon, they took out the rest of the crew, leaving only the captain, Mr. Campbell, and twelve persons. The last-mentioned gentleman upon this drew up a protest, which he sent inclosed in a letter to the commodore, insisting upon the affront offered to his *Swedish* Majesty's flag, the breach of the law of nations in his own person, being vested with a public character, and the violation of the treaties subsisting between the republic and the crown of *Sweden*. As this protest was written in the *Swedish* language, the commodore alleged that he could not understand it; but the supercargo,

cargoes, who were present, explained it to him; upon which he and the rest of the officers said, that no part of these proceedings ought to be imputed to them; having orders to do all that they had done from their superiors; which they should have been obliged to do, if the King of *Sweden* had been there in person. That their orders were to carry the vessel to *Batavia*, where they did not doubt the affair would be thoroughly examined, and the ship suffered to proceed in her voyage in a few days * (†).

UPON the communication of this letter to the court, his *Swedish* Majesty sent orders to his minister at the *Hague* to present a memorial to the States General, with the copy of the letter annexed; which he accordingly did August the 11th, 1733 †; and in this memorial he expressed the surprize his Majesty was in at the unjust and violent proceedings in the *Indies*, so contrary to the friendship and good intelligence which their High Mightinesses had assured the King they would always maintain towards his Majesty and his subjects; that this was increased from the consequence of the memorials formerly presented; in answer to which, they did not pretend to dispute his Majesty's right, tho' they declared they could not favour that company; that therefore his Majesty could not apprehend that they had any doubt of this being a *Swedish* company, and properly authorized, tho' possibly in this, as in their own and all other companies, foreigners might have some concern; that there was not the smallest pretence of his subjects having exceeded their powers, or done any thing contrary to treaties; that therefore this proceeding, so

* Extracted from the letter. † ROUSSET, *Recueil Historique d'Actes, Negotiations, &c.* tom. viii. p. 360.

(†) A report having been spread, that the *Ostend* company had applied themselves to his *Swedish* Majesty to obtain leave for two ships of theirs to sail with *Swedish* colours for the *East Indies*, the King publicly declared that he would grant no such permission; and sent his orders to the directors, that they should not employ as an officer in their service any who had been in that of the *Ostend* company (6). Notwithstanding this, there is great reason to believe that the *Dutch* Squadron, which

cruized in thestreights of *Sunda*, were directed by the council of *Batavia* to seize any ship under foreign colours, in hopes it might prove one of the *Ostend* interlopers, who, they very well knew, made use of the flags of several princes; and indeed this is the only rational account that can be given of this whole transaction; more especially, if we consider the answer given by the directors of the *Dutch East India* company to the States General, and signified by them to the *Swedish* minister.

(6) *Mercure Historique et Politique*, tom. xli. p. 691, 992.

disobliging and which was in effect treating him and his subjects as enemies, could not but be very offensive to his *Swedish* Majesty, more especially, considering the little respect shewn to a person vested with the character of his minister plenipotentiary, and whose person ought therefore to have been esteemed sacred by the law of nations. That, notwithstanding the harshness of this action, his Majesty had still so high an idea of their High Mightinesses, as not barely to believe they gave no orders for the excesses committed on his Majesty's ship the *King of Sweden*; but was also persuaded that their High Mightinesses, in case it was not already done, would order without the least delay the said *Swedish* Ship, her cargo and equipage, to be released; and also give a just, full, and proportionate satisfaction for the indignity offered to the king and kingdom, by the insult done to his minister plenipotentiary, as well as repair whatever loss the *Swedish East India* company had received; and that his Majesty farther commanded him to represent and require, that their High Mightinesses would instantly send their orders that the other *Swedish* ship, called the *Ulrica Eleanora*, may return from the *East Indies* freely, without impediment or injury from the subjects of the republic, his majesty being firmly resolved to protect and maintain his subjects in the enjoyment of the privileges granted them by his charter for establishing a commerce to the *Indies*.

In answer
to which
the East
India
company
and the
States deny
any such
orders.

THE States perceiving, by the language of this memorial, that this was like to become a very serious affair, and being unwilling to be suspected of having the least knowledge of such a transaction, sent immediately to the board of *East India* directors to know what it was that had given occasion to the regency at *Batavia* to act in this manner; the directors replied, that they had sent no order relative to any such transaction as that of which the crown of *Sweden* complained; and, they farther believed the regency at *Batavia* was too prudent to take any such step without express orders; but that, however, their last letters were of the eighth of *September*, 1732; in which there being no mention at all of any such thing, it was impossible for them to give their High Mightinesses any farther lights; but they hoped they would defer the consideration of this affair till they had advice concerning it from the *Indies*. The States therefore answered the *Swedish* envoy, that he might assure the king his master, that neither they nor the company had ever given any orders of this kind; and that they were still in the same sentiments of friendship and cordiality towards his *Swedish* Majesty and his subjects as they had formerly professed themselves. The
ship

ship being dismissed from *Batavia*, returned soon after, which facilitated the settling this matter right; and thenceforward all things of this kind were forborne, and the *Swedes* suffered to carry on their trade to *China* as other nations do, without any trouble, opposition, or interruption ¹.

THEIR first voyages, tho' not attended with so much profit as might have been expected, were however tolerably successful, and the company established their factory on the river of *Canton* in *China*, with the consent of the *Chinese*, who seemed to be very well pleased with these new comers, and every way disposed to favour and promote their trade; so that they were very soon upon the same footing there with other *European* nations ². At home indeed they met with some difficulties; for the company being obliged to make use of many foreigners in all capacities for the better carrying on of their trade, and there being no nation in *Europe* naturally more jealous than the *Swedes*, this occasioned a great clamour, especially among the common people, which, however, was in some measure mitigated by publishing an order that two thirds at least of the mariners should be, for the future, natives of the kingdom; and, as the execution of this order was apparently attended with difficulties and inconveniencies, it convinced even the vulgar of their first mistake, and that the company had done no more than what they were warranted to do by their charter, and what the circumstances of their affairs made especially at the beginning, rendered necessary. Since that time the *Swedish* company have been very regular, both in fitting out their ships, and in their returns; which, being sold to foreigners, have brought in great sums of money to the kingdom; yet, as a great part of this money has been exported again for the carrying on this trade, a new complaint has been created thereby, in respect to the silver carried to the *East Indies*. We need the less wonder at this in *Sweden*, because, tho' the trade of the kingdom is not large, yet it produces annually a considerable balance in ready money, as is known experimentally here, since two thirds of the trade we carry on thither is managed with ready money only; and it is also pretty much the same thing with other nations who trade thither, the *French* only excepted, who have a balance in their favour ³ from the *Swedes*, which has gradually grown less and less, in proportion as

¹ Histoire de Suede, tom. iii. p. 279. ROUSSEAU, Recueil historique d'Actes, &c. tom. viii. p. 367, 368. ² State of the Trade in the East Indies, p. 3. ³ Bishop ROBINSON'S Account of Sweden, chap. xiv.

they have taken more naval stores of late years than they did formerly; and, as their subsidy treaties bring in considerable sums to *Sweden*, or, at least, keep the money there that would otherwise be employed in discharging the balance of trade; so that the *Swedes* being used to see great sums of money brought in by every other branch of commerce, and not so immediately acquainted with the profits arising from this, are less disposed to consider it as advantageous (G).

Are well
received
there, and
established
in the same
manner as
other Eu-
ropean na-
tions.

In consequence of these jealousies, some doubt arose, upon the expiration of the term granted by their charter, whether the company would be continued, or the trade let fall, and various conjectures were thrown out in the foreign gazettes. But penetrating people easily saw that there could be but little foundation for any such notion; since the very application of the company, to have their term prolonged, was a plain indication, that not only they, but the kingdom was the bet-

(G) It is observed by Dr. *Robinson*, who was successively Bishop of *Bristol* and *London*, and who was for many years the *British* resident at *Stockholm*, that in his time the *Swedes* were so poor as not to be able to carry on much foreign trade themselves; so that it was almost wholly in the hands of foreigners residing in that kingdom; and that by their law, the king was intitled to a third part of any such merchant's estate, if he died in his dominions; which, as he justly observes, was prejudicial to *Sweden*, inasmuch as it hindered foreigners from marrying and settling among them (7). But things are much changed since, and the *Swedish* orators, in their panegyrics upon the present king, very willingly do justice to his reign, by comparing their past with their present condition, pointing out the low and mean condition of their ancestors, and assigning the dates of those improvements that have been since made. It is in these

pieces that we see the good effects of commerce, and how much it contributes to civilize and polish mankind by introducing arts and sciences, and by excluding those groundless popular prejudices, which are the effects of a narrow capacity, and are productive of nothing but poverty and pride. The same subjects are handled with more solemnity, as well as with greater authority in the representations presented to the throne at the close of every diet, in which the States never fail to compliment the king upon the care he has taken of their commerce; and, at the same time, to recapitulate the advantages that have flowed from it (8); so that we may be sure the same spirit of improvement will reign among the *Swedes* as long as their present constitution subsists; and it is not easy to conceive they will ever meet with temptations strong enough to induce them to make any considerable alteration.

(7) *Account of Sweden*, chap. xiv.

(8) *Histoire de Suède*, tom. iii. p. 279.

ter for it :) since, as it was a fact notorious, that the goods sold in their sales were bought by merchants residing in other countries, to which they were actually transported, and but a very small proportion of them consumed in the dominions of *Sweden*, a considerable part of the produce must be clear gains to the nation; since not only the dividends paid to the proprietors who reside there, remain to the nation, but also the large sums expended in building and equipping of ships, the pay of the seamen and officers, and the duties; and, besides all this, the value of the commodities of *Sweden*, which are sent to *China*, which have been from the first very considerable, and have been ever since increasing. These circumstances, duly weighed, made it very improbable that there should be any thoughts of abandoning this commerce, and gave no small weight to a suspicion, that those reports might not actually come from *Sweden*, but be rather intended to reach it, and to instill into a people, enough inclined to receive sudden impressions, such doubts and fears as might prejudice them either against the company or the commerce; which, if they had operated, would, no doubt, have afforded great satisfaction to their inventors, and would have been no less acceptable to those who have all along envied them that success with which they have managed their affairs, and have acquired so much credit and honour both with the natives and *Europeans* who trade in *China*, as appears from the accounts we have had from thence, subsequent to the time in which they first resorted thither.

S E C T. III.

Remarks upon the Utility of this Trade to the Swedes, tho' contrary to the common Opinion, and in reference to the East India Trade in general, as having hitherto proved the Source of Naval Power and Wealth to every Nation, that has been able to carry it on for any considerable Time successfully.

BUT what puts it out of all doubt that the *Swedes* are really gainers by their trade with *India*, that they are very sensible of this, and therefore very tenacious of the benefit

• Dictionnaire de Commerce, tom. ii. col. 459. • Anson's Voyage round the World, p. 528, 8vo Edition.

reading
books
written in
one coun-
try con-
cerning the
trade of
another.

ness, is the zeal and regularity with which they have persisted in sending their ships since the term fixed in the charter expired^d. Without having direct communications with Sweden, it is impossible to enter more deeply into this affair, since the subject is so very disagreeable to some of our neighbours that they mention it but seldom; neither would it be prudent to yield an implicit belief to whatever they say whenever they do mention it; for, having so great an interest in giving a false representation of whatever regards the correspondence of other nations in those parts, it is a necessary piece of prudence to examine very attentively all their relations. Trade is the common mistress of all maritime countries, at least of all where the inhabitants have a just conception of the advantages flowing from their situation; and this naturally begets a jealousy amongst them of the progress made by each other; which is conspicuous enough to a curious eye, most of the pieces written upon this interesting topic. But it becomes such an undertaking to treat this subject historically, to lay aside prejudices and prepossessions, and to forget, as far as they can, even the concerns of their own country, while they are engaged in such a task; because the sole object they ought to have in view, is truth, which it is their business to say in the fairest light possible, and leave to others the care of applying or drawing consequences from those facts which they impartially relate; and this we hope will appear to have been our study through the course of this difficult part of our work, in which we have set forth the merits of the different nations that have been rivals to each other, in that which from this history plainly appears to be the true spring of extensive traffick, and that more especially from this section; with the demonstration of which we shall conclude it, and justify thereby what we asserted at the beginning.

*The East
India
Trade at-
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degrees,
thro' all
the mari-
time states
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rope.*

IN the course of our history we have followed, as was fitting, a chronological order, and have treated of the discoveries and conquests of the several European nations, according to the times in which they were made. But the attentive reader must have long ago perceived, that from the nature of things, and the gradual progress of arts, this has been at the same time a kind of geographical order. When we first took up the subject, the trade of the Indies was in the hands of the Venetians and the Italian states, from

^d It appears from the *Advices from Sweden*, that the company have a new term.

their vicinity to *Egypt*, which was then the centre of that commerce; from them it removed to the *Portuguese*, by their finding a direct passage by sea round the *Cape of Good Hope*; and next, from a spirit of emulation, the *Spaniards* came to have a share in it, by the discovery of a new passage through the straits of *Magellan*. The *English* and *Dutch*, provoked by the *Spaniards*, and ambitious also of gaining a part of the rich treasures brought from these distant parts of the world, sent their squadrons thither likewise; and, the *Danes* in their turn, visited those distant seas; last of all, the *Swedes*. Last, in point of time; and last in the order of their situation in the remotest part of *Europe*, and making almost the circle of the globe to come at *China* (H).

WE might safely conclude from hence, if we had no other Corroborative proofs or more direct argument, that this trade must have been extremely advantageous to every nation possessed of it, since of the great emulation is produced only by success; no people having importance been yet found so stupid as to envy others misfortunes, or and advantage of so desire a share in what did their neighbours no good. On this commerce the contrary, where, by mistaking measures, want of oeco-

(H) The reader will enter into the force of this argument more clearly, if he considers how much the distance and the difficulty are increased by this retrogradation in the correspondence. The *Portuguese* were, of all the nations in *Europe*, the nearest to the *Indies*; and the countries which they first visited were the coasts of *Malabar*, which were also the nearest to them. But with respect to *Sweden*, it is every way the reverse. That country is not only the most distant of any in *Europe* from which such a correspondence has been carried on, but the *Swedes* proceed likewise to the very remotest part of the *Indies*; so that the disproportion of the navigation is manifest. But it will appear still more visibly, if we consider the position of these countries upon the globe; for

we shall then perceive, that when a *Swedish* East India ship doubles the *Cape of Good Hope*, she is actually at double the distance, or more, from *Stockholm*, than when she arrives at *Canton*. We may render this yet more familiar by remembering, that the dominions of *Sweden* border on those of *Russia*, and the opposite frontier of *Russia* upon the territories of *China*; so that, if *Canton* were under the same parallel of latitude with *Stockholm*, the distance between them would not be more than two thousand six hundred miles; whereas the compass they take in sailing makes it eleven thousand; and in all this prodigious passage they have no port of their own, where they may expect refreshments or succours, or where they may pass the winter, or rest, if they have any occasion.

nomy, or unforeseen accidents, one nation has thought proper to relinquish some certain branch of traffick, another very rarely has taken it up, or at least not till such a space of time had elapsed, as almost buried the knowledge of such an event in oblivion. But, in the present case, the new adventurers in this trade have certainly been excited by very just motives; for they have seen that the wealth and power of such maritime states as embraced it, rose and fell in the very same proportion as they were more or less able to preserve it. The *Venetians* were deprived of it gradually, and in consequence of this, their riches were exhausted by degrees, and by degrees their naval force declined. The *Portuguese* made a very rapid progress in their conquests; notwithstanding which, their wealth and power kept the same pace; and being more slowly worked out of those conquests, both have decayed in like manner; so that, from being masters of the seas in which their fleets appeared, they are now scarce able to defend the small remains of their vast possessions, and are even insulted upon their own coasts by the corsairs of *Barbary*. The *Spaniards* have made very little use, as we have shewn in its proper place, of their settlements in the *East*, and have therefore drawn but little advantage from them. The *English* and *Dutch* had scarce any naval force when they entered upon this trade; and yet in half a century they disputed the dominion of the sea with prodigious fleets, and with an obstinacy unknown since the *Romans* and *Carthaginians* contested in like manner for naval empire. The *French* have often attempted, and that with no inconsiderable force, to fix themselves in the *East*, and at length with some success; and the consequences appear, and will appear, if the state continues its attention; which, from the nature of their government, is necessary to support that and almost every other branch of their commerce. The company at *Ostend* alarmed all the powers interested in the *India* trade; and, if it had not been very beneficial, the proprietors would not have struggled so hard against a suppression that was at last brought about by force. The *Danes* neglected their settlement at *Tranquebar*, because they wanted the funds necessary to support it; an accident recommended them to the protection of their government; and their concerns have been in a flourishing condition ever since. The *Swedes*, under all imaginable disadvantages, had the courage to venture upon this trade; and have shewn the wisdom of their conduct, by the regularity with which they have maintained it for twenty years together, and are like to maintain it; perhaps to extend it, when they feel the effects of those improvements in their own country, which the sweets of commerce

ommerce have given them the spirit to undertake, and will supply them with the means to accomplish.

For amongst the other benefits resulting from this and several other trades, in which long voyages are necessary, none of the least considerable is the opening and enlarging mens minds, quickening their inventions, and putting them upon the exercise of arts in their own countries, unknown to them before. Thus the silk trade was long ago brought out of the East, before any direct passage was found thither by sea, which has proved of such infinite advantage to the inhabitants of the several countries where it is cultivated. In like manner sugar-canes were transplanted to Sicily, Spain, and other regions; from whence they were carried into the West Indies, where, by the superior excellence of the climate, fertility of the soil, and cheapness of labour, they are now become one of the staple commodities of America. All the porcelain manufactories in England, Holland, France, Germany, and elsewhere, have been erected to vie with the fine earthen-ware of China (1). Painted linens have been produced from the chintzes of the Indies; and from Japan we have borrowed the art of making lacquered ware. Sweden has already made some progress in the improvement of her old manufactures, and in acquiring new. Her shipping daily increases, and with it the desire of finding new trades, by which her vessels may be employed. To facilitate this, the Swedes have projected a communication with the Ocean, which, when perfected, will be of singular benefit to their navigation; and tho' this work was not without difficulty, as well as very expensive, yet the subscriptions for carrying it on have exceeded even their own expectations. Whence can

(1) It has been before observed, that the states of Sweden never failed to compliment the king upon what is done by his orders for improving the trade or manufactures; and this, notwithstanding they had themselves pointed out, and recommended, those very improvements. Amongst those proposed by the States some years ago, one was the finding out a proper earth for making porcelain, in which one of the most eminent professors in their universities (9) was employed for a whole summer; and tho' he was not so lucky as to succeed in that, yet he made and recorded many other useful and important discoveries in a work of his; which fully demonstrates what is advanced in this paragraph.

(9) *Voyage unto, and Description of, the Islands of Oeland and Grebland, performed in 1741, by Order of the States of Sweden, by Charles Linnæus, Professor of Physic, and Botany in the University of Upsal, Stockholm, 1745, 8vo.*

this public spirit, this alacrity to labour, this readiness in advancing money arise, but from the nation's being sensible of the advantages flowing from commerce, and their willingness to contribute to whatever may extend it? All this they owe to that severe check given to the ambition of Charles the twelfth, more especially in the latter part of his reign, when a numberless train of necessities convinced them of the necessity of recurring to the arts or arms, to relieve them from the miseries brought upon them by frictions and fatal wars. By pursuing this lesson steadily, they have, in a great measure extricated themselves from a grievous and galling load of evils; have given a new face to their country, of which both strangers and themselves judged it incapable; and, with respect to their domestic affairs, are in a much happier condition than ever they were; in which this is not the least ingredient, that they know this happiness may be greatly augmented, and that they have the means in their own hands, frugality and industry; more productive of solid riches, than the mines of *Mexico* and *Peru*, or the armies and fortune of *Alexander*.

From the establishment of the Swedish company, it is evident no nation can monopolize this trade.

THERE are some points of great importance to all maritime states, and more especially such as are embarked in the commerce of the East, which may be learned from this very distinct and authentic history of the rise and progress of the *Swedish* company. In the first place, it will teach them not to be too secure, or to amuse themselves with an opinion, that much wealth, great expence, and long possession, amount to a title not to be contested. Some of them feel, and all may see, this is no better than a dream. Caution and courage carried thither the first *Europeans*; and the same qualities will always carry any *Europeans*, and bring them back too, with much success. It will therefore be prudent not to be too tenacious of their exclusive powers. The *East India* trade is very lucrative to any company, but still, properly managed, is more advantageous to the nation where that commerce subsists. They should therefore ever remember they are but trustees, and liable to be called to account, if, through their imprudence, in offending the pagan princes abroad, or pinching their own servants too severely at home, the trade be either injured or lost.

It is apparent also, from hence, that this commerce may be carried on

ANOTHER circumstance of no less consequence, is demonstrated from the conduct of this company, that the *East India*, or at least the *China* trade, may be carried on without either conquests or settlements; which, considering the many and plausible reasons urged against it, nothing but experience could

could have shewn. It is true, the commerce, thus carried ^{even} on, may be, in some respects, more inconvenient; but then ^{without} these very inconveniencies produce an assiduity and circum-^{spects or} spection, which are attended with many beneficial conse-^{colonies.} quences; and, besides, hinder either dishonesty or haughtiness towards the natives, from which much greater mischiefs arise. Add to this, ^{making} great diligence and strict observation ^{indispensably necessary} in the management of their servants, secures to the company regular and constant, though less plentiful returns.

LASTLY, The success (indeed the very subsistence) of this ^{Other} company proves, that those of other nations have no title to ^{companies,} reject, under the specious pretence that they are exceedingly ^{considering} difficult, or utterly impracticable, any projects that may be formed for the extension of this trade by the governments of those countries, respectively, to which these companies ^{what the} belong. For nothing of this kind can be possibly enjoined ^{Swedes} them equally hard to what the ^{have done,} Swedes have performed. ^{ought to} Other nations, therefore, who have it immediately in their ^{extend} power, ought to indemnify themselves for the losses, or rather ^{their com-} a diminution of their usual gains, by the setting up of these new ^{merce.} traders, from the opening of unattempted branches of trade, the profits of which, at least for a time, they may keep to themselves; and if of ^{this} the possibility, or even the probability, be called in question, what has been already said as to the ^{French} French and Dutch discoveries, will clear the doubt; or, if any ^{Dutch} scruples should remain, the full solution of them, beyond the power of contradiction, will be given in the next chapter.

THE great fault of companies in general is, that they be-^{This seem} come too cold and phlegmatic in their management, under ^{to be a duty} colour of being methodical, and maintaining a strict ^{incumbent} economy. In order to guard against this, there ought to be a clause, whenever their charters come ^{on these} to be renewed, ^{companies,} that, within the new term given them, they shall fix and ^{in regard} establish such a new trade, or make such or such a discovery. ^{to the re-} By this means, the nation would gain, as well as the pro-^{spective} prietors, by the continuance of a company; an enterprising ^{government} spirit, which otherwise every company is but too apt to dil-^{ment by} courage, will be kept alive, and new outlets, from time to ^{which} time, be found for commodities and manufactures. This ^{sup-} would likewise intitle the STATE to look a little into the management of this trade, and give them an opportunity of correcting mistakes early, and thereby preventing those evils they are ^{called upon} called upon. ^{what} ^{or} ^{however} ^{they} ^{happened,}

petted, to redress, at the nation's expence. This would also remove that veil of mystery and obscurity, which ever occasions suspicion, and support that ardour and activity, which is the soul of the *East India* commerce.

His Prussian Majesty being convinced of this, has set up a new Company at Embden.

AFTER all that has been said, we need not wonder that a new power is putting in for a share of this commerce; and that, after long deliberation on the ways and means of acquiring trade, and raising a sufficient force, his *Prussian Majesty* has judged that expedient, which hitherto has never failed others, the most convenient for him to employ; and for that purpose has actually granted a charter for the establishment of an *East India* company at *Embsden* in *East Friesland*. A port of which, to say no more at present, the *Dutch* have been always jealous, who are never so without a reason; a port once celebrated by the removal thither of the *English* staple from *Antwerp*; and a port which only wanted such a master as it now has, to render its importance more conspicuous than it once was. But, whatever the date of this new company may be, the very erection of it is sufficient to the end for which we have mentioned it, as it affords a conclusive argument in support of the point we have been labouring to prove; so that the intelligent reader can understand no doubt, that a commerce, ever productive of wealth and power to those who have been possessed of it and used it properly; a commerce, the loss of which has been always ruinous; and a commerce which all the pretenders to naval dominion have constantly struggled for in all ages; is highly valuable in itself, and inestimable in its consequences.

C H A P. XII.

Terra Australis: *Or, A History of the Southern Continent.*

S E C T. I.

IT has been a long disputed point, whether Science stands *Introduc-*
 more indebted to speculation or to practice founded upon *tion to the*
 accident; whether the greatest discoveries have been made by *history of*
 men of deep thought, or by persons of long experience? It *the Terra*
 would, however, seem to be a controversy easily decided by *Australis.*
 justly stating the proposition; since it is certain that the most
 useful discoveries have been the result of a just mixture of
 both. Hence it was that the first idea of the possibility of
 sailing round the world had its origin. The ingenious *Columbus*,
Columbus, first laid down his system of the world from
 his own conception; adding to it the proofs he had drawn from
 experience. Both he, *Magellan*, *Le Maire*, &c. were men
 of genius, erudition for those days, and experience; with-
 out the union of which we should, perhaps, never have owed
 the discovery of *America* to the first, of the streights called
 in this name to the second, nor the most commodious passage
 round *Cape Horn* to the third. In all attempts of this na-
 ture those men only ought to be employed, who, to the
 concrete abilities of seamen, have added a general capacity, a
 tincture of science, with a solid and enlarged judgment. The
 want of these has been the cause why mankind have so long
 been deluged with idle fable, and monstrous absurdities sub-
 stituted in the room of true and useful history. Voyages, in
 general, have been so insipid, so tedious, false and inconsis-
 tent, that a reader may toil through folios, and remain igno-
 rant of the most essential articles; points of the greatest im-
 portance both to himself and his country. This has not only
 been an obstruction to true science, but also to the com-
 merce, wealth, and power of nations; since, upon true re-
 lations of former attempts, depends the success of future en-
 terprizes.

To a narrow system of politics we may likewise, in some *Persons*
 measure, attribute the many absurd and ridiculous accounts
 published of different parts of the globe, and more particu-
 larly of the Southern Continent, as a more perfect knowledge
 might probably interfere with the interest of certain *part*
 corporations, or individuals, who bear a considerable influence. To *of the*
 globe have

*hitherto
appeared.*

what but such selfish views can we ascribe the conduct of the *Dutch*, who would seem no less diligent in suppressing, than others would be in publishing, every account of this great tract of country, which could induce people to open a communication with, or settle colonies in it? Can we help believing, that the reason why the Journals of *Pelsart*, and other unsuccessful voyagers, were permitted to see the light, was any other than to deter men by the hardships they underwent, the frightful descriptions of the country, and monstrous pictures they drew of the inhabitants of *New Guinea* and *New Holland*, from approaching so inhospitable a shore? Certain it is, that nothing could be more prejudicial to the interest of all the *India* companies in *Europe*, tho' perhaps nothing would more conduce to the increase of industry and commerce, than the success of that design set on foot by the *Dutch West India* company in 1721, of opening a traffick with different parts

The jealousy of the look upon it in this light, is apparent from the state of Dutch *seized Roggewin*, the person intrusted with the expedition, *East India* *condemned his ship and cargo at Batavia, where he* *company,* *in for refreshments (A).* Experience proves how *jealous to trade, manufactures, and the naval strength* *navigation, all new discoveries are; how they heighten the spirit* *of industry, and enlarge the sphere and parts of trade; yet how*

(A) The judicious reflection of the famous *Jean de Nive* merits attention. His words are these: "When the *East India* company had attained to a certain extent of wealth and power, their interest became opposite to that of their country. For whereas the advantage of the *Dutch* consists in the increase of their manufactures, commerce, and freight of ships, that of the company inclines them to promote the sale of foreign manufactures with the least traffick and navigation in their power. Hence it is a settled point, that if the company gains more by importing *Japan* cloths, *Indian* quilts, &c. than raw silk; or if, by creating a scarcity of

"nutmegs, cloves, cinnamon, and other things, that raise the price of them, as to gain as much as they would, we are not to export them, or put themselves to the expence of transporting thousands of spice, though the merchant would assure our manufactures, and the latter increase our navigation." This judicious reflection we see verified not only in the conduct of the *Dutch*, but nearer home; where, to the eternal infamy of those in whose hands it is, the spirit of trade is rather confined than pushed to its utmost extent, as is evident in two monopolies in the kingdom.

this probably valuable country been almost totally neglected, *should be* and no attempts have been made by any nation in *Europe* to set-
 open a colony in it. If we may judge from the climate, as well as
 from the relations of such mariners as have touched upon the
 coasts of *New Holland* and *New Guinea*, no part of the world
 more abounds in the riches of merchandize, or at least is more
 capable of producing them. Some travellers even describe
 them as abounding with rich valleys, pleasant and wholesome
 water-brooks, gold, silver, mace, nutmegs, ginger, and sug-
 gar-canes of an extraordinary size, with fowls, fish, and every
 thing conducive to the happiness and luxury of life (B).
 However, as no complete account of the Southern Continent *The man-*
 has yet appeared, we shall lay before the reader a view of the *ner in*
 particulars in each voyage which best deserve his attention, *which the*
 leaving him thence to judge of the truth of the preceding re- *Authors*
 marks. This we apprehend to be the most satisfactory me- *propose to*
 both. *describe*
 failing respecting the history of a country but little known, *the Terra*
 failing respecting the success of future attempts towards *Australis,*
new discoveries.

Europe, the Southern part of the globe has been little fre-
 quently explored. It would have the appearance of nothing more
 than a prodigious tract of ocean, unless capes and coasts had
 been discovered; a certain sign of a continent. In all the
 voyages hither, when the course was held eastward betwixt
Europe and *America*, for a run of 48 degrees, continual signs
 of a bounding shore were observed; and one proof of the
 truth of the continent's being divided from the other parts of the
 compass, that the circumnavigation of the globe has been
 effected by a parallel to the equator, always leaving the Southern
 ocean open on that side. Hence it is, that no irrefragable
 proof has yet appeared, whether *America* towards *Califor-*
nia, be joined to *Asiatic Russia*. But that a more distinct view
 of this matter, and the most complete materials for farther
 improvement may be laid before the reader, we shall give
 a faithful abridgment of the chief voyages to the south, and
 sum up the whole with such reflections as naturally rise from
 the fact, without wringing or torturing any thing into a proof
 of a favourite hypothesis (C).

BESIDES

(B) So little is this country known, that some writers take it for a part of the continent of *America*; others for a large cluster of islands; and one or two others for a fifth division of the terraqueous globe. *Don*

hier positively affirms, that in no part does it communicate with *Asia*, *Africa*, or *America*. Our reasons for calling it a continent will appear in the sequel.

(C) We give that part the name
 S 2

New
Guinea
discovered,
A. 1727-8.

BESIDES the voyages to the *Streights of Magellan*, the first persons who are said to have penetrated to *New Guinea* and *New Holland*, were *Binot Paulmier de Gonneville*, a Frenchman, and *Alvaar de Saavedra*, a Spaniard. All the best historians agree, that to the latter is owing the discovery of *New Guinea*, A. 1528; though the French labour hard to prove the merit of this discovery due to *Alvaar de Saavedra*; yet so fabulous is the account said to be drawn from the paper of *Gonneville*, so romantic the air of the narrative, as well as imperfect in dates, latitudes, and the longitude of the places he describes, that we cannot help looking upon the whole as a fiction. Admitting it to be true, it can prove of little use towards further discoveries, the true end of all such journals. *Saavedra* gave it the name of *New Guinea*, because he supposed it to be diametrically opposite to *Guinea* on the coast of *Africa*, as well as from the resemblance between the inhabitants of the two countries both in complexion, features, and the wool of their hair. He called it *Terra de Papua*, alleging, that *Pacific*

Hist. des Navigat. aux Terres Austr. T. i. p. 107.

- name of the Southern continent, of 20 degrees cut by the which lies beyond the three *Antarctic* ocean in the one southern points of the known world; that is, beyond the *Cape of Good Hope*, the *Moluccas* and *Cilicis*, and the *Magellan*; a space containing about 8 or 10 millions of square leagues, which is more than the division of the globe. Nor is it possible to suppose such a vast tract of sea, without a continent, and that an extensive tract of solid earth, south of *Asia*, to preserve the necessary counterpoise and equilibrium of the globe in its rotation. Let any one consider the two hemispheres of the globe cut by the equator, and not by the meridian, he will be amazed to find so great an expanse of land in the one, and so little in the other. From such an examination of the whole it will appear, that there is a continent only
- of 20 degrees cut by the *Antarctic* ocean in the one, while on the other a body of water remains of 240 degrees separated only by some islands. Hence we may conclude, that the weight of the Arctic hemisphere is more than proportional to the Antarctic, unless the tract of continent known in the latter hemisphere, the consequence of such an inequality would be, every line the least conversant with geographical problems is well acquainted with. Sufficient it is for our purpose, that the physical reasons, as well as the proofs drawn from experience, assure us, that a large tract of hitherto unknown country must necessarily lie south of the equator; and this we call the Southern Continent (a).

(a) *De Buffon's Hist.*, vol. ii. p. 125. *Collect de Manuscrits*, T. i. sub *Ex.*
black

black in the language of the country^b. As in other respects the Journal of *Saavedra* is greatly deficient, we shall pass it over, to recite those of subsequent navigators, who are more minute and exact in their narratives. Among the first is that of *Don Pedro Fernandez de Quiros*, a Portuguese by nation, who, in the year 1606, went to Lima in the Squadron of *Alvaro de Mendaña*, in which he served as pilot; from whence it is probable, he made a voyage into the Pacific Ocean before that time^c. Upon this occasion, he discovered the island called after his name, lying in 20° lat. and 240° longitude. Running after this 20° and 10' parallel, he discovered a number of other unknown islands. *Schouten* and *Roggeveen* afterwards steered the same course with *de Quiros*; and his account is confirmed by the most experienced and faithful seamen, altho' it had been for a great number of years looked upon as fiction at the court of *Madrid*. *Philip III.* of Spain being extremely desirous to prosecute the discoveries both in the Pacific Ocean by *Galle* and *Mendoza*, in failing to which expeditions *Quiros* had served, proposed to conduct another voyage from *Peru*, where he was appointed with two proper ships, and every other necessary apparatus, in pursuance of the design. *Quiros*, although he had suffered extreme hardships for the space of eleven years, in his former voyages, readily undertook this; the success of which will best appear from the contents of his memorial delivered to the court of *Spain* after his return^d. In this memorial he represents to his Catholic majesty, that he intended to settle his colony south of the equator, connecting the signets to *Europe* and the *Lesser Asia* together, a tineland, it lying in the Torrid zone; and therefore, in consequence, likely to abound in the richest commodities. It is, he says, to be esteemed the fourth part of the globe; an assertion we do not well comprehend, unless he reckons *Europe*, *Asia* and *Africa*, the first part, the *East Indies* the second, *America* the third, and this new-found country the fourth division. As to its extent, his own experience led him no farther than the 15th degree south latitude; yet, from what *de Torres* and *Dumanois* observed, he conjectures it may be about 90° in breadth. The people about 15° S. L. he describes of various complexions, some white, some black, and others of a tawny colour. He is positive that the countries in this part are populous and well cultivated, the natives of a tame peaceable disposition, and extremely industrious,

Voyage of Fernandez de Quiros into the Pacific Ocean, A. 1606.

An account of the memorial presented by Quiros to Philip III. of Spain.

^b *Histoire Moderne*, T. vi. p. 100.
^c *Hist. des Navigat.* p. 104. T. i.

^d *PURCHAS*, T. iv.

A description from Quiros of the Terra Australis, or Southern Continent.

as far as their knowledge extends. He describes particularly in his Journal (now lost), to which the petition refers, the plants, trees, beasts, birds, and fishes, with the whole natural history of it, affirming that it affords all the conveniences of life in the utmost plenty, together with gold, silver, spices, and sugar-canes. He describes the bays of *St. James* and *St. Philip*, which are large and commodious, and their fine harbour, capable of containing 1000 ships, as *Calla La Vera Cruz*, in the neighbourhood of seven islands; one of which he surrounded, finding it about 50 leagues in circumference. The haven lies in $15^{\circ} 40'$ S. L. *Quiros* expatiates on the advantages that might arise from a settlement there, and insists particularly on its being the proper means for uniting the large dominions of *Spain* in the *East* and *West Indies*, as lying between both, and affording an easy opportunity of carrying on a safe and beneficial trade with either. This he offered to demonstrate to such commissioners as should be appointed by his majesty to examine the proposals, if they were competent judges, and sufficient in geography. But whether these commissioners were appointed, and the proposals of *Quiros* examined, we have no proof.

Quiros's opinion that a commerce is carried on among the several nations of the Southern Continent.

As a proof that a commerce is carried on among the inhabitants of different countries of the Southern Continent, he describes them not only of different complexions, but says that some wore long black and straight hair; others short, thick, and crisped, on their heads. They are ignorant in mechanics, and without fortification, or without kings, laws, or government, in a kind of simplicity and innocence (A). Notwithstanding this promiscuous manner of living occasions frequent quarrels, when the weapons they use are bows, arrows, clubs, pikes, &c. all of wood. They wear a sort of covering from the waist down to the middle of the thigh, and are singularly neat in neatness and cleanliness, nothing off-putting their natural good-humour and cheerful temper so much as a slovenly disposition. Hence he concludes how easy it would be to establish a colony among them. They build with wood, covering their houses with palm-tree leaves. Pitchers and vessels they make of a kind of leam, or earth dried in the sun: scissars, saws, and knives, they make of mother of pearl and oyster-shells; which shows that they are

(D) The reader is to observe that *Quiros* is here speaking of the people living about $15^{\circ} 40'$ North latitude, where he put into several bays on the continent.

not so ignorant of mechanics as *de Quiros* calls them; especially as he acknowledges that the art of weaving or knitting is not unknown to them. Their boats are excellently fitted either to row or sail with the utmost celerity; an undeniable proof that either they border upon some civilized nations, or have themselves made some progress in the arts.

THERE are various kinds of roots in great abundance, of which the natives make a very agreeable sort of bread, with very little trouble. The country abounds in the most delicious fruits, as almonds, cocoa-nuts, lemons, oranges, guavas, and mangoes. The palm-tree affords them a juice greatly resembling and little inferior to wine. From this they make a kind of whey and vinegar, as also an excellent honey by evaporation. A species of fruit they call the *cocos* is in great esteem among them, as it affords both meat and drink, affords an excellent burning oil that exudes from the shell both to the sun. From the whole description, however, failing as it he dwells so long upon, it appears to be no more than the coco-nut; which he mentions as a different part of the memorial. Of the palm-leaves the natives make sails for their small boats, and a kind of ingenious mats or carpets, either for beddings, floors, or hangings. *Quiros* affirms, that he has likewise seen melons, apples, pears, and other European fruits, among them, more excellent in proportion to the warmth of the climate, although this be a root which does not hold in any other part. He has even tasted turkeys, which, with the fowls of that country, make considerable part of the food. The country affords plenty of hens, and the art of casting is common among them. There are also ducks, pigeons, turtles, and stock-doves, besides cows and goats; none of which *Quiros* however saw. The country is bound with fish of various kinds, upon which the natives chiefly feed during their stay here. Nutmegs, mace, ginger, and pepper, they found here, some of which they carried with them to *Mexico*, it proving in every respect equal to what is brought from the *Moluccas*. He likewise takes notice of cinnamon, and says it is probable that the country likewise affords cloves, as it not only produces the other spices, but lies parallel with the island of *Ternate*, *Banda*, and the *Moluccas*; a method of reasoning by no means unnatural. Many materials are produced for cordage and sail-cloth, and the whole abounds with wood of various sorts, of which the most valuable is ebony. He mentions a bituminous exudation from the *cocos*, which might well supply

the room of pitch, with a mixture of bees-wax and tallow, of which the climate affords abundance; concluding, that nothing besides iron is wanting towards ship-building; and this he thinks possible the country may likewise supply at a greater distance from the Tropics.

As to the soil, it is rich and fertile, producing every thing almost spontaneously, or with very little labour. The fields are divided, interlaced, and watered, by pleasant brooks and rivers, that fall down from the mountains. Many of the rivers are so large as to afford the strongest arguments of the prodigious extent of this track of land. The air is pure and healthy, which he proves from the perfect health the whole crew enjoyed during their residence on the coast; and one thing very remarkable is, that, unlike other warm climates, it is intirely free of every kind of noxious vermin; no gnats, flies, and musquitos, in the air; no crocodiles, serpents, or snakes, either by land or water; in short, of that insupportable or molest the most perfect enjoyment of tranquillity. Upon the whole, he scruples not to present a track of country to all the conquests of the *Shanar* *Indes*.

THE account he gives of his taking possession of this part of the globe, as he calls it, is somewhat remarkable. We shall therefore give it in his own words, especially as it will show the reader the necessity we are under of giving an extract of the *Journal*. "Such, Sir, are the greatest goodness of this country, which I have discovered, of which I have already taken possession in the name of your Majesty and under your royal authority, which appears by the following manner: 1. Since we erected, and built a great honour of our Lady of *Lady*. There we caused a mass to be celebrated there, our ships passing to receive certain indulgences upon *Sunday*. We also made a solemn procession, and observed the feast of the Blessed Sacrament, which was carried in procession, your majesty's banner flying before us, through a great circuit of countries, honoured with the presence of the same. In three several places we set up our title, in each of which we erected a column with the arms of your majesty engraved upon them. Hence you have received a prodigious addition of territory, this country stretching beyond words into the continent. I have therefore presented to your majesty's other titles, that of

" *La Australia del Espiritu Santo*, the which I wish may be
 " blazoned and spread over the face of the whole world, for
 " the glory of God and the honour of your majesty."

In another memorial, which Purchas has preserved in the original *Spanish*, he relates most of the particulars we have related, together with many other circumstances, which would seem to specify the last place to have colonies sent thither. He, besides the country already described, he gives the names of about 20 islands; viz. *Taumico, Manicota, Chicayana, Guatopo, Macarayla, Tucopio, Fonsford, Pilan, Papon*, and others, which it would be tedious to relate. Describing the bay of *St. Philip's* and *St. James*, or *Baya de Sant Felipe y Sant Jago*, and harbour of *Vera Cruz*, he believes them to belong to the continent, as he judges from the high double mountains, and the largeness of the river *Jordon*. *Quiros* staid some days in the island of *Taumico*. Here the king, or lord, both *Tama* was of great service to him, with his people, in sailing round the ships with fruits, roots, and *meat*. He was a man of sense, tall, and full-bodied; his colour of a reddish brown; his eyes light, his nose aquiline, his hair black, and curled, with a grave aspect and majestic deportment. He described, by signs, about 60 islands, and a great strait called *Amanu*, from S. S. E. to N. E. To represent the large islands, he drew large circles, or irregular figures, and smaller ones for the lesser islands. In representing the continent, he opened his arms, pointed to the sun, turned his eyes, and made other gestures, expressing that he could, in a weeks sailing, sail round the islands. *Quiros* the following day, with some of the natives, all of whom agreed in their accounts. When he departed, he left behind him four of the inhabitants, three of which died before his arrival at *Mexico*; but the other having seen yet the *Spaniards*, coincided with the reports given by his countrymen.

He also gave an account of an island distant about three days sailing from *Taumico*, which, he said, was larger than *Taumico* and *Manicota* taken together. This he called *Guatopo*, inhabited by people chiefly of white complexions, and various coloured hair. He launched out greatly into the fertility and wealth of *Manicota*, which induced *Quiros*, from the signs he made, to make trial how far he understood him, or how true his relation might be. On his arrival here, he found every thing corresponding with the account of the *Spaniards*, and rather exceeding, than falling short of his descrip-

tion *. Upon the whole, *Quiros* would seem to be of opinion that those islands were in the neighbourhood of a continent stretching from 240 longitude to *New Holland* and *New Guinea*, the islands of *Solomon* lying surrounded by that part of the ocean from 120 lat. quite to the equinoctial line. How far his conjectures are verified by future navigators, we shall be able to judge from the voyages of *Reggwin*, and others (E),

* PURCHAS, T. i. p. 1425.

S E C T. II.

Giving an account of the voyages and discoveries of
William Cornelison Schouten, and Jaques Le Maire,
in the South Seas.

Account of *Le Maire* *and* *Schouten* *with the intention of their voyage.* *TERRA* extensive charter of the *Dutch East India* *Company* was extremely displeasing to a number of considerable merchants in *Holland*, who were sending out ships at their own expense, upon new discoveries. They thought it an intolerable grievance that they should be prohibited by the government, contrary to the law of nature, from using those passages, and reaping the fruits of those circumstances which Providence so wisely intended. Among these was *Jaques Le Maire*, a merchant of *Amsterdam*, acquainted with business, and of an enterprising spirit, directed by a sound judgment. *Le Maire* was desirous of enjoying a part of the wealth he had acquired by trade, and of posterity, and in building fame for himself as a discoverer. With this view he applied to *Schouten*, a man in the circumstances of great reputation as a seaman, and well known in the *Philippines*, to which he had performed several voyages in different stations of master, pilot, and supercargo. The question proposed by *Le Maire* to the intelligent *Schouten* was, Whether he did not believe it possible to find another passage, besides the *Streight of Magellan*, into the *South Seas*; and whether, if this discovery was made, the countries to the south of that passage might not afford as rich

(E) We have not given the particulars of the voyage, as we found it in the *French* collection, for the following reasons: 1. Because we have some doubts concerning the authenticity of that Journal, as *Purchas* speaks of it as lost; and, 2. Because all the particulars contained in it are found in the Memorial and Journals of *Schouten* and *Reggwin*.

commodities as either the *East* or *West Indies*? Schouten gave it as his opinion that such a passage was highly probable, and was still more positive with respect to the wealth and fertility of the southern countries. After many conversations upon the subject, a resolution was formed of attempting the discovery, from a full persuasion that the States General could not intend, by their exclusive charter to the *East India* company, to preclude their other subjects from discovering countries on the south by a new route, distinct from either the passage to *India* by the *Streights of Magellan* or the *Cape of Good Hope*. In consequence of this, an agreement was entered upon, whereby *Le Maire* and his friends furnished one moiety of the expense, and *Schouten* and his friends the other. Accordingly by the following spring, *A. 1615*, two ships were equipped with every thing necessary for the voyage, which was to be under the direction of *Schouten* in person, and *Juanes Le Maire*, son to *Juan Le Maire*, who was to act in both.

On the 25th, they weighed anchor from the Texel. They determined the right of the *Makaras* on the 11th of July, where they did not touch, that no time might be lost. They then sailed to the north side of *Cape Verd*, and there a light wind obliging them to anchor there. Here the *Alondra* came on board, and furnished them with a quantity of fresh water, for a certain reward. August 21st, they weighed from the *Texel*, and by the 31st, saw the high land of *Sierra Leona*, and also *Madagaskar*, by the South turn the South point of the high land of *Sierra Leona*, and Sea. They then sailed into the shallows of *St. Paul's* island. By the 26th, they had sailed mostly southward, till they made 10° 30'. On the 31st, they had the sun north of them at noon. On the 1st, they observed the compass to vary 1° 58' N. E. 12°. On the 2nd, they came under 38° 25', and there the variation of the compass was 17° to the N. E. December 6th, they had a prospect of land not very high, but rather flat and white. After which they fell in with the north side of *Port Desire*, and that night anchored within a degree and a half of land in ten fathom water, with an ebb that ran strongly southward. The 7th, keeping their course due south, they came before the harbour of *Port Desire*, lying under 4° 30'; at the entry of which they had very high water, but saw none of the cliffs which former voyagers de-

scribed northward in sailing into the harbour. Cliffs, however, to the south were visible enough, which might perhaps be those meant by *Van Noort*. Upon this, they went on sailing so far south, that they missed the right channel. They soon came into a crooked bay of forty fathom water at high sea, and but 14 feet at the tide of ebb. Here they found abundance of eggs among the cliffs, muscels, and fine smelts, for which they gave it the name of *Smelt Bay*. After this, they went to *Port Desire*, where they staid till January 13th, A. 1616. On the 20th, they got into 53°, when they observed the great current that runs S. W.; and now they reckoned about 20 leagues southward of the *Streights of Magellan*. From hence they held their course S. by V. and the same day saw land bearing W. S. W. from them, and quickly after to the South. Then attempting to get beyond the land by an E. S. E. course, the hard north wind that blew then constrained them to take in their top-sails, and reef the main-sail. The 21st in the forenoon, they saw land about a league's distance, stretching out east and south, with high hills covered with ice, with other land bearing east, as high and rugged as the former. Thence they sailed about eight leagues afunder, with a good passage between them, because of a brisk current that ran southward by them. About noon they made 54° 46', and then began steering towards the above passage, but were prevented by a chain. Here they saw such an incredible number of penguins and huge shoals of whales, that they were obliged to proceed with caution, for fear of running the ships upon them.

States
Island.

Maurice
Land.

By the 25th they got clear of the land, which, as on the north side, reaches to the south, and is very low it. This they called *State Land*, and to that they gave the name of *Maurice Land*. In this place they observed great numbers of seals, with great numbers of penguins and porpoises, as well as some kinds of fowls, but the land adjacent seemed quite naked and barren. Having a north wind upon their entrance into this passage, they steered S. S. W.; for that by noon they made 55° 46', and then held a S. W. course. The land on the south side of the passage seemed to run W. S. W. at the west end of *Maurice Land*, and S. W. as far as they could see it, it being rough craggy ground. In the evening, having a S. W. wind, they steered southward, meeting with prodigious billows rolling before the wind, which, with the depth of the soundings, gave them a full assurance that the *South Sea* was now before them, into which they had almost made their way by a passage of their own discovery. The sea-gulls here were as large as swans, and their

their wings, when extended, measuring about a fathom. They would sit upon the sides of the ship, and suffer themselves to be taken, without attempting to fly away. The 26th they made 57° , and were overtaken by a storm from the S. and S. W. All this day they continued to steer southward, but at night changed it for a N. W. course; in which quarter they discovered very high land. On the 27th they were under $56^{\circ} 51'$, the weather cold, with hail and rain, a west and westerly south wind blowing. Here they went a southern course, and crossed northward with their mainsails. After this, they steered with a W. and then a N. E. wind, holding their course, and then W. W. by S. which brought them under $56^{\circ} 48'$. The 29th they had a N. W. wind, and held their course S. W. which gave them the prospect of two islands surrounded with high cliffs, lying W. S. W. from them. These they called *Barnevelt Islands*, lying in 57° S. From hence taking a N. W. course, they saw land again in the evening, lying S. from the *Streights of Magellan*, which they gave the name of *Cape Horn*, from its pointed figure, the proximity of which is in $57^{\circ} 48'$ S. They held their course westward from hence, and were fully convinced, by the billows rolling upon them, as well as the strong current, that the passage was open into the *South Sea*. This day they made the lat. of $55^{\circ} 31'$. At last, on the 12th of February, they plainly discovered the *Streights of Magellan*, lying to the E. of them: from whence, lying assured of their happy new discovery, they gave thanks for their good fortune in the sounds of musick. The passage received the name of *San Pedro*, because he being the original projector, and interpreter. It is observable, that, during their passage through the new-found streights, they had settled bad weather, thick fogs, and strong contrary winds, made the navigation tedious, and their discoveries little considerable, than otherwise they probably might have been. On the 27th they made 40° lat. with fair weather, holding their course northward. After this they steered for *Juan Fernandez*, at which they arrived on March 1st. As the crews became extremely sickly by so tedious a voyage, the refreshments of this place were received with the utmost joy.

*The
Streights
of leMaire
discovered,
and they
arrived in
the South
Sea.*

We find in this Journal one of the oldest accounts of the two islands of *Juan Fernandez*; but as they are now well known, we shall pass it over. On the 11th they passed the Tropic of *Capricorn* a second time, holding their course N. till the 25th. When they made 18° , then they steered due

^b HARRIS, V. i. B. i. c. 1. §. 9. Hist. de Navig. l. iii. p. 364.
W. B.

Dog
Island.

West. April 3d they made $15^{\circ} 12'$, and had then no variation of the compass. Towards noon they discovered a small low island. They sent the shallop on shore here, and caught a great number of fish; finding nothing however upon shore but a species of dogs in every respect resembling European dogs, for which reason they called this place the *Island of Dogs*. It was covered by a fine long grass of a bright green, that gave a beautiful look to the coast, which might be about three leagues in circumference. The island lies in $15^{\circ} 12'$, and about 925 leagues from the coast of Peru (F). For four days they sailed W. and W. by N. when they fell in with a large but low island, from which an Indian canoe advanced to meet them. The men were naked, of a reddish complexion, with long black hair, of a robust make, and strong limbs, their eyes extremely sharp and piercing. They kept aloof from the ship, but invited the Dutch by signifying to come on shore. Schouten ordered his men to speak to them in the Spanish, Dutch, the *Ahuacan*, and *Javan* languages, neither of which they understood. The ship approached within musket-shot of the shore, but found no foundings; upon which she steered round, in expectation of finding a bay to cast anchor in. After having sailed about 10 leagues in a S. S. W. course, they came close to the shore, on which several of these naked people stood close to the water side, and invited them to land. One of their canoes put out, but could not venture to come on board. They were greatly pleased with the toys thrown to them, and at last encouraged to come to the ship. After they had for a while surveyed her, they came on board, where they immediately fell to work in getting the nails and bolts out of the cabin doors and windows, seeming to have extraordinary passion for iron. Indeed they did not confine themselves to iron only; for, when that was out of their reach, they paid their respects with great adrefs to whatever lay nearest them.

THE inhabitants of this island are of a very particular humour, much addicted to stealing, at which they are abun-

• Vid. Hist. des Navig. aux Terres Austr. t. i. p. 361.

(F) This is probably the least is the conjecture of the island which Magellan, according to the compiler (F), which we think by no means improbable. *Unfortunate Island*. This at blc.

(a) Hist. des Navig. t. i. p. 358.

dantly

dantly expert. They go quite naked, the *pubenda* only being covered with a small mat. Their bodies are painted all over with the pictures of snakes and dragons, drawn upon a blue ground, resembling the effects of powder upon the skin. They drank eagerly of the wine given them, but could not be prevailed on to return the cup. The next day *Scheuten* sent the shallop with about sixteen men armed on shore, who were no sooner landed than they were attacked by a body of 30 or 40 natives, that rushed upon them from the woods. As they were armed only with clubs, the seamen found it no difficult matter to repulse them; but, finding all their endeavours to bring them to traffick were to no purpose, they returned to the ship, and proceeded in their voyage. This island they called by the name of *Without Bottom*, because they were able to find no soundings. It is a long narrow island, seemingly fertile, abounding with palm and cocoa-trees, and lying in latitude 15° S. about 30 leagues from *Neg*

Island. The 16th *Scheuten* fell in with another island about 15° leagues from the former. The land is almost intirely overflowed, yet trees flourish upon the borders. Upon a little eminence they discovered a spring of fresh water, with which they supplied the ship, and thence gave the place the name of *Water Island*.

The 18th they came to another island, 20 leagues distant ouestward. The boat was sent to look out for water, and soon fell in with a gentle stream at 10 fathoms sounding. The inhabitants, a swarm of flies and insects with which this island is infested, made it impossible for them to fill their cask, being forced immediately to return to the ship with their clothes and faces covered over with those vermin. This they called *Fly Island*, and left without further discovery, having found however that it was inhabited.

On the 22d they got under the latitude $15^{\circ} 4'$, where they had great billows rolling from the south. They conjectured they might as yet be 150 leagues from the Southern Continent described by *Quirac*. They the third day sailed westward, and made at noon $15^{\circ} 3'$, in which latitude they met several great *doradæ* (a kind of gold-fish), the first they had seen in the south sea. On the 9th they were under

* Hist. des Navig. p. 556. T. i. HARRIS, ubi sup.

(G) It may be proper to observe, that although *Quirac* had performed his voyage some years before, yet it is probable

that *Le Maire* never saw his journal, as it was not printed till the year 1718.

*A bark
taken.*

the latitude $15^{\circ} 20'$, when they conjectured they might be about 1510 leagues from the coast of *Peru*. This day they discovered a bark coming towards them, upon which they proceeded to meet her, but, she turning her course, the captain ordered a gun to be fired to bring her to. As this had not the desired effect, the shallop was sent with a number of men armed to seize her, which she did, making prisoners of about 23 men, with some women and children. They were a cleanly decent people, of a copperish complexion, curled hair, naked to the waist, and from the knee downwards. The bark was of a very peculiar structure, but well adapted to the purposes of sailing. All that was found on board consisted of a few fishing-hooks made of stone, mother of pearl, tortoise-shell, or a kind of black bone. After endeavouring to procure information from them, they were dismissed, having received the kindest treatment; with which the poor savages were so delighted, that they pulled off their caps stuck with many feathers, dressed in the fashion of a coronet, and put them on the heads of the sailors.

SCHOOTEN, steering W. S. W. discovered, on the 10th high land on the larboard side, lying south-east-by-south, about eight leagues distant. The 11th he came up with a very high island, and about two leagues southward discovered another flatter, and seemingly more fertile. Near this island another bark approached them with incredible swiftness, her men steering with great skill. Taking the soundings, they found fourteen fathoms water, in which they cast anchor. The island standing 60' 10' being one entire mountain, all covered over with vegetation. They were soon visited by three large barks, and about 10 canoes with white flags in token of peace. Those canoes were of an extraordinary make, being flat before, and quite steep behind, notwithstanding which they row with great velocity. When they came to a small distance of the ship, they leaped into the sea, and swam towards her with coco-nuts in their hands, which they bartered for nails and beads, giving five nuts for a nail. This traffick drew such a number of the natives to the ship, that she soon was crowded with them, going up and down with the utmost familiarity. Schooten, to avoid being troubled with greater numbers, sent the long boat to look out for an anchorage on the other island; but she was presently surrounded and covered by a number of canoes filled with a fierce and savage people armed with clubs, who attacked the *Dutch* with great fury. The former fired upon them, but were laughed at, as no one happened to be hurt by the first discharge; but the second doing execution, the

Some of the wounded were brought on board, and kindly treated, it soon induced others to come on board the ship, with seemingly more friendly intentions. They were a strong-built, well-proportioned people, naked, thorough-bred and excellent swimmers. Their complexion was inclining to black, their hair long and black, though some cut it short, and were extremely whimsical in their manner of dressing it.

THEY now began to come on board with coco-nuts, bananas, yams roots, and live hogs, which they exchanged for the most trifling and useless toys, priding themselves greatly on having outwitted the Europeans. They wondered much at the strength and size of the ship, knocked against her with spears, and then turned up their eyes in admiration. The king of the island sent a black hog as a present to the ship, ordering the messenger to accept of no reward, an order which he did not comply strictly with. He was put out from shore in his royal galley, attended by twenty canoes, but did not chuse to come on board, altho' he permitted his son, to gratify his curiosity. When near the ship, his men gave a loud shout, by way of welcoming the Europeans; which was returned by drums and trumpets, with the music of which his majesty was highly delighted. The king then sent a *Mattien* from his vessel, as a present to *Schouten*, which he returned with an old hatchet, old nails, and some glass beads, with which his majesty was quite transported, or pretended to be so.

HE was distinguished for his subjects only by the respect they paid him, going like them naked, and without any badges of authority. For a day or two this friendly commerce continued, but the Europeans began afterwards to suspect that the presents which the natives were so very sincere, and their conjectures were soon verified; for on a sudden they inclosed the ship on every side, and with a loud shout began to bombard and batter her with stones. His majesty's ship was the victim of the attack; but they were soon dispersed and defeated by a general discharge of grape-shot and musquetry. All traffick being thus at an end, *Schouten* left the island, after giving it the appellation of *Traitors Island*, from the conduct of the natives.^b

SCHOUTEN arrived on the 14th at an island he called *Hope Island*, because here he expected to meet with refreshments; but, being disappointed, he continued his course, after having

^b Auth. citat. ibid.

defeated the natives in a brisk attack they made on the ship. This island was covered over with cocoa-nuts, and appeared to be fertile in the vallies. On the 18th, being under 16° 5', *Schouten* called a council, in which he represented, that they were about 1600 leagues eastward of *Peru* and *Chili*; and, as they had not yet discovered any thing like a continent, so there was no probability of their succeeding in that design, as they had sailed so far westward. The same course, he said, would bring them to the coast of *New Guiney*, where if they found no passage, they must inevitably perish, since there was no possibility of returning eastward, on account of the easterly winds, which were continually set in that continent. For these reasons he proposed, that they should alter their course northward, so as to fall in with the north side of *New Guiney*. The proposal was embraced by the rest of the crew, and accordingly they began immediately to steer a north-north-west course. The 21st, at two leagues from shore, they were visited by ~~the~~ canoes, who insulted them without any provocation, but retired with the loss of two men from a discharge of some muskets. The 22d other canoes approached the ship, but with a peaceable intention, bringing cocoa-nuts, yams roots, and hogs, in exchange for beads, nails, and knives. The houses of the natives, were ranged along the shore, being about 12 feet high, covered with leaves, and a porch before each. All the furniture consisted of a bed of dried herbs, an angling rod, and a great club; his majesty's palace differing in nothing but the size from the meanest subject's cottage. The people in general swim and dive with great dexterity, nor are they less expert in thieving than the inhabitants of some former islands we have mentioned. This crime, however, is punished by the king with great rigour, as the *Europeans* experienced in the case of one of them, who stole a cutlass, for which he was soundly beaten, and would have been put to death, had the fact come to the ear of the king. They were greatly terrified at the noise of the cannon, yet the king had a great desire to see one discharged. For this purpose he was seated under a canopy with all his court round him; but, upon the explosion, he leaped out of his seat, and fled with the utmost celerity into the woods, nor could all the assurances of the *Europeans*, that no danger was to be apprehended, bring him back, till he had recovered his fright. The *Europeans* went on shore to purchase hogs, in which they were disappointed, on account of their scarcity in the island; nor could they procure any supply of cocoa-nuts, although the natives seemed desirous of accommodating them. His majesty shewed them much friendship and respect;

both

C. 12. His courtiers taking off their caps, adorned with beautiful feathers, and putting them on the heads of before him. Notwithstanding this hospitality, he began to be offensive of their designs, and offered them a reward in hogs if they would quit the island. They, the rest, the men are generally tall to an extreme, and strong built; they are of a yellowish complexion, with long black hair, which they wore after different fashions. Some took great pains in curling or frizzing it, others bestowed equal labour in making it sleek and strait. Some tied it up in knots, and others wore it half an ell high over their heads, standing upright, with bits of wood and twigs to which they fastened it. The king and some of his courtiers wore two long locks which hung down below their waists. As to the women, they are in general hard-favoured, of a disagreeable shape, with great loose breasts hanging down. Both sexes go quite naked, excepting a few leaves stitched together, which conceal the different parts. They seem to be wholly devoid of religion, oeconomy, industry, and knowledge. They live in the manner of brute animals, taking what the earth spontaneously puts forth, without care or labour. Here is neither sowing nor reaping, buying nor selling, every thing being left to nature and chance. Nor is their regard to modesty greater than their industry and religion; for they use their women openly before the greatest assemblies, and even before the king, although they greatly reverence him, this being reputed no mark of disrespect or indecorum. Here is a good bay on the south side of the island, in a dock under 14° 16' N.

SCHOUTEN set sail from hence on June 11th, touching at no land till the 21st, when he fell in with a very low island, S. S. W. in latitude 40° 47'. Round it were four smaller islands, covered with trees. Soon after his casting anchor here he was visited by a canoe, of the same model as those of the above island. She carried four men of a much darker complexion than any we have described, and armed with bows and arrows, the first they had seen in the South Sea. They told the ship's crew by signs, that there was more land and good accommodations to the westward, where the king dwelt; upon which Schouten weighed, and steered according to their directions. The 22d he sailed west-by-south-west, under 40° 45', and came within sight of a cluster of 12 or 13 small islands, W. S. W. from them, which he left on the larboard. The 24th he saw three low islands

HARRIS, *ibid.*

Histoire Moderne, T. vi p. 29.

Green
Islands.

on the larboard, all covered with trees of various sorts. He called the *Green Islands*, on account of the pleasure afforded by the trees. Soon after another island 16° west-by-north presented itself. Upon this were seen that ten small hovels, plainly indicating that it was *Chili*; This they called *St. John Baptist's Island*, because that day they discovered it. From hence they descried a land to the south-west, which they took to be the point *New Guiney*. This they reached the same day, and, sail by it, founded for anchorage, but without success. Two three canoes filled with men made an attack upon the ship with slings, but were soon dispersed. The inhabitants of this coast were exceeding black, wore no covering of part of their bodies, and spoke a language quite different from any of the former places they had touched, but not less articulate and sonorous. All night they lay upon the shore, and seemed extremely apprehensive of the ship. In the morning they were no less shy, none of being persuaded by the utmost civilities either to come on board, or to exchange any thing with the crew. Notwithstanding they were tired with all these marks of kindness, they soon assembled a body, and attacked the ship with slings, which they used with great dexterity, holding a stinate engagement, till showers of grape-shot, fired at them, killed 12 or 14, upon which they dispersed. Their security seemed to be the sea, to which they fled, swimming and diving with the agility of natives of that element. Ever, the 1st men in the long-boat found means to know the real of them on the head as they emerged out of the water. Some they made prisoners, whom they afterwards gave for hogs and vegetables.

Since
islands discovered.

On the 28th the ship set sail, and, holding a north-west north course, they steered by land till the evening, in which they observed a number of bays and havens. This day they discovered three islands more to the northward, under 3° 20'. The 30th several canoes put out to them; and the *Indians*, boarding the ship with permission, broke slaves-tokens of peace over their heads. Their canoes bore marks of the marks of art than any of the former they had seen; themselves seemed to be more civilized and polished, notwithstanding they went naked from the waist upwards. They pretended poverty, and came only to beg not to traffick, as the island afforded great plenty of cocon-nuts. On June the first *Schouten* anchored between an island two miles in length and the continent of *New Guiney*, where he was soon surrounded by twenty canoes of the same people who the day before

before had broken their staves. By the conduct of these it would appear, that the ceremony performed by the others was intended only to lull the *Europeans* into security, when they might more easily attack them. They began their design with fixing upon the anchor, and pulling the cable with their girdles, thinking to draw the ship nearer to them. The others came about her in the canoes making a general discharge from their slings. Upon a volley of grape-shot was fired among them, which 13, and let the rest to flight.

THE ship continued hoisting peaceably along the shore, holding a W. On the 2d under 3° 12', they saw low land. The 3d they saw high land, and were carried by an easterly current. On the 4th, as they were passing the island we have mentioned, they discovered about twenty more hills in a cluster, of various heights and 4720' most of these they left astern, and only three on the horizon. Some were distant a mile, others divided only by a narrow stream from the rest, all of them lying under 2° 30' nearly. On the 6th a very high hill was descried, which they took to be the mountain *Gemenassi* in *Banda*; but a nearer approach discovering three more hills resembling it, six or seven leagues to the northward, they were more assured of the truth of their conjecture. The 7th they sailed towards those high hills, on some of which they discovered volcanoes, from which circumstance they gave it the name of *Vulcan's Island*. It *Vulcan's* seemed to be well inhabited, and stocked with cocoas, but they could find no anchorage. The people were naked, timid, and shy, speaking a language very different from any they had heard, and unintelligible to any of the blacks on board. There appeared more islands to the N. N. W. but the ship held her course to a very low one that lay N. W. by W. from them. Here they observed the water of various colours, green, white, and yellow, which they ascribed to New Guinea the mixture of some rivers pouring into the sea; and the ney, and rather, because the water was much fiercer than that of the ocean, filled with leaves and boughs, some of which had birds and crabs fastened upon them. The 8th they anchored at a high island in 3° 40', which seemed to be an unhealthy place, yielding nothing considerable besides ginger. It was inhabited by *Papors*, or blacks, whose ridiculous fancy in dress, superadded to their natural deformity, made them appear highly disagreeable. Every one had something absurd about him, quite peculiar to himself. Nay, it would appear that nature was no less sportive and wanton than their own

humour and caprice; for the features, limbs, and size, had nothing of a resemblance, or any certain national criterion. Round their necks they wore strings of hogs teeth; their noses and ears were perforated for rings to which were suspended those inestimable jewels the hogs teeth. Their hair was short and frizzled, their features insipid and dead, and the whole turn of face and symmetry of parts, such as could not fail to disgust. Nor were the women a whit more agreeable than the men, they preserving the same manners, and being stamped with the same unhappy and forbidding figure. They built their huts upon stakes eight or nine feet from the ground, which seemed to indicate an unhealthy dampness or moisture.

On the 9th they anchored in a more convenient bay at 26 fathom, with a sandy bottom mixed with clay. There were two villages of the natives near the shore, from whence they brought hogs and cocoa-nuts to the ship, but kept them at so high a price, that there was no bartering with them. But now, after sailing for several days along this coast, they were unable to determine whether or no it was *New Guiney*. At first, from the four high hills, they were assured they had got to *Banda*, in which however they were mistaken, as appeared by the continent that ran along to the southward. Neither did their charts agree, nor their opinions of the lands they had in prospect, which for the most part stretched N. W. by W. Notwithstanding this scruple, they still continued a W. by W. course along the shore, by which, and the assistance of a gentle current, they made 2° 58' by the 12th at noon.

THE 13th and 14th they pursued the same direction, having sometimes very high and sometimes exceeding low land in view. On the 15th they reached two low islands about half a league from the land, and under 2° 54' S. lat. Now they had good anchoring at 46 fathom; and, seeing the country was well stocked with cocoa-nuts, the boat and shallop well armed were sent on shore. They were observed by the *Indians*, who gave them a warm reception with their slings and arrows, wounding 16 of the men, and obliging them to fly with precipitation to the ship, without having leisure to try the effects of their fire-arms. The 16th *Schouten* sailed in between both islands, and dropped anchor in nine fathom water. The same day the boat well armed landed upon the lesser island, set fire to some villages, and carried

off a booty of cocoa-nuts. Henceforward the natives became more peaceable and gentle, for, on the following day, they came with cocoa-nuts, bananas, ginger, and a yellow root which they use for saffron. After the quarrel was made up, they ventured on board, exchanging the product of the island for old nails and beads. On the 18th they brought on board prodigious quantities of cocoa-nuts, bananas, cassava, and papada. The two last were inferior to what is found in the *West Indies*, but the use to which it is applied is the same, both baking it into large round cakes, which they use for bread. .

THE lesser island, which lies the most eastward, the natives call *Mosa*, and to the other they gave the name of *Ju*-Island. The third island is by much the largest, standing about five leagues from the coast of *New Guiney*. This they call by the name *Armeria*. *Schouten* naturally concluded, that these islands had been visited before by Europeans, for the natives were not terrified at the discharge of fire-arms, and a number of *Spanish* pots and jars were seen among them. This suspicion was the more confirmed, because those savages did not express the same wonder at the sight of the ship, or shew an equal curiosity to pry into every particular, as others to whom it was a novelty; which however did not seem to proceed from stupidity, or want of sensibility.

THE 21st *Schouten* sailed along by the north-west land, and at noon made $1^{\circ} 13'$. The current drove him then to a cluster of islands, where he anchored at 12 fathom, with storms of rain and thunder at night. Getting under sail on the 23d, he was overtaken by six great canoes from the land, bringing with them dried fish, cocoas, bananas, and tobacco, with a small fruit resembling prunus. The natives of another island brought china, porcelane, and raw silk, to barter. These people, like most of the barbarians, were fond of iron nails and beads, which they received at a high price. They were remarkably distinguished from any *Indians* the *Dutch* had yet seen, by their orange complexion, and prodigious stature and strength. Some wore long hair, others short, but the language of the whole was distinct from that of the other islands. Their arms were bows and arrows, and the chief ornaments of their persons consisted of glass ear-rings of different colours; a sure proof that this island was known before to *Europeans*.

BEING under thirty minutes, on the 24th they steered N. W. and W. S. W. coasting along a pleasant island, on which they bestowed the name of *Schouten*, calling the west point island.

Horn
Island.

point of it the *Cape of Good Hope* (H). This seems to be the same island which is distinguished in most maps by the name of *Horn Island*. On the 27th a great extent of uneven land appeared on the larboard, lying S. S. W. by W. The 26th three more islands were discovered, stretching N. W. by W. On the 29th *Scheuten* was under 29 minutes, having sight of large tracts of land to the southward, some high, some low, by which he passed north-west. The 29th an earthquake was felt, which shook the ship with such violence, that the men ran frightened upon deck, imagining she had struck, and bulged on a rock. Upon trial it appeared, however, that the sea in that part was unfathomable, from whence they concluded it to be the shock of an earthquake. On the 30th *Scheuten* put into a large bay, but, finding no passage, he returned to a northern course. Here the ship was again violently agitated, the shock being immediately succeeded by loud and terrible claps of thunder, with balls of lightning which they apprehended would have set the sails on fire, had not a deluge of rain poured down upon them. The 31st they passed the equator, steering due north; and, being almost surrounded with land, they anchored at 12 fathom, near a desolate island that stood close to the continent. August 1st they made 15' N. lat. going with a strong current close to the land, where they dropped anchor because of a calm. On the 3d they made 35' N. lat. where they saw several whales and tortoises, by which time they concluded they were at the east of the continent, and past the coast of New Guiney, after having sailed along it for 280 leagues†.

To pursue the voyage farther would be trespassing upon our design, which is no other than to throw as much light as possible upon the navigation to the *South Sea*, and to attempt to find a continent towards the south. With this view it was necessary to be minute in relating the bearings, soundings, course of the lands and islands, as well as the nature of the winds. However tedious this journal may ap-

† Vd Histoire des Navigation aux Terres Australes, &c. T. II. p. 56. HARRIS'S Coll Voy. vol. 1. p. 56.

(H) The *France* compiler observes from the journal of the chief mate, that here they found a fruit of an orange colour, and shape of a melon, extremely feedy, but of a pleasant taste. It was an aquatic, and greatly resembling a species of water melons which is produced in the *Ionian* territories (17).

† H. J. de A. 2g. T. 1. 1. p. 424.

pear to a superficial reader, the deep thinker will form another judgment of it, as it gives room for useful and curious reflections and inferences. In order to render the journal as useful as possible, and to assist the reader, we shall beg leave to subjoin the following remarks. The first is, *Reflections* that *Schouten's* voyage seems to point out a kind of navigation capable of great improvement, and to which perhaps no nation has a better title than *Great Britain*, as the *South Sea* company would seem to be originally established chiefly with the view to make new discoveries in the *Pacific Ocean*, which might well supply the loss of the *Affricco* trade.* 2dly, The observations of *Schouten* with regard to the variations of the compass, the tides, winds, and mountains, plainly point out a continent larger and more extensive than has hitherto been discovered of *New Guiney* or *New Holland*; the latter lying so much out of his course, as not to affect him with any of the above circumstances. 3dly, The climate, the face of the country, the commodities brought on board, and the resemblance between the natives of the different islands and those of well known parts of the *East Indies*, are sure proofs that they merit attention. Admitting that at present they do not produce spices, and the most valuable commodities, yet is it highly reasonable, if we may argue from analogy, that they are equally capable of producing them as the *Moluccas*. 4thly, If the vicinity and jealousy of the *Dutch* and *Spaniards* should be objected against the possibility of establishing settlements in them; we may answer, that the superiority of our fleets, and the vigour which for some time has reigned in our administration, will be sufficient to protect them against insults; nay more, that it will be the interest of most nations in *Europe* and the *East* to countenance a commerce which must necessarily lessen the price of some of the most valuable commodities. 5th, The great argument against establishing a settlement in the *South Sea* is the difficulty of a passage either through the *Streights of Magellan*, the *Streights of Le Maire*, or by doubling *Cape Horn*; and yet experience shews, that the inconveniencies sustained by those who made that voyage arose more from a wrong conduct than from the natural difficulties of it. If people go at a wrong season of the year, embarrassed with superfluities, and destitute of necessaries, with an old, feeble, and decrepid crew, why should we draw any conclusions from thence prejudicial to the design; or indeed any other, than that such projects were directed either by

* Vide preceding voyage, p. 276.

weak heads, or corrupt hearts? If *Commodore Anson* failed, it was owing not to his own imprudence, but to that of his superiors. If *La Mair* had better fortune, it can only be attributed to the wiser measures pursued by his constituents. Lastly, As complaints are every day uttered of the decay of commerce, of the restrictions upon trade by exclusive charters, of its being overstocked, and such-like, can there be a more probable prospect of opening new marts, and giving full scope to the labour and industry of the nation, than by making settlements in some of the islands of the *South Sea*, and, by their means, disclosing a new and extensive source of wealth and maritime power? Perhaps we have lost the fairest occasion for this, when the fine island of *Juan Fernandez* might have been seized from the sluggish *Spaniards*, who could possibly have no other motive for keeping it out of the hands of the *British* merchants, than that by means of it they would be able to render the *Philippines* less valuable to the crown or *Spain*. This occasion, it is true, is past; but it may again return, and this hint may not be useless if it should be the fate of *Britain* to be again involved in a quarrel with *Spain*. To conclude our remarks, we shall only observe, in answer to an objection which may be started, viz. that the discoveries hitherto made in the *South Seas* consist only of small islands, or of a continent not sufficiently examined. This, in our opinion, is saying nothing, if it be admitted that such of these islands as have been thoroughly examined, are inhabited; and that the continent, not sufficiently known, is so situated as to justify our conjectures. It is, in short, no more than saying, that it is imprudent to attempt the discovery of countries from whence there is not a sure prospect of immense profits; which, in part, is affirming, that we are not to attempt discoveries at all. Had mankind always reasoned thus, we should have still remained more ignorant of the *East* and *West Indies* than we are of the Southern Continent; and what the consequences would have been, may appear from the consideration of the different circumstances of things since those discoveries were made (I).

To

(II) It may not be disagreeable to our readers to see a short vocabulary of the language of *New Guinea*, as the many *onomatopaias*, or resemblances of sounds to the things they represent throughout all nations, seems to point out the possi-

bility of forming an universal language. At least it shews, that nature dictates the same expressions for the same feelings, however different in the progress of time they may prove by corruptions and refinements upon language. It cannot

To confirm those conjectures, it may be necessary to give a short abstract of some other voyages to the *South Seas*, with intention to make new discoveries, and examine the truth of former journals. Of these one of the most curious is that performed by *Francis Pelsart*, who suffered shipwreck on the coast of *New Holland*.

In the year 1620 the *Dutch East India* company, animated by the prodigious returns of wealth made by the fleet under *Pelsart's* General *Carpentier*, were induced to equip a still larger fleet for the same voyage. Among these was the *Batavia*, Captain *Pelsart*, who was separated from the rest of the Squadron on the 4th of *June*, after having doubled the *Cape of Good Hope*. The storm continuing with great fury for several days, the *Batavia* was driven quite out of her course, and at length struck upon shoals in the latitude of 28° south, the same which the *Dutch* charts call the *Abrolhos of Houtman*. *Pelsart* was sick in bed when this accident happened, but, perceiving the ship had struck, ran upon deck. It was then night, the weather tolerably serene, the moon bright, the course they steered north-east-by-north, under full sail. The sea, as far as they could discover it, was covered with a white froth, which occasioned various opinions on board, previous to the accident; some imagining that its whiteness was occasioned by the reflection of the moon; others, that it was a froth raised by the late commotion of the waters; while others attributed it to the great number of shoals and rocks which broke the waves. *Pelsart* charged the master with

cannot be denied, but men of all countries give appellations to animals in imitation of the sounds they utter, and that distinguish their voice from other animals. The examples of this are without number in every language, and here only have we a true primitive speech, and its roots. It would be easy to carry this notion to a high degree of satisfaction, but it would be a digression foreign to our purpose.

VOCABULARY.

A hen	—	<i>Cocq.</i>
A hook	—	<i>Jaoull.</i>
A king	—	<i>Laliuw.</i>
A cocoa nut	—	<i>Lamas.</i>

Water	—	<i>Dan, Daan.</i>
A fish	—	<i>Hisson.</i>
A leaf of a tree or plant,	—	<i>Nom-bong Po.</i>
A boat or wherry	—	<i>Bou.</i>
Iron	—	<i>Herres.</i>
The head	—	<i>Ea.</i>
The nose	—	<i>Nissen.</i>
The eye	—	<i>Tulingan.</i>
The teeth	—	<i>Tjang.</i>
The neck	—	<i>Pesson, Arong.</i>
The hair	—	<i>Nibouge.</i>
The hand	—	<i>Limang.</i>
The foot	—	<i>Mekrigu.</i>
The breasts	—	<i>Sou-sou.</i>
The belly	—	<i>Balang.</i>

In the *French* voyages we have a long list of words, which it would be tedious to mention.

the

the loss of the ship, who excused himself by protestations of his having done his duty with care and diligence. The question then was, What next was to be done? After founding, it was resolved to throw their cannon overboard, and ease the ship as much as possible, hoping by this to get her afloat again. While they were thus engaged, another terrible storm of wind and rain arose, which made them despair of safety amidst surrounding rocks. After cutting away the main-mast, and taking every other precaution to save the ship, it was at length determined to abandon her, and endeavour with the long-boat to reach a desolate and rocky island, at the distance of three leagues from shore. The master, with the long-boat, being sent to examine the soundings, returned with intelligence, that landing would be difficult; however, advising it as expedient, and the last resource. The women and children, with some provisions, were first put on shore, and thus in two or three trips the greater part of the crew, about twenty barrels of beef, bread, and a few casks of water, this article being forgot in the general confusion, were got on shore. About 20 persons male and female were landed on the smaller island, and 180 upon the greater, 70 still remaining on board the ship in a most deplorable condition, the sloop being unable to weather the storm, after several attempts. These, however, found means to reach the islands in the skiff or the sloop, which, by means of rafts, they had made out of planks. The whole company on both islands amounted now to 270 persons, among whom there were no more than forty gallons of water. The first inquiry, therefore, was after some brook or spring; in which, after the most diligent search, they were disappointed. On the small island the men began to murmur that the captain did not put to sea in search of some island that might supply their wants; and this was soon retorted on, though *Pelsart* parted from the crew with the utmost grief. Hitherto they had imagined the island barren and desolate; but a few savages, that appeared at some distance, convinced them that the greater island was inhabited. These barbarians had long, straight, black hair, and went naked all over.

He goes in the pinnace to Batavia. *PELSART*, according to the late resolution formed, put to sea in the sloop, well manned, and provided as well as the slender stores would permit. First he took an observation, by which he found they were in the latitude of $28^{\circ} 13'$. Then he carefully examined all the little neighbouring islands, but, finding no water, he continued his course, and soon got sight of the continent, which appeared to lie sixteen

teen miles N. W. of the place where the ship struck. On the 9th of *July*, he found himself about three miles from land, on which he plied all day, sometimes north, and sometimes in a westerly direction, the country appearing low, naked, and rocky. By the 14th he found by an observation, that he was in latitude 24° , having coasted for several days without being able to put to shore. The men, impatient of longer delay, trusting to their dexterity in swimming, got to shore with much difficulty, the sloop keeping her station in the mean while as near as possible. After a vain search, they returned to the vessel without having seen any thing besides a few savages, resembling those that had presented themselves on the island. On the 16th, after coasting a considerable way farther, they put again to shore, and had the good fortune to meet with some rain water in the clefts of rocks, than which nothing could be more seasonable; their stock of water being exhausted, and the crew ready to expire with thirst. Under $22^{\circ} 17'$ they landed again, but found no water, nor success in their endeavours to come to a correspondence with eight of the natives that approached within musket-shot of them. After having all this while beat about to no purpose, the resolution of going to *Batavia* was at last taken. This *Pelsart* looked upon as the only possible means of saving the hands with him, as well as the remainder of the crew left upon the islands. After various difficulties he at length arrived on the coast of *Java*, where he fell in with a *Dutch* ship; in which he went to *Batavia*^b, to obtain relief from the governor for his unhappy companions.

DURING the absence of *Pelsart*, *Jerom Cornelius*, a super-cargo, after some villainous actions, obtained so much power among the crew left on the islands, that, after forming them into a small but ill-constituted community, he procured for himself the name and authority of captain-general. All the hardships they had sustained, although they exceed description, did not depress the wild ambition and turbulent spirit of this man. A great number, however, refusing to acknowledge the usurper, made their escape to a third island, after having about thirty of their number butchered by order of *Cornelius*. The rest kept their ground, and defended the island against all the attempts of *Cornelius*, till *Pelsart* arrived in the *Sardam* frigate from *Batavia*. He was greatly surprised to find their miserable remains accumulating

An account of the rest of the crew left on the island during his absence.

^b *Hist. des Navigat. aux Terres Australes*, T. i. p. 451-456.
HARRIS, T. i. p. 322.

their misfortunes by the most shocking crimes, dissensions, and hostilities. However, these he soon composed by a spirited exertion of his authority, by putting the ringleaders to immediate death, and taking every other measure requisite for the safety of the whole ; after which he returned, and arrived safe in *Batavia* ².

*Reflections
on the
voyage.*

WE shall only remark upon this voyage, that, from the situation of the coast, it is certain it could be no other^a but that of *New Holland*, which hitherto had been very imperfectly examined. There had, indeed, been some rumours concerning the inhabitants of this continent, which the relation of *Pelsart* proves to be false. It was said, that when some *Dutch East Indiamen* attempted to land here, they were opposed by a gigantic race of men ; whereas *Pelsart* met with no opposition but from the rocks, and saw no inhabitants besides a few naked, timid, and miserable natives, not exceeding the ordinary size. By this story, our former conjecture receives further confirmation, since so romantic^a a tale could be calculated for no other view than to deter other nations from venturing into those seas, or making discoveries on the continent. Besides, farther proofs appear as well from the general conduct of the *Dutch*, as from the mysterious air they gave to the success of that ship which touched upon *Carpenter's Land* in South latitude $10^{\circ} 36'$, and returned with a considerable quantity of gold, spices, and other valuable goods. To prevent this accident from engaging other nations in the enterprize, the *Dutch* gave out, that this cargo was not the produce of *New Holland*, but taken up out of the wrecks of an *India* ship cast away on that coast ; altho' this was directly opposite to the account given by the officers and sailors, till they were silenced by authority. This plausible tale, however, received more credit from the repulse which some other ships affirmed they met with on that coast a few years after. But as the public never were favoured with particular and attested journals, no great credit can be given to surmises inconsistent with themselves, and with this account of *Pelsart* ; but tallying exactly with the interest and views of the *Dutch East India* company. The great object of this company has ever been to engross to themselves the richest commerce of the *Indies*, and to exclude not only other nations from it, but even to prevent their own from making such discoveries as might be prejudicial to the lucrative trade they carry on. Another maxim with them is, to make the *Moluccas*, and islands depending on them, a frontier to prevent

^a *Histoire des Voyages aux Terres Australes*, ibid. HARRIS, ubi sup.

C. 12. *A History of the Southern Continent.*

either Dutch or foreigners, not belonging to the company, from navigating these seas with security, or becoming acquainted with the roads, natives, and fertility of soil, with which the continent may abound. This will be more obvious after the reader has perused the voyages of *Tasman*, *Roggewin*, and *Dampier*. Hence it is apparent, that the company are satisfied they have already as much territory and trade as they can well conduct and defend; and that extending either would be only lessening their value. Nothing, therefore, but either the decline of their *East India* trade, or their apprehensions that some other nations will take the advantage of their indolence, will oblige them to exert themselves in making settlements in the Southern Continent, or further discoveries in *New Holland* and *New Guinea*, or any of the adjacent islands.

• S E C T. III. •

Containing the voyages of Captains Tasman and Dampier to New Guinea and New Holland. Their relations of the natives, soil, climate, and other particulars; with general reflections upon the different occurrences of the voyages (A).

IN the month of *August* 1642, Captain *Abel Jansen Tasman* sailed from *Batavia* with the ships *Heemskirk* and *Zeehaan*. On *September* 8th, he arrived at *Maurice's Island* in the lat. of 20°, and long. of 83° 48', finding the island 50 German

(A) We will beg leave to observe, that the great discoveries made by the *Dutch* in the southern countries were subsequent to the voyage and discovery of *Jacques Le Maire*. In 1618, that part of *Terra Australis*, which the *Dutch* call *Concorria*, was discovered. A. 1619, the land of *Edels* received its name from the first discoverer. In 1622, that part of *New Holland*, which goes by the name of *Leuwin's Land*, was first found out; and, in the year 1627, a country between *New Holland* and *New Guinea* was discovered by *Peter Nuy*, which bears his name. There were also several other voyages, of which we have accounts; but that the *Dutch* were constantly defeated by the natives in all their attempts to penetrate the *Southern Continent*. Indeed they appear to have unanimously suppressed many journals, which might reflect great light upon this subject. This is what we will endeavour to supply by the journals of *Dampier*, *Roggewin*, and particularly of *Tasman*, who made an exact survey of the coast. We are told by the French

man miles more east than it had been laid down in charts. He left *Maurice Island* on the 8th of *October*, steering south to the lat. $40^{\circ} 41'$, when he descried a variation of the compass equal to $23, 24, 25^{\circ}$, till the 22d *October*, that he came under lat. $45^{\circ} 47'$ S. long. $89^{\circ} 44'$, where the needle changed to $26^{\circ} 45'$ towards the west. From the first variation he continued an easterly course, inclining a little to the S. (B).

By the 6th of *November* he was in $49^{\circ} 4'$ S. lat. and in the long. of $114^{\circ} 56'$. At this time the variation was 26° to the westward. *November* the 15th, he arrived in lat. 44°

French compiler, that this journal was originally written in *Dutch*, and in but few hands, till a *French* translation of it appeared by some accident. This has since been proved faithful, by comparing it with the original *Hist. des Navig. aux Terres Australes*, V. i p. 450.

(B) As Captain *Tasman* was curious in remarking the variations of the needle, it may not be disagreeable to the reader, that we take this opportunity of explaining the nature of this truly elegant invention, that the importance of the Captain's remarks may appear with their full clearness and force.

It is well known that the needle points directly north only in a few places, and perhaps not constantly in them. In general, it inclines a little rather east or west, whence arise the terms *ecliptic* and *northern declination*. This variation was at first attributed to excavations or hollows in the earth, or to veins of lead, iron-ore, stone, and other such causes. When it was afterwards discovered by repeated experiments, that this variation varied, it was concluded that none of the assigned causes were adequate to the effect; since, according to them, the variation would always be the same in the same place;

which is contrary to experience. Here, for instance, at *London*, A. 1580, the variation was observed to be $11^{\circ} 17'$ East. In 1666, it was $34'$ to the West; and, in 1734, somewhat more than 1° West. To find the variation, with all possible exactness, mariners take the following method. They mark by the compass the point the sun is in after its rising, then taking its altitude. In the afternoon they observe when the sun comes to the same altitude, and the point it is in by the compass. The difference then between that and the north or south upon the card, which is pointed out by the needle, is the variation of the compass, and shews how much the north and south given by the compass deviates from the true north and south points of the horizon. Hence it is necessary, in order to ascertain the variation, and the variation of that variation of the compass, to have, from time to time, distinct observation of the variation as it is observed in different places. It is true, the ingenious Dr. *Halley* gives a curious hypothetical solution of this matter; but as it is founded upon its agreement with observation, we may conclude that this sort of experience is necessary.

33° 8' long. 140° 32', when the variation was found 18° 3' W. and decreasing every day, till on the 21st, in long. 153, it was no more than four degrees. On the 22d, the needle was in continual agitation, without resting in any of the eight points; whence he concluded that some mine of iron-ore, or loadstone, was not far distant (C). The 24th, in the lat. of 42° 25' S. and long. 163° 50', he discovered land at the di-
 stance of ten miles, which he knew must be *New Holland* land.

This coast he called *Van Diemen's Land*. The compass pointed right towards land, while he steered S. E. along the coast, to 44° S. where the land runs away E. and afterwards N. E. and by N. In the lat. of 43° 10' S. long. 167° 55', he anchored on the 1st of *December* in a bay which he called *Frederick Henry Bay*. There he heard, or fancied he heard, the sound of human voices on the shore, but could see no body. Nothing occurred here that merited notice, besides a number of fine trees, measuring two or two fathoms and a half in circumference, and from 60 to 65 feet in height from the root to the branches. They found steps cut out in the trunks, in order to climb up to the birds nests; whence they concluded that either the inhabitants must be of an extraordinary stature, or that they had a method of climbing peculiar to themselves. In one of the trees the steps appeared so recent, that they could not have been cut above three or four days. The marks of wild beasts were observed in the sand, but no human vestiges; they believed them to be the prints of a tyger's feet. After gathering some gum and bark off the trees, making remarks upon the tides, which ebb and flow about three feet, after discovering a smoke at some distance, erecting a wooden pillar, on which every man carved his name, and hoisting a flag at the top, he weighed anchor on the 5th of *December*; only observing that here,

Van Diemen's Land.

Remarks upon the country.

(C) This observation may seem to contradict what we have before advanced concerning the variation, and its causes. However, when the remark is attentively considered, every difficulty will vanish. When we assert that veins of loadstone act not upon the needle, and are not the causes of variation, it is to be understood of the constant variation of a few degrees to the east or to the west. But where the variation is altogether irregular, and the needle playing round the compass, Captain *Tasman's* conjecture may consistently enough be admitted. Yet we must own that we think it a point far from being proved, that such things affect the loadstone at a distance. This might indeed be easily determined, as there are mines of loadstone not only in the island of *Elba* on the coast of *Tuscany*, but likewise in other parts of *Europe*.

in $41^{\circ} 34' S.$ lat. long. 169° , the compass varied to three degrees eastward. Quitting *Van Diemen's Land*, he resolved to steer east to the longitude of 195° , in hopes of discovering the islands of *Solomon*.*

New
Zealand.

*Descrip-
tion of the
inhabit-
ants of
New Zea-
land.*

DECEMBER 9th, he was in the lat. of $42^{\circ} 37' S.$ and in the longitude of $176^{\circ} 25'$, the variation being 5° eastward. The 13th, in the lat. of $42^{\circ} 10' S.$ long. $18^{\circ} 28'$, he found the variation $7^{\circ} 30'$ eastward, when he discovered a high mountainous country, marked in the charts under the name of *New Zealand*. After coasting along the shore till the 18th, and then being in the lat. of $40^{\circ} 50' S.$ long. $191^{\circ} 41'$, he anchored in a fine bay where he observed the variation to be 9° to the east. Here he met with a great number of the natives, a well-built robust people, with hoarse voices, but nothing supernatural in their size. They would not approach within musquet-shot of the ships, but continued at a distance, playing upon a kind of instrument resembling a trumpet, which the *Hollanders* returned by the best music their ships afforded. The complexion of this people was a mixture of brown and yellow their hair long, and almost as thick as that of the *Japaneſe*, which they combed up, and fixed in a knot on the crown of the head, with a nail or bit of ivory. They covered the middle of their bodies some with a mat, others with a woollen cloth, leaving the upper part of it, as well as from the middle of the thigh downwards, quite naked. In a few days they became bolder and more familiar; at last venturing on board the commodore's ship, in order to trade with the seamen. *Tasman* was then on board another ship, and, observing it, sent the shallop to advertise the crew of a surprise, and to put them on their guard. The shallop was instantly attacked with great fury by the savages, who killed three out of the seven on board, and obliged the others to save their lives by swimming. The crews would certainly have taken their revenge, had not a succeeding storm prevented it, and obliged the commodore to bear away from this incommodious station, after giving it the appellation of the *Murderers Bay*. The country appeared rich, fertile, and well situated; but the foulness of the weather hindered *Tasman* from making further observations; and indeed of getting clear of the coast.

Murder-
ers Bay.

ON the 24th, the wind not permitting him to continue a northern course, doubts arising whether he should be able to find a passage on that side, and a flood coming in from the

* HARRIS, §. 22. l. i. c. i. b. i. t. i. Hist. des Navigat. loco citato.

south-east, he concluded it would be best to return to the bay; but the wind coming round favourable on the 26th, made him pursue his former course, steering north, with a small inclination to the west. On the 4th of January 1623, in lat. $34^{\circ} 35'$ S. long. $191^{\circ} 9'$, he sailed quite to the cape which lies N. W. where he found the sea rolling from the N. E. whence he joyfully inferred that he had at last found a passage. There was in the streight an island, to which he gave the name of *Three Kings*. This he doubled with intention to refresh the crews; but, as he approached the cape, the seamen perceived 35 persons, apparently of large stature, though the distance prevented their making any particular observations. They likewise imagined they discovered large clubs in their hands, that they were quite naked, and hallooing to them in a kind of articulate but unintelligible jargon. Some farther remarks were made with regard to the swiftness of their motions and the length of their strides. Probable indeed it is, that the seamen's imaginations were a good deal warmed with the reports they had formerly heard concerning the gigantic stature and strength of these savages; for it is remarkable, that *Tasman* always mentions such circumstances as arising from the observation of the common men. After making the tour of the island, remarking that it was but thinly inhabited and badly cultivated, with a fine river of fresh water, he determined to sail east as far as long. 220°, and thence north as far as lat. 17° south, and thence west, till he fell in with the island of *Cocos*, or *Horn*, discovered by *Schouten*, where he proposed refreshing the men, who had not been on shore from the time they left *Van Diemen's Land* in *New Holland* (D). Circumstances, however,

(D) That the reader may have a distinct idea of this passage, we will observe, that the island of *Cocos* lies in $15^{\circ} 10'$ S., and, according to the account we have given from *Schouten*, well-inhabited, cultivated, and abounding with all kinds of refreshment. *Schouten*, however, describes the people as treacherous and base to a degree of admiration. The island *Horn* lies nearly in the same parallel, is well cultivated and inhabited by a people of a tame, gentle, and hospitable

disposition, who furnished the *Dutch* with every convenience in their power. These were the reasons which weighed with Captain *Tasman* to alter the plan he had laid down. The length of the voyage had greatly fatigued and dispirited his men; many of them being down with sickness and infirmities, owing to their long confinement, salt provisions, &c. How reasonable soever this alteration of measures was, he found reasons for not following it.

occurred to prevent the execution of this design. Being on the 28th of *January*, in lat. $30^{\circ} 25'$ S. and long. $191^{\circ} 20'$, the needle was observed to vary nine degrees towards the east. This, with a high and rolling sea from the south-west, made the commodore conjecture there could not be any land expected towards that quarter. On the 12th, he found himself in $30^{\circ} 5'$ S. lat. and $195^{\circ} 27'$ long. with a variation of $9^{\circ} 30'$ to the east, a rolling sea from the south-east and south-west. From these observations of *Tasman* we may infer then, that the position laid down by Dr. *Halley*, of the needle's not being governed by the poles of the world, but by other poles moving round them, is highly probable; otherwise it would be difficult to conceive how the needle, as *Tasman* affirms, came to have a variation of near 27° to the west in the lat. of $45^{\circ} 47'$, and then gradually decreasing till it had no variation at all; after which it turned east in the lat. of $42^{\circ} 87'$, and so continued increasing its variation eastward to this time.

On the 16th, *Tasman* was in the lat. of $26^{\circ} 29'$ S. long. $199^{\circ} 32'$, the variation of the needle being 8° . It may be observed from hence, that the eastern variation decreases; a circumstance intirely coincident with Dr. *Halley's* hypothesis, as the reader will see from the short account given of it in the note (E). On the 19th of *January*, in lat. $22^{\circ} 35'$ S. long. $204^{\circ} 15'$, he observed a variation of $7^{\circ} 30'$ east. In

(E) The Doctor supposes that a large solid body contained within, and distinct from, the earth, having its own proper motion, and being included like a kernel in its shell, revolves circularly from east to west, as the exterior earth revolves from west to east, in its diurnal motion. Hence he explains the position of the four magnetical poles attributed to the earth, by allowing two poles to the *nucleus*, and two to the earth, or *cortex*. As the two former perpetually shift their situation by their circular motion, their virtue, compared with the exterior, must be different at different times; consequently the variation of the needle will perpetually change.

To the *nucleus* the Doctor likewise attributes an *American* south pole and an *European* north one, on account of the variations of variations observed in those places, which are much greater than those found near the two other poles. He conjectures that these poles will finish their revolution in about 700 years; after which time, the same situation of the poles as the present will return, and the variations be the same again over the whole face of the globe. But this is a theory which only can be proved some centuries hence, and to which, tho' the best explication, there are many unsurmountable objections.

this

this situation he discovered an island about two or three miles in circumference, very high, steep, and barren. The island they called *Pylkaurt*, on account of the prodigious number of those birds that were observed to inhabit it. Next day two other islands appeared, but with no circumstances that are remarkable. On the 21st, in the lat. $21^{\circ} 20'$ S. long. $205^{\circ} 19'$, the variation was 7° to the north-east. *Tasman* then drew near to the island furthest to the north, which was the largest; this he called *Amsterdam*, giving the other the appellation of *Rotterdam*. Upon the former were found abundance of fowls, hogs, fruits, and all kinds of refreshment. The natives did not appear to know the use of arms, at least *Tasman* discovered nothing like a weapon among them. They received the *Dutch* with hospitality, and treated with them, in a commercial way, with great probity, excepting when an occasion offered of filching something which perhaps related not to the bargain. It ebbs north-east, and flows south-west here; but the current is not considerable. A south-west moon causes a spring-tide, which rises seven or eight feet. The wind blows constantly S. E. or S. S. E.

TASMAN sailing from hence was, on the 25th, in the lat. of $20^{\circ} 15'$ south, and in the long. of $206^{\circ} 19'$, where the variation was $6^{\circ} 20'$ to the E. After getting sight of several other islands, he made that of *Rotterdam*. Here the natives resembled those of *Amsterdam*, being good-natured, hospitable, a little addicted to pilfering, and unacquainted with the use of arms. After taking in water, *Tasman* made the circuit of the whole island, which he found well-stocked with coco-trees regularly planted, saw abundance of garden-ground neatly disposed and laid out, plentifully stocked with fruit-trees planted in a beautiful order and taste, and the whole bearing the marks of a civilized and polished people. Quitting the island of *Rotterdam*, he determined to sail north to the height of 17° south latitude, and from thence to shape a westerly course without falling in either with *Traitors* or *Herne Island* (F). On February the 6th, being in the lat.

(F) If Captain *Tasman* was not limited by his instructions, it is difficult to conceive why he did not remain longer on *Rotterdam* island, than which nothing can be more commodiously situated for making discoveries. He owns that he

traversed the whole island; that he found it a perfect paradise; and that the people gave him not the least apprehensions of doubting their faith, or his own security. In this case a party of the men might have remained on the island, by throwing

of $17^{\circ} 19'$ S. and the long. of $201^{\circ} 35'$. *Tasman's* ship was surrounded by about twenty small islands, each of which was surrounded by shoals, sand, and rocks. These are marked in the charts by the name of *Prince William's Islands*, or *Hemphill's Shallows*. On the 8th, he was in lat. $15^{\circ} 29'$, long. $199^{\circ} 31'$, with heavy rain, a strong north-east wind, and dark cold weather. Fearing, therefore, that he should run further west than by his reckoning he thought himself, or that he should be driven to the south of *New Guinea*, or be blown upon some unknown coast, he resolved to stand away to the north north-west, till he arrived in the latitude of 4° , 5° , or 6° south, and then to bear away west for the coast of *Guinea*, as the least dangerous course. Hence it appears that he laid aside all thoughts of farther discoveries, and for what reasons it will not be difficult to judge. When he was in this latitude, he could not fail of knowing that he might, without difficulty, sail round by the coast of *New Guinea* back to the east. It is therefore highly probable, as the judicious compiler of *Harris's Voyages* observes, that he was directed by his instructions to coast round that great southern continent already discovered, thereby to know of a certainty whether it was joined to any other part of the world. Some men looked upon it, notwithstanding its vast extent, viz. from the equator to 43° of south lat. long. from 123° to near 190° , to be an island divided every-where by the sea from any of the four known parts of the world^a. The reasons for such instructions, as the same sensible compiler observes, might have been, "that an exact chart being drawn from his discoveries, the *East India* company might have perfect intelligence of the extent and situation of this new-found country, before they executed the plan they were

^a HARRIS, T. i. p. 328. Hist. des Navigat. aux Terres Austr. T. i. p. 458.

up a slight fortification, while the ships went in search of the islands of *Salomon* on the one side, or the continent of *Quiras* on the other; from neither of which they were at a great distance. From so skilful a mariner's neglecting this happy occasion for new discoveries, it is probable that he was circum-

scribed both as to his course and in point of time, by the instructions he had received from the company. We cannot help therefore lamenting this loss, as there never could have been found a person better qualified for the undertaking than *Tasman* (1).

(1) Harris, p. 328.

"then

"then contriving for preventing its being visited or further
 "discovered by their own or any other nation. This like-
 "wise accounts for the care taken in laying down the map
 "of this country on the pavement of the Stadthouse at Am-
 "sterdam; for as this country was to remain henceforward
 "as a kind of deposit, or land of reserve, in the hands of the
 "East India company, they took this method of insinuating
 "as much to their countrymen; so that while strangers are
 "gaping at this map as a curiosity, every intelligent Dutch-
 "man may say to himself, Behold the wisdom of the East
 "India company! By their present empire they support the
 "authority of this republic abroad, and by their extensive
 "commerce enrich their subjects at home; and at the same time
 "shew us here what a reserve they have made for the benefit
 "of posterity, whenever, through the vicissitudes to which all
 "sublunary things are liable, their present sources of power
 "and grandeur shall fail (G)."

To proceed on our voyage: Captain Tasman was, on the
 14th of February, in the latitude of $16^{\circ} 30'$ S. and in the
 longitude of $193^{\circ} 35'$. Hitherto they had deluges of rain
 and much foul weather; but the day clearing up, he hailed
 the *Zeehaan*, his consort, and had the satisfaction to find that

(G) We cannot help quoting his words farther, they speak our own sentiments so exactly. "I cannot," says the compiler, "avoid supporting my opinion in this respect, by putting the reader in mind of a very curious piece of antient history, which furnishes us with the like instance in the conduct of another republic. Diodorus Siculus, in the 5th book of his *Historical Library*, informs us, that, in the African ocean, some days sail west from Libya, there had been discovered an island, the soil of which was exceedingly fertile, and the country no less pleasant, all the land being finely diversified by mountains and plains, the former thick-clothed with trees, the latter abound-

ing with fruits and flowers; the whole watered by innumerable rivulets, and affording so pleasant an habitation, that a finer or more delightful country fancy itself could not feign. Yet he assures us, the Carthaginians, those great masters of maritime power and commerce, tho' they had discovered this admirable island, would never suffer it to be planted, but reserved it as a sanctuary to which they might fly whenever the ruin of their own republic left them no other resource. Should the Dutch be driven out of Japan, Ceylon, &c. they might probable retire to the Moluccas, and avail themselves of the Southern Continent (a).

their reckonings agreed. On the 20th, in the latitude of $13^{\circ} 45'$, and in long. of $193^{\circ} 35'$, the dark cloudy weather, with thick fogs, a rolling sea, and the wind variable, returned. The 26th, in latitude $9^{\circ} 48'$ S. long. $193^{\circ} 43'$, he had a north-west wind, with continual rain, more or less, for the space of 21 days. March the 2d, in the latitude of $9^{\circ} 11'$ S. and in the longitude of $192^{\circ} 46'$, the variation was 10° to the east, the wind and weather still inconstant. The 14th, in the latitude $10^{\circ} 12'$ S. and in longitude $186^{\circ} 14'$, he found the variation $8^{\circ} 45'$ east; after which he passed several days without being able to take any observation, the weather being all the time dark and rainy. The 20th, lat. $5^{\circ} 15'$ S. long. $181^{\circ} 16'$, the weather being then fine, he found the variation 9° east. Two days after he had fine weather, and the benefit of the trade-wind from the east, in lat. $5^{\circ} 2'$ S. long. $178^{\circ} 32'$. The same day he had sight of land four miles to the west, which proved to be these islands laid down in charts by the name of *Anthong Java*. "They are about ninety miles from the coast of *New Guiney*, or rather *New Britain*, which Captain *Tasman* frequently calls *New Guiney*. According to *Dampier*, as we shall see, it is really a large island, distinct and separate from that great tract of continent which goes by the name of *New Guiney*. The 25th, in lat. $4^{\circ} 35'$ S. and in the longitude of $175^{\circ} 10'$, he found the variation $9^{\circ} 30'$ east. He was then in what he calls the height of the islands of *Mark*, discovered by *Schouten*. They are in number fourteen or fifteen, inhabited by savages with black hair, in their manners and dress similar to those he saw in *Murderers Bay* in *New Zealand*. On the 29th he passed the *Green Islands*, and, on the 30th, that of *St. John*, both discovered by *Schouten*. This last island he found to be of considerable extent, and lying about 1840 leagues from the coast of *Peru*. It was apparently well-inhabited, cultivated, and abounding with the necessaries of life. The inhabitants were armed with slings, darts, and wooden swords, wore bracelets of pearl, necklaces, and the same jewels in their ears. They had canoes of all sizes, and seemed to have made some progress in the arts; however, they were very intractable, notwithstanding all the pains used to bring them to a friendly correspondence, which at length obliged *Schouten* to fire upon them. This might be the reason why *Tasman* did not touch upon land, or attempt to make any farther discovery into the nature of the islanders.

On April the first he got sight of *New Guiney*, being then under the latitude of $4^{\circ} 30'$ south, and the longitude of $171^{\circ} 2'$, the variation being $8^{\circ} 45'$ to the eastward. Endeavour-
ing

Mark
Islands.

ing to double the Cape Santa Maria, he continued to sail along the coast lying north-west; after which he passed the islands of *Anthony Caens*, *Gardener's Islands*, and *Fishes Island*, advancing towards the promontory called *Serua Hook*, where the coast runs S. S. E.; determining to pursue the same route till he should either discover land or a passage on that side. All this while, we cannot help thinking that he continued not on the coast of *New Guinea*, but on that of *New Britain*; for the Cape Santa Maria is the same which *Dampier* calls Cape St. George, with the same islands on the coast as *Tasman* describes, under the same latitude and longitude. As for the continent of *New Guinea*, it lies behind the island of *New Britain*, and was laid down in all the charts before *Dampier's* discovery at least four degrees too much to the eastward. Besides, what *Tasman* relates of the inhabitants, coincides with the account of *Schouten* and *Dampier*; the former having found them a base, greatheroous people, dexterous in the use of slings, black, and naked all but the waist.

APRIL 12th, in the latitude of $3^{\circ} 45'$ S. longitude 167° , the variation of the compass was 10° eastward. This night they were waked out of their sleep by a rough shock of an earthquake, which made them run upon deck, imagining the ship had struck; but, upon heaving the lead, there was no bottom to be found. It was succeeded by several other shocks less violent than the first (H). On the 14th, in the latitude of $5^{\circ} 27'$ S. long. $160^{\circ} 57'$, the variation of the compass was observed to be $9^{\circ} 15'$ to the west. The land then lay N. E. E. N. East, and again S. S. W. from which they imagined there had been a passage between these two points. However, they soon found that it was all one solid coast. Thus they were obliged to double the west cape, creeping along shore, and often becalmed. Circumstances which tally remarkably with those described by *Schouten*, which proves that *Tasman* was now arrived on the coast of *New Guinea*.

(H) It is probable from this accident, which likewise confirms what *Schouten* observed, and from the volcano's and burning mountains described by both, that this country is subject to earthquakes; a presumption that it abounds with metals and minerals. All the writers likewise take notice that the people were rings, altho'

they do not inform us of what metal they were made. This *Le Maire*, in particular, might easily have done, as he carried off a man from this coast, who, as he learned the language, could have told him of this, as well as of many other circumstances; such as that the language of every nation was different, &c.

On the 25th, in the latitude of $59^{\circ} 4'$ south, and in the longitude of $164^{\circ} 27'$, the variation was 21° south. That night they approached the *Brandonde Island*, burning island, or *Vulcan's Island*, as *Schouten* terms it, where they perceived great flames and a smoke issuing from the top of a mountain. Between that island and the continent they observed a number of fires lighted upon the shore, and half way up the mountain. Trees, bamboes, and shrubs, were likewise seen floating on the sea, whence *Tasman* concluded that the country was watered with rivers, and fruitful. The same observation was made by *Schouten*, who likewise took notice, that the copious discharge of fresh water altered the colour of the ocean, as well as the taste of the sea-water. *Schouten* also says, that the burning mountain is well peopled and cultivated; and that he afterwards anchored on the coast of the continent, where he endeavoured to trade with the natives, who made him pay dear for hogs, coco-nuts, and some ginger.

Jama
Island,
their man-
ners and
language.

ON the 27th, being in the latitude of 2° 10' south, longitude of $146^{\circ} 57'$, Captain *Tasman* thought he could discover the island of *Mofa*, or *Moa*, but that it proved to be that of *Jama*, to the east of the former. Here the seamen met with plenty of coco-nuts, and other refreshments. The inhabitants were exceeding black, and could easily repeat the words of any language they heard spoken; a presumptive proof that their vernacular tongue is copious. It is, however, difficult to pronounce, on account of the frequent use of the letter R, which often occurs twice or thrice in the same word. On the following day the ships came to an anchor on the island of *Moa*, which they likewise found well supplied with all kinds of necessaries. Here they were detained by stress of weather till the 6th of May. They purchased by barter 6000 coco-nuts, and 100 bags of *pyfanghs*, or *Indian figs*. One of *Tasman's* seamen was either accidentally or designedly wounded by an arrow shot by one of the natives; but such was the justice or fear of his countrymen, that the criminal was delivered up for punishment, without being demanded. They perhaps had not forgot the revenge taken upon them for bad usage, by *Schouten*, 1616. But here our author's observation is false; for *Schouten's* men, or rather the petty officer who commanded the shallop, grossly insulted the natives before they offered violence to his people; and then, tho' they made several discharges of small arms, the people forced them to retreat, which obliged *Schouten* to bring the cannon to bear on the island before he could reduce it. He tells us, they had earthen pots, glass beads, and ear-rings, with other *European* commodities, before his arrival: that they

that were a civilised people, their country well cultivated and fruitful: that they had a number of boats and small vessels, which they navigated with great dexterity: that they gave him a distinct account of the neighbouring islands, and were earnest in their request that he would fire on the *Arifauans*; with which nation they were then at war. From hence it appears, that the natives of *Maa* are a nation which it would be easy to draw into a commerce with the *Europeans*; by which they might be greatly facilitated in farther discoveries, as the instance given by *Tasman* is a strong proof either of their natural love of equity, or their dread of the *European* power.

TASMAN, on the 4th of *May*, being in latitude 54 minutes south, and longitude 153° 17', found the variation of the needle 6° 30' east. He continued coasting the north side of *Schouten's Island*, which is about 19 miles in length, populous and fruitful, the natives exceedingly lively and active. They were so far from discovering a savage disposition, that they gave manifest testimonies of their having had an extensive commerce before *Schouten's* time. They shewed not only various *Spanish* commodities, but *China* ware likewise, of which they appeared to be great admirers. *Schouten* describes them as different from any of the natives he had seen, being of an olive complexion, some having long, others short hair, dressed in various fashions. They were taller, more robust, and stronger made, than the natives of the neighbouring islands. Their vessels were the largest, and best adapted to use, of any he had seen; they readily parted with their bows and arrows in exchange for *European* commodities, and were particularly fond of glass and iron. In the vicinity of this island *Schouten* met with an earthquake, which so alarmed the ship's company, that they imagined they had struck upon a rock or shoal. There are some other islands at a small distance from this, well peopled and fruitful, as they lie on the confines of the Southern Continent and the *East Indies*, they enjoy all the advantages resulting from their happy climate, and from their commerce with their neighbours, especially the islands of *Ternate* and *Amboyna*. The inhabitants of these come thither yearly to purchase their commodities in exchange for their own, and their visits are returned in proper seasons by the inhabitants of the southern islands.

THE 18th of *May*, in the latitude of 26° south, and in the longitude of 147° 55', *Tasman* observed the variation of

^h *Auct.* citat. ubi supra. Etiam *Histoire Moderne*, T. vi. p. 236.

the

End of the
voyage.

the needle to be $3^{\circ} 30'$ east. He was then arrived at the eastern extremity of *New Guiney*, which appears to be a detached promontory, though it is not marked so in the latest maps or charts. On the 15th of *June* he arrived at *Satavia*, after having performed the voyage in ten months, and partly surrounded the Southern Continent. Such was the end of this expedition, which has justly been considered as the clearest and most exact that was ever made for the discovery of the *Terra Australis Incognita*. It is a voyage no less to the author's honour, than to the advantage of trade and science, if the natural consequences of it had been prosecuted, and if the *Dutch* had not been biassed from the true interest of the nation by the influence of their *India* company. But, without staying to make our reflections on the whole of this sensible journal, we shall proceed to the second voyage into the *South Seas*, made by Captain *William Dampier*, as the reader will there find confirmed many of the observations made by *Tasman*, and the most complete history of *New Holland*, *New Guiney*, and the southern islands, that is yet published. This, with *Roggeveen's* voyage, will, we apprehend, give the reader as clear an idea of the situation, climate, inhabitants, produce, and consequence, of the *Terra Australis*, as the discoveries hitherto made will admit of.

S E C T. IV.

Dampier's Voyage to the Southern Continent. He arrives on the coast of New Holland; describes the coasts, produce, natives, &c. and proceeds to New Guiney and New Britain.

Dampier's voyage, in quest of discoveries in the South Sea. Captain *Dampier*, whose voyage round the globe had now acquired him great reputation, began this expedition, made expressly in search of discoveries in the *South Sea*, on the 14th of *January* 1699, at which time he lost sight of the *Downs*. After doubling the *Cape of Good Hope*, steering for the coast of *New Holland*, and running a prodigious course on course, he fell in with land in $26^{\circ} 14'$ S. latitude, and 85° longitude east from the *Cape*, when he looked for an opening to drop anchor in, and refresh the men after the fatigue of so long a voyage. In the 26° S. lat. he discovered a large bay, but, on heaving the lead, found it 55 fathom water, foul and rocky. Continuing his course, he descried land again, with the opening he sought for, where he anchored on the 6th. This he called *Sharks Bay*, lying in 25° south latitude, and, according to his reckoning, in 87° longitude east from the *Cape of Good Hope*, which is less by 195 leagues

leagues than is laid down in the common charts. Here the land is high and steep to the sea. The sand on the shore is small and mouldy, producing a great quantity of samphire with a white flower. Farther in, the sand is of a reddish cast, and bears some grass, plants, and shrubs. The country bears a good many trees, but small, hardly any exceeding ten feet in height, and three feet in circumference. Some of the trees were sweet-scented, and reddish within the bark, resembling *sassafras*, but somewhat darker; the leaves were on the lower side whitish, on the upper of a fine green colour. Most of the trees were in blossom of various colours, but in general a beautiful blue, which had a peculiarly agreeable fragrance. There were but few land fowls, our author having seen only a few eagles, and five or six different kinds of small birds. Of the latter, some were of the size of a cock, others of a wren, but all musical, and singing with a great compass of voice, and much sweetness. The water fowls were ducks, cuckows, crab-catchers, cormorants, gulls, pelicans, and others peculiar to the country. As to the land animals, such as *Dampier* saw consisted of the maccoons, *The ant-* *mali.* different from those of the *West Indies*, and a sort of *Guayas* unlike any he had before seen, having a large ugly head, no tail, but a great hunch on the rump resembling a head. They were speckled black and white on the back, and scaly like crocodiles. The fish were sharks, skates, thornbacks, guardfish, bonettoes, and some others. Mussels, oysters, and limpets, were found on the shore in great abundance, and the whole coast most beautifully ornamented with a great variety of different figured and coloured shells, some of which our author carried away with him. The ship's crew took two turtles, each weighing about 200 lb. They also caught a shark 11 feet in length, with the head and bones of a hippopotamus in the belly. All *Dampier's* endeavours to find water there were in vain, nor could he by any means discover whether or not the coast was inhabited.

SAILING out of this bay on the 10th of *August*, he coasted along the shore till the 20th, when, he came under latitude 19° 37' south. Here he saw a number of snakes curiously shaped, coloured, and of different magnitudes. At noon, bearing in south-east-by-east, the land appeared like a cape, but, anchoring about five leagues from *Bluff Point*, it proved the east end of an island, six leagues in length, and one in breadth, surrounded with small rocks, which seemed to deny all entrance to larger vessels. The tides he met with soon after gave the captain a suspicion there might be a kind of

Archi-

Rosemary
Island,

Archipelago of islands, and a passage to the south of New Holland and New Guinea, into the great South Sea eastward. This he was deterred from attempting by a scarcity of water on board. The place where he imagines this passage to be lies in $20^{\circ} 21'$, whereas the common draughts, and even *Tasman's*, have it in $19^{\circ} 50'$, representing the land as joining by a small neck to the continent. He went on shore in the island near *Bluff Point*, which he called *Rosemary Isle*, from two or three shrubs he found on it resembling rosemary. He likewise found two sorts of grain like beans, one growing on bushes, the other on a sort of creeping vine. Here he saw cormorants, gulls, oysters, and limpets, with others of the same kinds of fowls and fish as he had seen in *Sharks Bay*.

On the 23d he bore out to sea, and did not discover land again till the 30th, in $18^{\circ} 21'$ south latitude. Here he saw a great number of large smokes near the shore, at which he anchored at eight fathom. This evening he saw an eclipse of the moon, but the haziness of the weather prevented his making the proper observations. The day following, the captain, with eleven men armed, went on shore to search for water, when they discovered three of the natives, tall, black, and quite naked, standing close to the sea. On the approach of the captain they ran towards a neighbouring hill, being joined by eight or nine more of their countrymen. The captain proceeded to the top of the hill, from whence he had a good view of the country, which, as far as he could see, consisted of a fine savannah. After gratifying his curiosity, he returned to the shore, and his men began digging for water, during which about a dozen of the natives assembled upon the hill, from whence they made a disagreeable menacing noise. At last one of them advanced, followed at a little distance by the rest, as if he wanted to come to a parley, but, on the captain's coming within fifty yards of him, ran away, nor could any of them be induced by all his endeavours to enter into a correspondence or commerce. In the afternoon the captain, taking two men only with him, went along the country, to try if he could seize upon one of the natives, in order to procure information where he might be supplied with water. This led him on to skirmish with ten of them, who thought to make a prey of him and his men, in which one of the blacks was badly wounded with a musket-shot, and another of the captain's men hurt in the face by a wooden dart flung at him. One of the natives the captain inferred to be the superior of the rest, from some ornaments he wore, such as a white circle of chalk or lime round his eyes, a white streak down his nose, with the

fine kind of decoration on his breast and elbows. This gave him a ferocious look, adding greatly to his natural deformity; for all the natives of this coast, says *Dampier*, have most unpleasant aspects, and the worst features he had ever seen on savages (A).

DAMPIER saw a great many places where they had made fires, and where there were commonly three or four boughs stuck up to the windward for shelter. In the evening the captain went on board, without having the good fortune to meet with water. He observed a strong tide, and a regular ebbing and flowing of the sea, the flood running south-east-by-south till the last quarter; then it sets in directly to the shore, which lies here south-south-west and north-north-east, the ebb setting north-west-by-north. The captain acquaints us, that, but for that sort of pleasure which accompanies the discovery of even the barrenest spot upon the globe, he could find no other reason to be satisfied with this country of *New Holland*. The lands upon this coast, as well as on all the others he had seen, are fenced by a chain of sand hills towards the sea, in such a manner that there is no seeing what lies behind them. At high-water the tides rise so amazingly high, that the land appears greatly beneath a spectator from a ship. At low water the coast is so filled with rocks, that hardly a small boat can put to shore, though in the flood tide she may safely go over all of them. For-5

(A) This was probably the coast he touched at in 1699 in his voyage round the world, where he describes them in the following manner: "The inhabitants are the most miserable wretches in the universe, having no houses or covering but the heavens; or garment, except a piece of the bark of a tree tied round the waist; no sheep, poultry, or fruits, but feed upon a few fish, cockles, mussels, and the like, without religion or government; they cohabit promiscuously. For the rest, their bodies are tall, thin, and straight, with great heads and eye-brows, and round

foreheads. Their eye-lids are constantly half-closed, to keep the flies out, which are exceedingly troublesome here. They have large bottle noses, thick lips, and wide mouths. Both men and women, old and young, want the two fore-teeth of the upper jaw; but whether they draw them, I am not able to tell. They have no beards, but black, short, curled hair, like the negroes of *Africa*. Their weapons are a straight pike sharpened at one end. Of their language I can say nothing, but that they speak through the throat (1)."

(1) *Vide Voy. vol. 1. p. 163.*

or 600 yards from the sea the land is such as we have described in *Shark's Bay*, and bearing shrubs of the same kind. Farther in, the country appeared low and level, chiefly savannah, and partly wood-lands; the former bearing a coarse grass, and the latter groves of small trees about 24 feet in height. He saw but few land animals; among which were lizards, a creature resembling a wolf; crows, hawks, kites, and turtle-doves. As to the fish, it is much the same he described^a.

Thus *Dampier* spent about five weeks on the coast of *New Holland*, making all the discoveries he could, and looking out for places of refreshment, that his men might be enabled to pursue his design with the more vigour, for the scurvy had begun to shew itself among them. He doubted not in so fine a climate to meet with some part of the continent, or some island that could supply his wants. Being disappointed in this expectation, he reflected upon the next necessary measure to be taken, and resolved to continue coasting along the shore to the north-east, in order to make farther discoveries, and from a full persuasion that at least in the latitude $16^{\circ} 15'$ he should meet with sweet water and vegetables. This notion must be allowed reasonable, yet did the event prove it but ill founded. Every little accident becomes of consequence among a crew ready to lay hold of every opportunity to call their commander's knowledge in question, to magnify the difficulties of the voyage, and to countenance whatever appeared to agree with their own favourite scheme of returning home, though impracticable.

With these sentiments Captain *Dampier* put to sea on the 5th of *September* with a gentle gale, but he was soon compelled to abandon his design, the shoals along the coast rendering it difficult, hazardous, and almost impossible to keep to the land, or to put in if necessary; he therefore turned out farther to sea, in water from seven to thirty-six fathom. The next day he could but just discern the land, though he had then no more than 30 fathom sounding; nay, often out of sight from the shore, the soundings were from seven to eight fathoms only. In this course he kept till *September* the 8th, when, finding he had passed the latitude where he expected to be supplied with water, without the possibility of landing, and being apprehensive that the same difficulties might continue for several degrees further, he resolved to steer for the island of *Timor*. On the 21st he arrived on the island, where he met with a *Dutch* sloop, the master of which

^a DAMPIER'S Voyage, vol. iii.

showed great surprise at seeing the ship of any other nation in these seas. His whole conduct was intended to dissuade Dampier from landing, assuring him that the side of the island on which he was afforded no water, excepting a well near the Dutch fort, near which he would find it impossible to come, as the natives would certainly oppose and use him ill. Nay, because Dampier had accidentally discovered the Straits which divide the islands of *Timor* and *Anamaboa* (for these two are, in all charts, laid down as one island), they presumed that he must have robbed some Dutch vessel of her charts, since the Straits are only known by them. With these suspicions and jealousies the sloop returned to the fort; but Dampier was neither to be intimidated or circumvented by the Dutchmen. He sent his boat on shore to the governor, to satisfy him that the ship was no pirate, imagining he could have no jealousy or resentment upon any other account. But he was soon undeceived. The governor complained of an infringement of the privileges of the company, saying that no other ship had a right to come into those seas; that it could be done with no good design; that it must be either to inspect into their trade, or to rob their settlements. In short, he seemed to claim to his own nation the sole right of approaching the islands of the *South Sea*. Dampier, unwilling to enter into arguments with him upon a point of which he was no competent judge, agreed to ride at anchor two miles from shore, provided the governor would supply him with water at any price. This was accordingly done; after which he set sail.

THE country appears pleasant to the eye, the mountains being covered with wood, and the adjacent meadows with grass. The island *Anamulga*, or *Anabao*, is about ten leagues long and four broad; yet is this small tract of land divided into two kingdoms. The natives of both resemble the other Indians, and are of a swarthy copper colour, with straight black hair. The subjects of the king of *Anamabao* are in league with the Dutch fort *Concordia* in the island of *Timor*; but inveterate enemies to the people of the other kingdom *Anabao*. The latter, besides managing their plantations of a few coco-nuts, fish and strike turtles, and hunt buffaloes, killing them with swords, darts, or lances. They carry on a small trade for the sake of conveniency, with the Dutch, whom they hate, and the Portuguese, with whom they live upon not the most friendly footing. They go constantly armed, and spend four or five days in hunting or fishing, without visiting their habitations. The fish or flesh they take, that is not wanted for immediate use, is dried on a bar-

leaves, or wooden grass, standing high over the fire, that which they carry it home.

HAVING procured some water, and made his observations, *Dampier* weighed anchor on the 22d, coasting along the shore till the 27th, when he put into *Copang* bay, where he discovered a good wintering-place. He describes the island *Tinor* to be about 20 leagues in length, the centre of it in 9° S. lat. and sixteen broad. It has no navigable river, nor any harbours, though there are bays where ships may ride with great safety at most seasons of the year. The shore is bold, free from shoals, rocks, or islands, excepting a few which are perfectly visible, and easily avoided. From the foot of the mountains to the shore is full of red *Mangrove* trees, excepting within 200 paces of the sea, which is covered with a particular species of pines. *Concordia*, the Dutch fort, is pleasantly situated; it has a river on one side (although the sloop informed *Dampier* otherwise), about forty yards from the walls, with a garden on the other. Here are all kinds of sallads, roots, and other vegetables for the kitchen, with a pretty parterre. In some parts of it are fruit-trees, as jacas, pumplenoses, oranges, sweet lemons, &c. and by the walls are coco-nut and toddy trees in great perfection and plenty. Besides these, they have musk and water-melons, pine-apples, pome-citrons, pomegranates, and other delicious fruits. Between this garden and the river is a kind of paddock for black cattle. Beyond the company's grounds the natives have their village or town, consisting of about fifty or sixty houses. The fort is defended by about 50 soldiers, and several pieces of cannon, as well as stone walls with bastions. Within the walls is a new chapel built of stone, and prettily decorated.

A description of the fort.

As to the natives, they are of a middling stature, slender limbed, strait bodied, long visaged, their hair black and lank, and their complexion swarthy. They are nimble, active, and dextrous, but at the same time lazy to an extreme: they are said to be dull in every thing but treachery and barbarity. Their houses are mean, their dress a bit of cloth tied round the waist. Some for ornament wear frontlets of mother of pearl, or thin pieces of gold or silver, of an oval form, the size of an half crown, curiously milled round the edges. Five of these they dispose in a certain manner above the eyebrows, both for elegance of dress, and a security to the forehead. Others again wear palmeto leaves, shaped into different fashions.

THEY take as many wives as they are able to maintain, without limitation or restriction; they even often sell their children

children for a wife. Religion they would appear to have none, as they use no kind of sacrifices. Their common food is *Indian* corn, which every man plants for himself, and just as much as he imagines will maintain his family; if there should prove an overplus, he gives it to his neighbour, who may perhaps be deficient; and he again transfers it to a third, if himself does not stand in need of it. Their method of clearing the ground is by setting fire to the withered grass and shrubs, the ashes of which they find fertilize and enrich the soil.

THEIR plantations are extremely mean; for, as their chief delight is in hunting, every part of agriculture is neglected for that, excepting the easy process of burning the grass, and sowing. The common game is a species of wild buffaloes and fierce hogs, which they attack with lances, or a short thick truncheon, and a target on the left arm; the same weapons they use in war. The whole island is divided into five different kingdoms, viz. *Copang, Onahig, Fontribie, Pepumbie, of Timor and Mamquimal*. Almost all the kings are sworn foes to each other; and their divisions are fomented and kept up by the *Dutch*, who find these perpetual animosities of use to their authority, which otherwise they would hardly be able to maintain. It indeed seems to be the prevailing maxim of their policy, throughout the whole empire of the *India* company^b.

THE *Portuguese* fort is on the opposite end of the island, which is reported to be greatly superior in strength and power to the *Dutch*. This at least is their own opinion, and with this idea they content themselves while the *Dutch* run away with the whole trade of the islands. They depend greatly on their alliance with the natives, with whom they are consolidated into the same nation by intermarriages; however, their influence or manners does not extend far into the country. They acknowledge the sovereignty of the king of *Portugal*, but will receive no officers appointed by him. The *Malayan*, the *Timoran*, and *Portuguese*, are all spoken by the inhabitants in the vicinage of the *Portuguese* settlement, or rather a mixture of all three. *Dampier* says, that he did not see above three or four white men in the whole *Portuguese* factory, the rest being a kind of mixed descent, of whom there are several thousands. The chief of the factory has his residence at a place called *Porto Novo*, but he is commonly at the head of an army in the mountains, to guard the passes against the *Copangoyans* effectually in the dry season.

^b Histoire Moderne, T. vi. p. 342.

THERE are also some *Chinese* merchants from *Macao*, who import hither gold, tea, iron work, china, and silk both wrought and raw. For their mixed stamped gold, they get in exchange pure gold, bees-wax, sandal-wood, and coire. In short, the country, taken together, is rich and plentiful; fruits of all kinds abound in the island; rice, *Indian* corn, fowls, honey, wax, gold, copper, and many other necessaries of life, and rich merchandize, are found here; and to conclude, the island is no less wealthy than pleasant.

ON the 12th of *December* Captain *Dampier* sailed from *Timor*, and saw during the remainder of the month several other islands. On *New Year's Day* he first discovered the coast of *New Guiney*, and soon after several islands. On *January* the 4th, 1700, he descried smoke in different places on the islands lying to the west of his course, to which he bore away with the advantage of a brisk gale a-stern. There two canoes came off within call, making signs to come on shore, and speaking in a language that none of the crew understood. They were returned in the *Malayan*, but made no answer. As they would not be prevailed on to come on board, the captain went after them with the pinnace, carrying with him knives, beads, and toys, such as he imagined the most likely to engage them in a commerce. At first they were shy, and hid themselves behind the rushes on the shore; but, on the captain's throwing them some trifles, they approached in a friendly manner, pouring water on their heads, and using other ceremonies of a perfect cordiality. The next day several canoes came on board, bringing with them fruits, roots, and other vegetables, which were all bought up.

Pulo Sabuda.

THIS island is called *Pulo Sabuda* by the natives, but has no appellation in the charts of the *New Guiney* coast. It is about three leagues in length, and two miles in breadth, of a good height, and to be discovered at sea at the distance of 11 or 12 miles. In general it is rocky, but over the rocks in many places there is good red and yellow mould, not deep, but producing tall trees bearing delicious fruit. These the natives plant, for in this mould nothing shoots up spontaneously. There is great variety of fruit on the island; what *Dampier* saw were only lemons, oranges, plantanes, coconuts, pine-apples, and a few others. He mentions indeed another kind, which he calls a wild jara, about the size of a small pumpkin, full of stones or kernels, but exceeding delicious. The libby tree grows in the vallies of this island, from which the natives make sago cakes. What they use for this purpose is the pith. *Dampier* bought a few nutmegs in the

the shell on this island, but he does not say whether they were the produce of the country. He saw a great number of sea fowls upon the shore, of these boobies and men of war birds were the chief. A sort of wild pigeon he mentions as peculiar to *Pulo Sabuda*, it externally appearing jet-black, till, on turning the feathers, the inside is of a snow-white; in other respects it differs nothing from an *English* pigeon. Here is also a kind of sky-coloured bird, which *Dampier* had never seen but on the coast of *New Guinea*. Bats as large as conies are found on the island, their necks, heads, ears, and noses, like foxes; their hair rough; that about their necks of a whitish yellow, that on their heads and shoulders black. Their wings extended are four feet wide, measuring from the extremity of each. Their smell is rank and disagreeable, like that of a fox. The fish of the island is of various kinds, mullets, bass, rock-fish, old wives, whiprays, and some other sorts, but of no kind is there any plenty. The island lies in $2^{\circ} 43' S.$ latitude, distant from *Port Bubao* on the island of *Timor* 486 miles. The inhabitants of this and of several adjacent islands are a sort of tawny *Indians*, with long black hair, differing but little in their manners from the *Mindanayans*. There is a kind of subordination among them; for, besides the different degrees of rank among the natives, there is an inferior order of curl-pated *New Guinea* slaves, at least of the same complexion and features with these, which the captain believed might have been imported. They are in general poor, naked except a bit of cloth round the waist, made from the rind of the palmetto-tree; but the women wear a kind of callico loose dress. For ornament they wear blue and yellow bracelets made of glass beads. They are armed with bows, arrows, and broad-swords, like the *Mindanese*; they have lances also pointed with iron.

THEIR method of striking fish by the fish-gigg is ingenious, and something curious in the manner. They make the fish rise by means of a piece of wood cut out and painted like a dolphin; this they let down into the water by a line and weight to sink it; when they believe it low enough, they haul the line with the utmost celerity into their boats, and the fish, rising after the figure, are struck as soon as they appear near the surface. But the chief sustenance of the natives is drawn from their plantations, although they have large boats with which they trade, from *New Guinea*, from whence, among other things, they import slaves and parrots, which they again export to *Ceram*, and exchange for calicoes. While the captain staid on the island, one of those trading

Boats arrived from *New Guinea*, but they would dispose of neither slaves nor parrots for any other merchandize than calicoes. Their houses are poor and mean on the one side of the island, but much larger, more convenient, and splendid, on the other. He could not guess at their religion, for certain, although he believed them to be *Mohammedans*, and for a very extraordinary reason; viz. that they drank brandy out of the same cup with the seamen, without scruple: an atheist would have done the same.

New Guinea, and the islands on its coast, in the captain's return.
On the 20th, after laying in a stock of roots, fruits, and water, the captain weighed anchor, and left the island, and steered to the north-west cape of *New Guinea*, called by the *Dutch* *Cape Malo*. Off this cape lies a small woody island, to examine which *Dampier* sent his boat, which soon returned with a cockle of an incredible size, whence he gave it the appellation of *Cockle Island*. On landing he observed a greater number of pigeons than he had ever before seen together, although all the islands within the *Tropic of Capricorn* abound with this fowl. He reports, that on this shore his men found a cockle-shell, which, empty, weighed, what the reader will perhaps think incredible, 258 lb. The next evening he anchored near a pleasant island about two leagues and an half in length; the country high, and finely cloathed with wood of different kinds. Most of the spices were unknown to *Dampier*, but they were all in leaf, and yielding a delightful odour and fragrance. They bore flowers of different colours, some white, some green, yellow, blue, purple, &c. They were tall, strait, and of a smooth exterior; one in particular measured 70 feet in height to the branches, without a curve, knot, spot, or blemish, on the bark. The soil is shallow, black, but fertile. To this island he gave the name of *King William*.

King William's Island.
On the 14th he was within six leagues of the continent of *New Guinea*, which appeared very high from the sea. He discovered two capes distant from each other about twenty leagues; the variation of the compass here was four degrees to the east. Next day he fell in with an uninhabited island, to which he gave the name of *Providence*; it lies near the island discovered by *Schouten*, and called by his name in all the *Dutch* charts. On the 16th he crossed the Line, fell in with an island which he at first took to be *Wissbart's Island*, but, perceiving his mistake, he called it *Mittbias Island*. Eight leagues to the eastward he saw another island, which after that several more, to the largest of which he gave the appellation of *Squally*, on account of the squalls and blowy weather he met with on the coast. After this, in order to

Providence Island.

indemnify

indemnify himself for the sufferings he had sustained; and with so little profit, he determined to steer away clear of the islands, towards the continent, in hopes there to meet with something to compensate all the toil and labour the crew had gone through. He came within sight of it on the 18th, and describes it nearly in the following manner: The continent, says he, appeared high and mountainous, the face of the hills being all over covered with woods, and adorned with flourishing trees. The sides of the hills had many plantations and tracts of cleared lands, which, with the smokes he observed, was a plain indication of the country's being inhabited. When he was within a short distance of the shore he saw a proa, followed by three or four more coming out from the adjacent bays, as if they intended to approach the ship. In a little time a fleet of forty-six of these skiffs were got together, and came so near, that the ship's crew could see them beckoning to go on shore, and hear their language, which however they could not comprehend. *Dampier* endeavoured to put in to the bay, but, being driven to the leeward, the proes gathered round him. He endeavoured, by shewing them several toys, to draw them into a commerce, of which they seemed to be shy. Upon this he put some knives, scissars, and beads, into a bottle, which they took up, and with great satisfaction, striking their left breast, and holding a black truncheon over their heads, in token of friendship: When the ship stood to the shore, they looked pleased, and frowned as often as she moved to a greater distance. There were 200 men in the proes round the ship, and the whole shore lined with the inhabitants, which, with the shoals in the bay, deterred the captain from attempting to enter for that night. He had ordered his men to stand to their arms, and took every precaution against a surprise, as he was ignorant of their designs. At last he determined to land in the pinnace, which being observed by the natives, they began to sling stones with great dexterity from certain engines they were provided with; this bay he therefore named *Slingers Bay*. Upon the firing of a gun, they were ~~greatly astonished~~, left off their slinging, and huddled together, as if they were consulting upon their future measures. The shot fired upon them did some execution, but *Dampier* was unwilling to repeat it, as he must thence cut off all hopes of any farther commerce with them.

NEXT day he sailed by an island, from whence two or three canoes put out, and laboured hard to overtake the ship, in which they failed, though she went with an easy sail. About three leagues to the north he opened a large deep

bay, to the north-east of which lay two islands. One was small, and overgrown with wood; the other a league in length, well inhabited, and full of coco-nut plantations. He attempted to get into a bay on the north side, but finding it shoaly, he tried to get anchorage on the east end. Disappointed in this, he was steering on south-east, when a canoe came up close with the ship. She had on board three men, who came without fear or dread into the ship, and sold some coco-nuts to the seamen. Before these departed, two more canoes were seen coming; but *Dampier*, not chusing to admit a number of savages on board at night, steered off from land.

Garrat
Dennis
Island.

ON *March* the 3d he was got to *Garrat Dennis*, about 15 leagues in circumference, high, woody, and mountainous. Some trees were very large, and the bay abounded with coco-nut-trees. The sides of the mountains were covered with plantations well laid out and cultivated. The mould in the new-cleared land was of a brown reddish colour, not deep, but exceeding fertile. The middle of the island lies in 39 10' south latitude, by which *Dampier's* course may be perfectly understood; for, from the island of *Ceram* north of the Line, he surounded the north point and islands of *New Guiney*, coasting along the continent till he came to the north-east side of *New Britain*. The natives of *Garrat Dennis* are a black, strong, well-limbed people, their heads quite round, their hair short and curled, but dressed into different forms, and dyed with all manner of colours, red, yellow, and blue. They have round faces, bottle-noses, yet not disagreeable, except they are disfigured by the strange ridiculous modes of the country, such as running rings as thick as the finger through the nose, both nostrils, and hanging down upon the cheeks. Their ears are also pierced, and, like the *Indians* of the east, distended into an almost incredible length down the neck and shoulders, with pendants of some heavy metal; for the lower the ear falls, and the larger the hole pierced in it, the more beautiful the owner is thought (A). They are active and dextrous in their proes, which are built upon a very ingenious ~~model~~ ~~ornamented~~.

(A) We cannot help remarking how unjust the opinion is, that all distortions of nature first appear in the most civilized countries. If we want to see true simplicity of manners, we are desired to look for it among savages, and the wild

untutored *Indians*; yet can any thing be more contrary to nature than the customs, which travellers relate of those rude and uncultivated nations? The people we are now describing afford a striking instance of this."

will.

with the carved figures of men, birds, and fishes, not badly executed. Their weapons are slings, lances, swords, with bows and arrows. They have also wooden fish-gigs for striking fish, at which they are no less expert than the people of *Slingers Bay*. Their speech is clear, soft, and articulate; the words they used the most were *Vacousee*, *Olamais*, the others equally abounding in vowels and soft consonants.

THE following day, *Dampier* visited another island in S. latitude $3^{\circ} 25'$, distant about 316 miles from the meridian of *Cape Mabo*. It is high and woody like the former; but shews many proofs of industry by finely cultivated plantations on the brows of the mountains. On the south-east parts of this island are two or three more small islands, all of them covered with wood, chiefly of coco-nut trees. On the north is another island more flat and larger than any of the former. Passing between this and the high island described, which in the *Dutch* charts goes by the name of *Cave's Island*, some canoes came out from shore, making signals for the crew to land, and doubted not but the ship might be run upon the shore with the same ease and safety as their canoes. On their coming on board, which with some difficulty they were prevailed on to do, the captain presented them with bits of mirrors, knives, and glass-beads; presents they were highly delighted with. He shewed them coco-nuts, pompions, nutmegs, and gold-dust; all which they said they had upon their island, calling the latter *Maneel*. They were of a jet-black complexion, their hair frizzled, tall, stout, and well-shaped men, speaking the same language as the inhabitants of the neighbouring islands. The captain says, that of all the natives of *New Holland*, or *New Guiney*, he had yet seen, these were the most civilized and polished in their manners. After this, he fell in with *St. John's Island*, the people of which spoke the same language with those of *Cave's Island*, and differed but little from them in their customs. From hence he descried a headland, beyond which he could discover no land; whence he infers that the continent runs away more to the west than it is laid down in the maps. This headland lies in the latitude of $5^{\circ} 2'$ south, at the meridian distance of 1290 miles from *Cape Mabo*. Between this and *Cape St. Mary's* the land is mountainous, rough, and woody, with a number of points jutting out so far into the sea as to form some fine bays. Here he observed a burning mountain at a considerable distance up the country, but neither the appearance of houses or plantations on this coast. The bay *Dampier* called *St. George's Bay*, giving likewise the same name to the opposite mountain. Next day

Cape Orford.

day he came within sight of a cape, which he called *Cape Orford*. It lies in $5^{\circ} 24'$ south latitude. On each side the Cape the land is more savannah than woodland, and appears to be of little value. Steering along south-west as the land lies, he observed the coast to be high, but more pleasant, and apparently more fruitful, than the former. He now began to see smoke again in different places, whence he judged this part of the country to be better inhabited than the former. On *March* the 14th, he had sight of a deep bay, with some islands about it. The same day he saw a point projecting into the sea, and a bay within, where he expected to meet with fresh water. Here he saw all the marks of a well-cultivated country, as coco-trees, fruitful plantations, and a great number of houses. When he was within five miles of land, several canoes came out to survey the ship. He spoke to them, made signs, and did all in his power to invite them on board, but could not succeed. Soon after, a large well-built boat, with about forty men, came within call of the ship. She was followed by another still larger, finely carved and decorated, with upwards of 50 men on board. As he suspected they came out with intention to fight him, he ordered the gunner to point a cannon charged with grape-shot between the two boats. This he executed with so much address, that all the shot fell just where he intended, without touching either boat, and had the desired effect; for they pulled with all their might to shore; after which the ship followed them into the bay. As she passed by the point, a great number of people were seen peeping out of the crevices of the rock; on which the captain ordered a cannon charged with ball to be fired, to terrify them. It lighted so near them, that they took to their heels with great precipitation, looking behind them to see if any more balls were coming. They soon assembled again in a grove of coco-trees, when the captain, thinking it necessary, on account of their numbers, to inspire them with high notions of his power, ordered a third gun to be fired; after which he sent his boat on shore to wood and water. Some of the natives came running to her with presents of coco-nuts, and the ~~seamen cut the ne-~~cessary wood, and filled their casks, without opposition. However, it was difficult to bring them to trade; for they refused him yams, hogs, and fruit, in exchange for money or toys. At last they were prevailed on to spare some coco-nuts; yet still they seemed afraid, running away as soon as they had delivered them. For several days the captain staid in this bay, in expectation of establishing a friendly commerce with the natives. He describes the men dressed with feathers about their

their heads, and lances in their hands, and the women without any ornaments, or even covering, except a bunch of green boughs stuck behind and before in a string tied round the waist. They were industrious, and perpetually passing with large baskets of yams on their heads. It is the captain's remark, that, among all the uncivilized nations he had ever seen, the women carry the burthens, and perform the most laborious and servile employments, while the men parade before them with no other load than their arms.

ALL of a sudden, without any apparent cause, the natives became more shy than before, retiring a good way from the shore, pulling all their coco-nuts the preceding night, and driving away the hogs, with every thing that was moveable. The sailors followed them, and made signs to know what they had done with the hogs and goats; upon which they pointed to little huts at some distance, expressing the voices of the different animals by grunting and bleating, and their sizes by holding their hands at different distances from the ground. On the following day, the captain, accompanied with some of his men, carrying with him such trifles as he imagined would be most acceptable to them, went, with an intention, if possible, to bring them to friendly and familiar terms. He saw two men and a boy, one of whom was prevailed on by signs to come to the boat-side. He gave him a knife, a string of beads, and a glass-bottle; upon which he signified that he would go to a neighbouring village for coco's. At the earnest request of his men, the captain permitted them to go to the bay where the natives had driven their hogs. Upon their landing, they assembled, and shook their lances, as if they intended to oppose them. The seamen held up such trifles as they had taken with them, but could not get them to approach or accept of any. Finding that their friendly endeavours had no effect, and determined to carry away some hogs, of which the ship was in great want, the seamen discharged some shot over them; upon which they all, except two or three, ran away. These kept their ground, and stood in a menacing posture; but soon ran off upon one of them being wounded in the arm by a musket-shot. After this, the men shot nine hogs, with which they returned to the ship, but soon came back, and landed without opposition; nor did the natives even attempt to resist their carrying off as many cattle as they thought proper. One man ventured to bring some coco-nuts, left them on the shore, and after making signs to the seamen where they were, run off. This was all the communication the captain had with this timid people.

DURING

DURING a stay of several days here, the weather was almost constantly clear, fair, and pleasant, sometimes only interrupted by claps of thunder and showers of rain. The sea and land breezes were regular and refreshing; the former S. S. E. and the latter from N. E. to N. W. In honour of his patron he called this bay *Port Montague*. It lies in $6^{\circ} 10'$ S. latitude; the country round it being mountainous and woody, but interspersed with beautiful and rich vallies, and pleasant fresh-water brooks. The soil in the vallies is deep and yellowish; that on the mountains more shallow, and of a brown colour; but all extremely fertile and prolific. In general, the trees are neither remarkably tall, strait, nor thick, but, putting forth a fine verdure, they greatly delight and refresh the eye. Some were covered with flowers, some with berries, others loaded with large fruit, but all of them uncommon to any of the crew. Coco-nuts flourish greatly here, as well by the sea-side as in the more remote vallies. They are of the common size, and the stalk and kernel rather more delicious than any the captain had tasted before. Here is ginger, yams, and several culinary roots and herbs. Hogs, dogs, and some other land-animals, he saw; such as pigeons, cucka-dores, crows, and parrots; also another bird resembling a black-bird, but larger, and many more of a small size, peculiar to the country. The sea and rivers are well-stocked with fish, such as yellow-tails, whip-rays, cavellies, &c.

A volcano.

ON the 22d of *March* early in the morning, the captain was called up to behold what the crew called a miracle. It was a large pillar of fire, shooting gradually for three or four minutes, then sinking in the same space of time, till it became scarce visible. He knew it immediately to be a volcano, or burning mountain, and steered for it accordingly. On the 25th, he found himself within three leagues of the island in which this volcano was, about six miles from the continent. The island for the whole time vomited out flames, smoke, and ashes, with dreadful explosions as loud as thunder. The interval between each explosion was near half a minute; neither were the eruptions equal in degree. Some were but faint convulsions in comparison of others; yet the weakest were terrifying. The stronger threw up a flame thirty or forty yards into the sky, and a stream of fire running down to the foot of the mountain, and even to the shore. From the channels dug up by this liquid fire, they could in the ship perceive a smoke, which *Dampier* attributes to the half-consumed sulphur poured out from the funnel at the top of the mountain. This volcano is situated in $5^{\circ} 33'$ S. lat. The east part of *New Guinea* lies 40 miles west of this

this tract of land, and in most charts they are laid down as contiguous; but Captain *Dampier* found a wide passage between them, calling the north-east promontory of *New Guiney* *King William's Cape*, and the island *New Britain*. It lies New from $2^{\circ} 6'$ to $6^{\circ} 30'$ S. latitude, and has about $56^{\circ} 18'$ longi- Britain. tude. It appears to be in general high land, interspersed with fine valleys, and abounding with tall and noble trees. It is well-inhabited by a race of strong well-made negroes, but so suspicious that the captain could hold no commerce with them. Farther east on the continent he discovered another island, which he called *Sir George Rooke's Island*, about *Rooke's* 12 leagues in length, well-cultivated, rich, and populous; *Island*. another near, but more to the east, which, from its figure, he called *Crown Island*; after which he got to *Batavia* without *Crown* any other material discovery. *Island*.

FROM what has been said, the reader will perceive how *Reflections* strongly *Dampier's* account confirms what has been related on the from Captain *Tasman's* journal, and the certainty that there *voyage*. lies a large, rich, and inhabited continent in the *South Seas*, from forty-two or forty-three degrees south latitude, quite to the equator, with a variety of fruitful, pleasant, and healthy islands. He will likewise observe, that however short of expectation this voyage turned out, yet that still it was of the utmost consequence. It has shewn a new *Indies*, or at least described one more minutely than former accounts had done, in which we may be able to undertake settlements as advantageous as any this or any other nation has hitherto made, whenever that spirit of industry shall revive which first gave birth, then extended, and at last established, the *British* commerce. This journal tallies so exactly with the relations of *Quiros* and *Schouten*, that we can hardly entertain a doubt of the possibility of finding in the *South Sea* countries which would fully compensate all the toil and expence of opening a trade with them. And indeed, if there were no other merit in *Dampier's* expedition, this alone ought to recommend it, that it has for ever removed those suspicions concerning the authenticity of former journals, and fully assures that there is a *Southern Continent*; a blessing reserved for the *British* nation. If she has prudence and resolution enough to embrace it. But this matter will be set in a still clearer light by the following extract of *Commodore Roggewin's* Journal.

• • DAMPIER, Vid. vols. iii. & iv.

S E C T. V.

Containing an account of the perambulation of Commodore Roggewin: his memorials to the Dutch West India Company; their intention of equipping a fleet for this voyage; and, finally, the discoveries of the Commodore on the Southern Continent, with the seizure of his squadron by the East India Company at Batavia.

Roggewin's voyage to the South Sea.

AT the expence, and by the appointment, of the Dutch West India company, Commodore Roggewin sailed from the port of Amsterdam on the 16th of July, A. 1721, in search of discoveries in the South Seas (A). He had under his com-

(A) Mr. Roggewin, father to the Commodore, a gentleman of great parts, penetration, and opulent fortune, which he had acquired in India, was the projector of this voyage for the discovery of that vast continent, and the infinite number of islands, which are demonstrated to lie in that part of the globe. His project, with explanations of his plan, and arguments in support of it, he presented to the East India company Anno 1696. It was well received, and Mr. Roggewin assured by the company, that as soon as the state of their affairs would permit, he should receive all the assistance and countenance in their power. But the disturbances which soon after followed put a stop to their good intentions, and before any farther steps were taken Mr. Roggewin breathed his last. He was a gentleman of the province of Zealand, who from his youth had applied himself to mathematical studies, at least such of them as relate to geography, navigation, and a perfect knowledge of the globe. He had a hearty zeal for the

service of his country, of which he gave many proofs, but none so great in his own opinion as this project, the execution of which he earnestly recommended on his death-bed to his son.

After his father's decease, the young gentleman pursued his studies with the utmost vigour, and made so hasty a progress as to qualify himself for the post of counsellor to the judiciary at Batavia, whilst young. After his return from thence with a large fortune, he resolved to perform the promise he had made to his father; and, in the year 1721, presented a memorial to the West India company, which was received with the same reasonings the East India company had shewn to his father's, but executed with more alacrity; for he soon had a little squadron of three ships appointed him; viz. the *Eagle* of 36 guns and 111 men, commanded by Captain *Job Coster*; the *Tribshoven* of 28 guns, and 100 men, Captain *Bowman*; and the *African Galley*, 14 guns, and 60 men, under the command of Captain *Rafinshald* (1).

(1) *Vid. Hist. des Navig. T. ii. p. 226. Harris's Collect. p. 258. T. i.*

mand three ships well provided for so long and hazardous a voyage. After various accidents he arrived at the island of *Juan Fernandez*, which he soon quitted with intention to visit that part of the Southern Continent reported by Mr. *Waser* to be discovered by Captain *Davis* (B), A. 1680. *Roggewin* having the benefit of the south-east monsoon, soon arrived in the latitude of 28° ; and, in the longitude of 251° , he expected to meet with *Davis's Land*; and was the more assured of this prospect, when he saw fowls flying over the ship, and observed the wind often shifting and veering; both which are looked upon as certain signs of land. So strong were their hopes, that some of the company imagined they saw it, tho', to their great mortification, after a fruitless search, they could not fall upon it. Hence he concluded, that he had either passed it, or that there existed no such land; but we are not to be surpris'd at his disappointment, as it appears from *Waser's* account that he sought it ten degrees too far to the west.

•
HARRIS'S Collect. p. 269. T. i.

(B) As *Roggewin's* journal, or rather that published in *French* by a native of *Mecklenburg*, who performed the voyage with him, is greatly deficient in this circumstance, we will relate it from Mr. *Waser's* account of the discovery. "We steered," says he, "from the *Gallipagos* South and by East, until we came into lat. $27^{\circ} 20'$ South, where we fell in with a low sandy island, and heard a roaring noise like that of the sea-beating upon the shore, right a-head of the ship, it being then night. Upon this, fearing to fall foul of the shore before day, the ship was put about, and lay so till day. It proved to be a small island, without the guard of any rocks.—To the westward about twelve leagues, we saw a range of high land, which we took to be an island; for there were

"several partitions in the prospect. This land seemed to reach about 16 leagues in a range, and there came flocks of fowls. I, and many more of our men, would have made this land; but Captain *Davis* would not permit it. The small island bears from *Cagayopo* 500 leagues almost due east, and from the *Gallipagos* under the line 600 leagues (2)." From hence it is apparent, that *Roggewin's* project, when he set out from *Juan Fernandez*, of steering this course, was not only natural, but founded on experience, and the lights afforded by actual journals. He had good reasons to believe there was a Southern Continent; and this account of *Davis's Land* seemed to prove to him, that this range described by *Waser* was a part of it.

Easter
Island dis-
covered,
and an ac-
count of a
native,
who came
on board.

PURSUING his course for 12 degrees west, he still saw great flocks of birds, which attended him till he fell in with a small island, about 16 leagues in extent, to which he gave the name of *Pascha* or *Easter Island*, it being discovered on *Easter-day*. The smallest of the vessels was sent to sound and examine this coast; and she returned with advice that it seemed fertile and populous, as they discovered a great number of smokes in different parts of the island. When the squadron was about two miles from shore, an *Indian* canoe came off to them. They made signs for it to come on board, which the man to whom she belonged readily agreed to; and was accordingly well received. As he was naked, the first present made him was a piece of cloth to cover him; then they gave him toys, such as glass-beads, knives, and other things; with all which he was overjoyed. His body was all over painted with figures of different animals. His natural complexion, as far as could be discovered through the cover of paint, was a dark brown, and his ears excessively large and long. He was tall, well-made, robust, and of a happy countenance. His spirits were good, his limbs active, and his temper disposed to cheerfulness, as appeared by his gestures, and the agility with which he traversed the ship. They gave him a glass of wine to drink, which he threw away, probably for fear of being poisoned, or perhaps being accustomed to drink water, the smell might be offensive to him. They next clothed him from head to foot, putting a hat on his head; with which he appeared to be greatly incumbered and uneasy. They gave him victuals, of which he eat heartily; but could not be prevailed on to use either knife or fork. They then ordered their music to play, which highly delighted, and set him a skipping and dancing. As they could not get to an anchor that night they thought it proper to set the *Indian* in his canoe again, letting all the presents they had given him remain with him, in order to induce others to come on board. But so far from expressing a desire to return, he was uneasy, and seemingly affronted, that it should be required of him. He held up both his hands, looking wishfully, then, pointing to the island, cried out, *Oderoga! Oderoga! Oderoga!* in a distinct and articulate voice. This they imagined to be his *God*, because they found a number of idols erected on the shore. On *Roggerwin's* entering the gulph on the east side of the island, the ship being close to land, several thousands of the natives came on the beach with loads of fruits, roots, and fresh provisions, particularly trouts. Many came on board, and were civilly treated. As the ship drew nearer, the natives crowded down

down to the sea-side, sacrificing to their idols, probably to protect them against the strangers, whose formidable and unusual appearance greatly terrified them : for those who were bold enough to come on board betrayed marks of fear, that made it obvious they were desirous of conciliating the favour of the *Europeans*, rather from motives of terror than of love, or any particular hospitality to strangers.

THE next morning early they were seen prostrated before their idols, making burnt-offerings.

In the mean time, *Roggewin*, with about 150 seamen, was preparing to land ; just as they were entering their boats, a large fleet of canoes, with every commodity the island afforded, came to the side of the ship. Among these was the friendly *Indian* they had so kindly treated on board, who returned with symptoms of the strongest joy, which he expressed by some ridiculous capers and skips along the deck. There was likewise one man perfectly white, with large pendants in his ears, of a grave and solemn deportment, and an air either of deep melancholy or gloomy religion ; from which the *Dutch* conjectured he was a priest. During this state of friendly offices, one of the natives was shot dead in his canoe (by accident, says the journalist), which spread such terror among the rest, that they leapt into the sea, and swam to shore with the utmost precipitation. They were followed by the *Dutch*, who, finding the shore crowded with these miserable creatures, thought themselves under the necessity of brutally making their way through them by force. This they did by a discharge of small arms, which instantly cleared the coast. Nothing could be more imprudent, barbarous, or insolent, than this unprovoked act. By their own acknowledgement, the *Dutch* were received with all possible demonstrations of friendship ; why then unnecessarily commence hostilities, and shed the blood of those very men who were paying them all possible marks of regard and devotion ! The natives, forsooth, had presumed to stand in their way, and even out of curiosity to touch their arms ; which atrocious crime must cancel all the obligations received from their hospitality. No arguments, indeed, can palliate the conduct of the *Dutch* on this occasion ; for it appeared equally devoid of religion, humanity, and policy, too much akin to that brutal pride and over-weening insolence they had shewn in all their settlements in the *Indies*, both to natives and *Europeans*.

By this discharge a great number were killed and wounded, among the former of which was the poor *Indian*, who had been twice on board to welcome them with so much cordiality. Upon this, the natives kept at the distance of ten

Pascha or
Faster
Island,
mentioned
by Tas-
man, and
here mi-
nutely de-
scribed.

yards, supposing that space sufficient to secure them against the effects of the musquetry; nor did the *Dutch* chuse to repeat their wanton cruelty. Although the consternation into which they had been thrown was very great, as was apparent from the dismal shrieks and howlings they uttered, yet finding that no further attempts were made against them, they soon laid aside their resentment, to resume those acts of benevolence more agreeable to their disposition. Men, women, and children, presented themselves before the proud usurpers with branches of palm, in token of peace, and with offerings of fowls, fruits, and the best produce of their country. Even their women were given to the *Dutch*, and nothing refused that could either demonstrate the affection, the fear, or the submission of the inhabitants. Softened with such tokens of deep humility, the stubborn hearts of the *Dutchmen* deigned to treat them with kindness, and even to return their presents by a number of toys and baubles, by way of atoning for the innocent blood they had spilt.

THE natives perceiving that no further injury was intended, brought them 500 live fowls, large quantities of red roots and potatoes, which they use instead of bread, several hundreds of sugar-canes, and loads of *pisuns*, or *Indian figs*, of the size of a gourd, and covered with a green rind. The pulp of this fruit is sweet as honey; the figs grow in branches, sometimes an hundred on a bough, and shaded with leaves six or eight feet long, and three broad. No animals besides birds appeared on the island; of these there were great numbers and an infinite variety, some the most beautiful the *Dutch* had ever beheld. But they thought it probable that some parts of the country were not without cattle and other beasts, because the natives expressed as much by signs.

Descrip-
tion of the
natives,
their cu-
stoms and
manners.

THEY dressed their food in earthen pots, of the manufacture of the island; and their most common food is drawn from vegetables raised by cultivation. The *Dutch* imagined that every separate family or tribe among them had its peculiar village. The huts or cabins, which compose them, were from 40 to 60 feet in length, and six or eight feet in width, formed of poles stuck perpendicular in the earth; the spaces between which are filled with a kind of loam or fat earth, and the roof made of palm and pisan leaves. All their plantations were staked out, neatly divided, and finely cultivated. When the *Dutch* were there, almost all their fruits, plants, herbs, and roots, were in full maturity; so that nothing could present a more rich and beautiful prospect to the eye than

* Hist. des Navigat. aux Terres Austr. T. ii. p. 231:

the whole face of this island, blooming with the elegant verdure of the spring, and the plentiful mellowness of autumn. The houses were but indifferently furnished, yet sufficient to prove that the arts were not wholly unknown to the natives. The chief ornaments were red and white coverlets of a pretty fancy and neat execution, which at night they used as bed-cloaths, and in the day as a defence against the piercing rays of the sun. The stuff was smooth and soft as silk, appearing by many tokens to be absolutely of their own manufacture.

As to the persons of the natives, they were in general an active, slender, straight, and well-made people, extremely swift of foot and agile. In point of temper, they were of a sweet, mild, modest, and agreeable disposition, timid, fearful, and faint-hearted, to a degree of weakness and effeminacy. Whenever they brought the *Dutch* any provisions, they instantly fell down on their knees, and then hastily retired; nor indeed can we be surprised at this feat, after the proofs of gratitude the *Hollanders* had already given. In general, they were of a brown complexion, or rather of the olive copperish colour of a *Portuguese Indian*, though many of them were absolutely black, and others almost fair, if not completely white. Another cast or tribe of them had a complexion intirely red, as if their skins had been scorched by the sun. Their ears hung down to their shoulders, and some wore white pendants or ear-rings of an enormous size, which they considered as very ornamental. Their bodies were painted with the figures of birds, serpents, goats, hogs, and other animals; a strong presumption that such were not unknown to them. Of these several of the figures displayed a happy talent at the imitative art, being lively representations of the life.

As to their women, they had an artificial bloom on their cheeks, of a crimson far surpassing any thing known to us in *Europe*; nor could the *Dutch* by any means discover the composition. On their heads they wore little hats, neatly made of reeds or straw, with no other covering than the coverlets we have mentioned. They did not excel in either modest coyness or chastity; for they often beckoned the *Dutch* into their houses, throwing off their mantilets when they saw by them. What is very singular among these islanders is, that not the smallest vestige or appearance of arms was to be seen among them. When they were attacked, they immediately fled to their idols for protection, and implored their assistance with a pathetic and warm devotion. What pity that minds so excellently disposed were not directed to the knowledge of the true God! The statues of their deities were of stone, representing a human figure, with a crown on

the head, large ears, but the rest nicely proportioned, and so highly finished, that the *Dutch* were struck with amazement at the progress they had made in sculpture. Round those idols were erected palisadoes of stone, well-cut, at the distance of 20 or 30 yards. Some of the natives appeared more zealous and frequent worshippers than the rest; and these the *Dutch* imagined to be their priests, both for this reason and because they wore many marks of distinction, such as their heads closely shaved, and large white balls suspended to the ears, with a bonnet of white and black feathers, resembling those of a stork; from whence the *Dutch* concluded, that when these birds leave their usual place of residence, part of them at least take up their abode here. But this conjecture the journalist seems to contradict in some other observations upon the nature of this curious fowl.

No appearance of civil government or subordination could be discovered in this island, much less any chief, prince, or king, who had dominion over the rest. On the contrary, they all acted and spoke with equal freedom; and yet no inconvenience was observed to result from this natural order; for they lived in the greatest tranquillity and harmony imaginable. The father, indeed, in each family had an apparent supremacy, and his authority was readily obeyed. Some marks of honour and ceremonies of respect were likewise paid to the aged; pure nature and good-sense seeming to dictate those distinctions. The old men wore on their heads bonnets or caps, fringed round with feathers like the down of ostriches, and truncheons, or short thick sticks, in their hands, which the *Dutch* naturally supposed to be some marks of degree and authority. This island the Journalist thinks might be settled to great advantage, as the climate is fine, in 28° 30' S. lat. the air clear and wholesome, the soil rich and fruitful, proper for corn in the low lands; and in the higher grounds capable of being improved into vineyards. In short, the *Dutch* must undoubtedly have made great discoveries here, as well as on the continent, which they had reason to believe could not be a great way distant, had they not been driven from their moorings just as they were preparing to penetrate into the heart of the island, and to make a kind of settlement to which they might return for refreshments from their inquiries on the continent^b.

LEAVING the island of *Pascha*, it was not long before *Roggevin* found himself in the height of the island called *Badwater* by *Schouten*. Here he was in expectation of meeting

^b Hist. des Navig. aux Terres Austr. T. ii. p. 234.

with some part of the Southern Continent; but, by changing his course; he ran 300 leagues out of the way, and at least 150 leagues further than *Schouten*. That famous seaman one day gave chase to a small vessel, that bore away directly south from him; whence he naturally inferred, that there must certainly be land on that side. Indeed, from all the lights of reason and experience, there can hardly be any doubt of there being a continent here of at least 2000 leagues in extent; to which the direct course from *Europe* is certainly S. S. W. and from *America* N. E. or N. E. and by N. The Commodore ranged through this ocean for the space of 800 leagues, sometimes one course, sometimes another, in hopes of falling upon the promised land; but none could be found till he came under lat. $15^{\circ} 45'$ S. and long. 280° , when he met with an island, which he conceived to be intirely a new discovery; and therefore took the liberty of giving it a name; viz. the *Island of Charles Court or Carlisboff*. He describes it about three leagues in extent, with a stake or mark fixed in the middle.

Charles
Court
Island.

AFTER parting with this island, the wind began to come round to the S. W.; from which he inferred that the current of the air was altered by some neighbouring coast. By this sudden shifting of the wind he was driven in the night among a number of little islands and rocks, upon one of which the *African* galley foundered. The inhabitants, roused by the noise which this accident made, kindled fires on the hills, and flocked down to the shores. This alarm obliged the Commodore to guard against a surprise, which the darkness of the night made an easy matter. To this end he fired grape-shot on the coasts, without ceremony, till day-light appeared, when he discovered the great danger to which he was exposed, being environed by four considerable islands, surrounded with shoals and rocks, from which he found it a difficult matter to extricate himself.

THE crew of the *African* galley had saved themselves on Mischievous one of the islands, to which the commodore sent his boats to fetch them on board. They all returned, except a few, who, in the hurry, had mutinied against their officers, and preferred living among the savages rather than run the hazard of a court martial. These not all the eloquence and assurances of the commodore could prevail upon to return; and they put it out of his power to compel them, by flying into the heart of the country. These islands are situated in S. lat. 15° and 16° degrees, at the distance of twelve leagues west of *Carlisboff*. To that on which the *African* galley was lost they gave the name of the *Mischievous Island*; the two next they

Aurora
Island.

called *The Brothers*, and the fourth *The Sister*. All four were covered with a verdure altogether charming, abounding with tall trees, most of them coco-nuts. The herbs growing here were so refreshing and medicinal, that the ship's crew, many of whom were ill of the scurvy, soon recovered by the use of them. An incredible quantity of cockles, muscles, mother of pearl oysters, &c. were found, which gave reason to hope that a very advantageous pearl-fishery might here be established. These islands are so flat and low that they must frequently be overflowed; against which calamity the natives have secured themselves by a great number of canoes, boats, and stout barks, with cables, ropes, and sails. Pieces of those were found on the shore, which seemed to be made of hemp. The natives of *Mischievous Island* were of a gigantic stature; and the seamen affirmed that they measured several prints of feet, not less than 20 inches in length each. Their bodies were painted with various colours; their hair was jet-black and long; their features were large, hard, and fierce, bespeaking a mind no less fierce and uncultivated. They were armed with pikes, or lances 18 feet in length, marching in parties of 80 or 100, and inviting the *Dutch* by signs on shore, probably to draw them into an ambuscade. While the seamen of the *African* galley were on shore, they kept them at a distance by continual discharges of their musquetry; which, however, rather astonished than terrified them. The commander perceiving that no refreshments were to be procured on this island but by force, weighed from it, and next day arrived on the coast of another island, eight leagues to the westward, which he called *Aurora*, from his having discovered it about sun-rise (C). It was about

(C) Here it was that the ship *Tienbooven* narrowly escaped the fate of the *African* galley; an accident which produced a mutiny on board. The seamen insisted either that the commodore should immediately return, or at least give them security for their wages, whether the ship should be lost or not. *Roggeveen* listened to their complaints with an humanity worthy of a man of honour, and then bound himself by a solemn oath, that they should receive the last far-

thing, whatever might be the fate of the ships, or the event of the expedition; an oath which he afterwards religiously performed, when the fleet was seized at *Batavia* (3).

To say the truth, the demand of the seamen was reasonable. They were even every day exposed to the most excessive fatigues, and every squall of wind, or sudden shock, made them run the hazard of losing in a moment the fruits of ~~all their~~ labour and toil.

(3) *Harris, T. i. b. i. c. 1. sect. 20.*

four leagues in extent, covered with a charming verdure, and adorned with trees and shrubs of all kinds. But as the commodore found the coast foul and rocky, he did not attempt to anchor, only taking as near a view as safety would permit. The same day, towards evening, he came up with another island, which from hence he called *Vesper*. In circuit it was *Vesper* about twelve leagues, the land flat, but clothed, as the for- *Island*. mer, with a beautiful green, and stored with various sorts of trees.

STILL he pursued his course, steering west to about the fifteenth degree south, when he discovered land, and a great number of fires, which indicated its being well peopled. Thither he made all possible sail, in hopes of meeting with water and fresh provisions, of which he was in want. As he approached nearer, the inhabitants were seen diverting themselves in their canoes on the coast. He likewise perceived, that what he had taken for one continued coast was really a chain of islands, separated by small arms of the sea. He was soon so entangled in those guts, that he found it a hard matter to get clear; but at last a passage through the islands was discovered, by which he again got fairly into the open sea. Six of these islands were exceedingly beautiful and pleasant to the eye, and all of them together he reckoned might measure thirty leagues in circumference. They were situated twenty-five leagues west of *Mischievous Island*; the *Dutch* called them *The Labyrinth*, from their having been obliged to make frequent tacks to get clear of them. As it was dangerous to anchor on the coast, and none of the natives coming to meet them, the commodore did not think fit to stay here. He therefore continued his course westward, and in a few days discovered another island, which at a distance appeared extremely high and pleasant. On his nearer approach he found the ground foul and the coast rocky, by which he was deterred from going close to shore. But as he stood in need of provisions, the scurvy prevailing again on board, he ordered each pinnace to be well manned for a descent. No sooner did the natives perceive his design, than they hurried down in crowds to oppose their landing. They were armed with long pikes, and soon gave proofs of their dexterity and valour. However, the fire-arms from the pinnace disconcerted them, and they stood in astonishment at this unusual thunder. After this skirmish the *Dutch* landed, shewed their presents of looking-glasses, beads, and other

Hist. des Navigat. T. ii. p. 235. Etiam Suite à l'Histoire
Ancienne de M. Rollin, T. vi. p. 98.

baubles, and in a short time established a truce with the inhabitants, who received the trinkets with joy, suffering the *Dutch* to gather what herbs and vegetables they thought proper; nay, they even assisted, and shewed them the best herbs, as soon as it was known that no injury was intended them.

NEXT day the commodore sent a stronger body on shore, not only to gather vegetables, but likewise to make all the discovery possible into the nature of the country. They set out with presenting the king or chief with a considerable number of chosen trinkets; which he accepted indeed, but with such an air of indifference and contempt as prognosticated no good to their future commerce. His majesty was, however, polite enough to return the compliment by a present of coco-nuts. The prince was distinguished from his subjects by a variety of pearl ornaments, in value about 600 *Dutch* florins, which he wore. The women expressed great fondness for the white men, almost kissing them with caresses; but it was all affected, false, and designed to lull them into security, the more effectually to destroy them. Indeed, had the event succeeded equal to the subtlety of the contrivance, the *Dutch* to a man must have been cut off. Suffering them to advance into the country, and shewing them the best vegetables, while the women were continuing the dalliances, the men were forming an ambuscade in the woods, caves, and neighbouring vallies. As soon as they thought the *Dutch* were sufficiently cut off from the sea, and surrounded beyond all hopes of escape, on a signal given they poured out of their lurking-places, and in an instant made a general discharge of stones. The *Dutch*, upon this, formed themselves, and fired briskly upon the enemy, which they sustained without shrinking, and answered by repeated volleys of stones. At the second or third fire their king was killed; but this, instead of discouraging, rather animated and inflamed them to a degree of fury. After the engagement had continued obstinate for half an hour, the *Dutch* all the while retreating towards the shore, at last they got on board their boats, all of them wounded, and many mortally, but with still greater loss on the side of the enemy. Neither side had much to boast of; the *Dutch* were contented that they had got clear at any rate, and the natives were no less pleased in having rid themselves of invaders, who they imagined covered deep designs under the specious pretext of gathering simples.

Recreation
Island.

To this island, situated in 16° south latitude, longitude 285°, they had given the name of *Recreation Isle* the day before,

fore, on account of the fine fallads and pot-herbs found on it. In extent it is about 12 leagues, the soil fertile, and producing a great number of trees, but chiefly cocos, palms, and iron-wood. The *Dutch* had some reasons for thinking the heart of the country abounded in mines; but our journalst does not venture to affirm that, nor to specify the arguments in support of the conjecture. As to the inhabitants, they were men of an ordinary size, robust, active, and well skilled in their military discipline. Their hair was long, shining, and black, which they anointed with the oil of coco-nuts, a custom practised by most *Indian* nations. Their bodies were painted in the manner of the natives of *Easter Island*. The men cover the middle of their bodies with a net work fastened to a girdle before, and tucked up behind. The women, more decent than those of the other islands, were entirely covered with mantles of their own manufacture, to the touch and sight resembling silk. About their necks and wrists they wore necklaces and bracelets of pearls. Their persons were strait, slender, and genteel, with features by no means disagreeable, although they had that flatness of countenance peculiar almost to blacks and mulattoes, with the thick lips, the round forehead, but set off with extremely lively, piercing, and expressive black eyes^d.

AGREEABLE to the resolution of a council of war, which was held on the commodore's departure from this island, it was determined, after much opposition, to steer their course towards *New Guiney* and *New Britain*, and from thence to the *Moluccas* and *Dutch* settlements. The third day of their voyage, on a north-west course, several islands were discovered in the latitude of 12° south, longitude 290°. Upon drawing nearer, it was perceivable they were planted with fruit-trees of all sorts; that the country produced herbs, corn, and roots, in great plenty; and that the coasts were well cultivated, and laid out into neat and pretty plantations regularly disposed. The natives no sooner discovered the ships than they came in their boats with coco-nuts, *Indian* figs, fish, and other fresh provisions, in exchange for which they had variety of the trinkets most acceptable to the *Indians*. It soon appeared that the islands were exceeding populous, since thousands of men and women, the former accoutred with bows and arrows, came down to the shore to look at the ships. Among the rest was a very majestic personage, who it was presumed was king or sovereign of the nation,

^d HARRIS, §. 22. l. i. c. 1. §. 20. t. i. etiam ubi supra citat. ibid.

from the honours paid him, and the dress he wore. This great person stepped into his canoe, attended by a beautiful young woman, and was presently surrounded by an infinite number of boats, which seemed to form a guard. All the inhabitants of these islands were white, differing nothing in their complexion from *Europeans*, but that they were more sun-burnt. They were inoffensively lively and gay, of an agreeable good-natured disposition, extremely obliging, and treating each other with visible marks of civility and kindness. Though they were active and diligent, yet they shewed nothing wild or savage, all their endeavours appearing to be calculated to make life as happy and easy as it was possible. Unlike the other *Indians*, they were handsomely clothed from the waist downwards, the body being however left naked, but without the decorations of painting and monstrous figures. This tunic or petticoat was made of a species of silk fringes, very neatly folded and plaited. On their heads they wore hats of a prodigious size, to shade them against the sun, and about their necks collars of the most gaudy and beautiful flowers. The country itself appeared exquisitely charming, being agreeably diversified with hills, dales, brooks, and groves, as lovely as imagination can paint. Some of the islands were ten, some 15, and some again 20, miles in compass. It appeared that each cast, family, or tribe, had its particular district or village, and that the natives were divided into separate governments. They were in every respect the most civilized and refined people *Roggewin* had hitherto met with. Instead of discovering any signs of fear or apprehension on the arrival of the *Dutch* among them, they treated them with the utmost kindness, expressed great satisfaction at their stay, and manifested a deep concern and sorrow on observing that all their assiduity and diligence to render every thing agreeable could not prevail on the strangers to continue among them. The *Dutch* themselves felt many of them a like concern and reluctance in leaving so civil a people and plentiful an island, where the wholesomeness of the air, and the abundance of fine vegetables, would have perfectly recovered the sick. To all the other advantages of these islands, they had one peculiar almost to themselves, and that was good anchorage in fine sandy bays of 20 fathom water, and sheltered from all the winds, at least from three points of the compass. Such were the people, and such the enjoyments, the *Dutch* were forced to abandon, to pursue a voyage big with hazards and difficulties, and attended with not one happy circumstance to compensate all their fatigue and labour.

* Hist. des Navig. p. 236. HARRIS, loco citato.

WEIGHING from *Bowman's Islands*, and keeping a north-west course, they gained the next morning sight of two islands, which they took to be *Traitors Island* and *Coco Island*, discovered by *Schouten*. The latter at a distance appeared to be high land about eight miles in circuit, the other more flat, the soil red, and without trees or shrubs of any kind, both lying nearly in the latitude of 11° south. Soon after they fell in with two more islands of large extent, to which they gave the names *Groninguen* and *Tichoven*. Many of the officers on board were fully assured that the former was no island, but a part of the great Southern Continent they were sent to discover. As for the latter, it appeared to be rich, beautiful, and fertile, the country moderately high, the meadows of a fine verdure, and the inlands cloathed with trees of all denominations. They observed, as they coasted along, that it formed a kind of crescent, one of its points turning towards *Groninguen*; whence it is probable, that what have been mistaken for two islands, are really a part of the *Terra Australis Incognita*. The author of *Roggewin's* journal acknowledges, indeed, that he traversed the coasts of islands in that neighbourhood 150 leagues in circumference; which coincides with *Dampier's* account of his having discovered a streight between *New Guiney* and *New Britain*.

PURSUING his course, *Roggewin* doubted not but he should soon fall in with the coast either of *New Guiney* or *New Britain*; but, after sailing many days, no land was discovered, and he began to be satisfied of the vanity of his calculations. To this disappointment was superadded the disagreeable circumstance of a sickly crew labouring under inexpressible anguish. The scurvy swept off numbers every day, cries and groans were perpetually ringing in the ears of those who were still able to stand to the duties of the ship. The stench of the dead and sick was so intolerable, that even the healthy swooned away on approaching them; so that they were avoided as a pestilence, and left destitute when they most wanted assistance. Many still kept the deck who were sufficient to excite terror and compassion; worn away to the bone, they died by inches in the open air, rather than confine themselves to beds, deserted by all their friends. At length it pleased God to put a period to the miseries of this unhappy crew, by giving them a sight of the coast of *New Britain*; which was received with so much transport and emotion as is altogether inexpressible, and not to be conceived but by those who have felt it.

THE country of *New Britain*, as well as many of the neighbouring islands, is composed of high land, many of the mountains

mountains hiding their tops in the clouds. The sea coasts are equally fertile and pleasant, the meadows wearing a perpetual verdure, and the hills being covered with various sorts of fruit-trees. From the face of the country, as well as its situation between four and seven degrees, the *Dutch* had all the reason in the world to look upon *New Britain* as a terrestrial paradise, in their present condition; it was therefore determined at all events to make a descent, notwithstanding the parties being cut off must have been fatal to the whole crews. Both ships could hardly spare hands enough to man the shallop, and, in its absence, to navigate one of the ships; but the passions of the seamen were so strong, and their necessities so pressing, that a landing was determined upon. Accordingly the shallop was manned, and instructions given to the officer to effect a landing at any rate, but rather by fair means, if he could compass it. Force was to be used if gentle remonstrances did not succeed, as it was almost equally eligible to die by the hands of barbarians, and to be cut off piecemeal by want and diseases. The nearer the seamen approached the coast, the more were they charmed with it, every necessary they could wish for presenting itself in full view to their ravished eyes. The natives crowded upon the coast, but not in a manner pleasing to the poor seamen, who dreaded meeting with any obstruction to the enjoyment of the felicity they saw before them. The inhabitants were well armed with bows, arrows, slings, and javelins, demonstrating by their gestures their resolution to oppose the landing of those strangers. As the shallop drew near shore, they threw themselves into a frantic despair, made frightful faces, howled, and tore their hair; and then immediately, as if they had borrowed courage from the great sense of their misfortunes, they hurried off in their canoes to meet that danger they saw was unavoidable. On coming up with the shallop, they discharged a shower of arrows, which was followed by the javelins they had in their hands, and these succeeded by a storm of stones that came pouring in like hail among the *Dutch*. This salute was returned by a continual fire from the musquetry, which soon broke and disconcerted the enemy. Their confusion was extreme; they even forgot the proper channels to the shore, and in the hurry run their canoes on rocks and shoals, which added to the despair of the *Dutchmen*, who now saw new obstructions to their landing. To complete their misery, a violent storm of that kind which they call a *prassiat*, rising in the midst of a calm, came on, and forced the ships to sea, leaving the shallop to shift for itself, among such a variety of dangers from enemies, foul coasts,

New Bri-
tain de-
scribed, and

a sharp
storm
with the
natives.

coasts, and storms. They were without relief, and almost without hope, when on a sudden the shallop was driven on a shoal, and exposed to all the violence of the winds and waves. But as despair often gives men strength and spirits altogether supernatural, they dragged the boat on dry land, where, by the favour of Providence, they all got without the loss of a single man. Night coming on before they had time to look out for a safe retreat, they contented themselves with collecting pieces of wood, and broken branches of trees, of which they made a fire to dry and warm themselves, keeping out a strict watch to prevent a surprise from the enemy, whose howlings in the woods gave them reason to apprehend that the night would not be passed in quiet. By the light of the fire they discovered a number of little huts or cabins round them, deserted by the inhabitants. In these nothing was found but a few nets curiously wrought, upon which the *Dutch* seized. They likewise saw a number of coco-trees, but were disagreeably tantalized by the near view of such delicious fruit, without the possibility of tasting it, as they had brought no hatchets with them.

FROM the journalist's relation, as well as that of *Dampier*, this country appears to be exceeding fertile, especially in all kinds of fruits. The mountains promise a variety of mines; and indeed there are hardly any countries under this climate, the mountains of which do not produce rich metals. As for the inhabitants, they were tall, well-made people, of a mulatto complexion, with long black hair in curls and ringlets down to the waist. They are extremely nimble and agile; and so expert in the exercise of their arms, that no doubt can be made of their being accustomed to war either among themselves, or with neighbouring nations. The sensible compiler of the voyages called *Harris's* voyages observes, that it has been long questioned among the most experienced navigators, whether this land ought to be accounted a continent or an island? A question which we think sufficiently answered by the discoveries of *Dampier*, if we allow any weight to his authority. This able seaman has so minutely described the straits thro' which he passed, separating *New Guiney* from *New Britain*, that no doubt can remain of the latter's being an island, if we admit that *Dampier* at all failed the course he pretends to have followed. We may likewise observe, that the journalist agrees so exactly with *Dampier's* description of the natives of this coast, as well as of the bay, that we are led to believe *Roggeveen's* shallop must have landed in the bay called by *Dampier* *Slingers Bay*, from the dexterity of the inhabitants in the use of those weapons. To these reflections
it

it may not be improper to add, that *Dampier's* and *Roggewin's* want of success ought by no means to deter men from prosecuting so important a discovery ; since it is certainly possible for ships to reach those countries without sustaining the losses and hardships of *Roggewin's* crew. The coast of *New Britain* is from their accounts well known, and so accurately laid down in our charts, that there is no danger of an expert seaman's missing it. If therefore a small Squadron failed from hence directly to that coast, there is all human probability that we should in a short time be masters of a country equivalent to the *Spice Islands*, and our loss at *Ambayna*†.

THE misfortunes the *Dutch* met with here made such an impression, that they called this part of the country *Storm Land*. Without making any farther attempts, they quitted the coast, with intention to seek relief on either the island *Moa* or *Arimoa*. They had reason to commend the care and exactness with which *Schouten* laid down the situation of those islands, since from his relation they quickly discovered them. No sooner did they come within sight of the shore, than a descent on *Arimoa* was resolved on ; but the hospitality of the natives rendered violence unnecessary, for the ships no sooner appeared than canoes crowded to them with coco-nuts and other vegetables. Next day they returned again with fresh cargoes of coco-nuts, *Indian* figs, roots, and fallads, for which the *Dutch* offered them toys ; but they would enter upon no bargains, giving their commodities *gratis*, and accepting of small presents in return, with a civility and obliging manners becoming a more polished people. The *Dutch* were extremely earnest to procure some hogs, and, to gratify them, the natives brought three or four large dogs, having mistaken the signs made by the seamen. The islanders did all in their power to induce the ship's crews to land ; but *Roggewin*, dreading some treachery might be intended, which could not fail of being fatal in the present distressed condition of the seamen, he declined the invitation.

It was observed, that as often as the *Arimoans* went on board their vessels, they took in their hands a stick ; with a flag tied to it, which they guessed to be a flag of truce ; thence concluding that they were at war with some neighbouring power ; and probably with the *Moans*. Their conjecture was corroborated by observing, that their canoes never touched on that island ; on the contrary, that they hurried

† Vide lib. in locis citatis.

by it with a visible precipitation. This remark suggested to their imagination a project for procuring speedily a fresh stock of provisions. They were satisfied that the island of *Moa*, or *Mofa*, was but thinly peopled, although no less pleasant and fertile than the other; and this engaged them to attempt, by a sudden descent, to carry off at once what might enable them to prosecute the voyage, without danger of again falling into the distresses they had so lately sustained. The scheme was bold, and required courage, prudence, and presence of mind, to conduct it with address. It was proposed that a landing should be effected in different places; that one body only should march into the country, while the rest made all possible efforts to unite, and, if occasion required, to support the advanced party. The project succeeded to their wish; the execution being as intrepid as the plan was wisely formed. As soon as the *Dutch* began to cut down the coco-trees, the natives, who lay in ambush amidst some copices and brushwood, sallied out, pouring a shower of stones upon them; from which, however, they escaped unhurt, and so vigorously returned it by a brisk discharge of their fire-arms, that several of the enemy being killed, the rest sought security in flight, leaving the *Dutch* to the quiet possession of the coco-nuts, as the reward of their valour. After this defeat, the enemy, by their cries and howlings, endeavoured to alarm the rest of their country, but in vain: for so judicious was the disposition of the *Dutch*, as to be able to attack them in flank and rear, had descended from the mountains. The booty the *Dutch* carried off consisted of 800 coco-nuts, a great number of granates and *Indian* figs, or pifant, with which they supplied the ships, extremely well satisfied with their expedition.

While they were preparing to leave the coast, the islanders perceiving that they had no other design than to gather some fruit, came off from shore in two hundred canoes, with large quantities of fresh provisions, which they exchanged for the usual baubles. This visit the *Dutch* understood as intended to prevent a second descent; for which reason they refused, admitting but a few at a time on board; and when they attempted to rush on board in numbers, they fired upon them. This made the *Indians* plunge into the sea, and, as soon as they had raised their heads above water, set them in a violent fit of laughter. As soon as this strange intercourse of hostilities and kindnesses was over, the admiral weighed anchor, continuing his course through a sea so replete with

Thousand little islands as made it impossible to number them; he these islands.

They gave them the name of *The Thousand Islands*. The inhabitants of these countries were negroes of a short squat make, their heads like the negroes of the coast of Africa, covered with a thick curled wool. The journalift describes them as a bold, mischievous, and untractable race of savages. Their women and children all went naked, with no other ornament or covering than a kind of belt, or girdle, composed of teeth, and bracelets of the same kind. Some, indeed, wore straw hats, mingled with the feathers of the bird of paradise, which, it is reported, are found nowhere but here. Those on the coast of Africa differ widely from these in their size and plumage. Such of the islands as are situated near the west point of the continent of *New Guinea*, are still called the islands of *Papoe*, or *Papues*, as the continent itself has been called the land of *Papoe*, till the name it now bears was imposed on it from its lying in the same latitude with *Old Guiney*, as we have already observed ^a (L). Besides their girdles,

^a Suite à l'Histoire Ancienne de M. ROLLIN, T. vi. p. 172.

(D) Whenever the inhabitants of these islands go to any of the *Maluccas*, to expose the produce of their country to sale, such as salt pork, ambergrise, gold dust, &c. they likewise carry with them some birds of paradise. What appears extraordinary is, that these birds are constantly found dead, the natives being intirely ignorant whence they come, or where they breed. Certain it is, however, that they are seen sometimes very high in the air. This bird is exceeding light, as it chiefly consists of feathers, which are so very beautiful as to render it one of the greatest curiosities of nature. The plumage of the head is bright as burnished gold; its beak of a shining, soft, and elegant green, with a tail and wings resembling a peacock. Such, at least, is the description given by the Journalist, which differs consi-

derably from the accounts of some naturalists, and indeed from what we have seen called the bird of paradise in the collections of some virtuosi. As to the rest, in its beak and form, it comes nearest a swallow, but larger. Those *Papoe*, who deal in them, would persuade strangers, that, having no feet, when asleep, they suspend themselves by the feathers to the branches of a tree, but the truth is, they cut off their feet, in order to render the curiosity more wonderful. They likewise allege, that the male has a cavity in its back, where he lodges the young till they are able to fly, another story raised by the tricks of those honest dealers. They also assert that the bird of paradise is continually on the wing; a natural consequence of its being without feet; and that it lives upon insects, which it snatches in its course

A History of the Eastern Continent.

about three, in his story, which, though not very exact, to give them an idea of the country. The first, which is of course the most accurate, is the story of the first voyage, being visited by the first, and being equally unpolished in their external appearance, and unpolished in their minds, void of delicacy, and void of refinement, feeling, and humanity.

As to the neighbouring countries, it appeared to him a very high country, with plants, trees, and all sorts of excellent vegetation, in such a manner that in a course of 400 leagues he could not discover one single spot. This differs considerably with what *Danville* alleges; but we are to consider the seasons of the year when each performed the circuit. He thinks it extremely probable, that this country abounds in many rich commodities, as metals, spices, &c.; the rather, because none of the countries discovered in that parallel were found different in those particulars. He adds, that persons of credit assured him, that some of the free burghers in the *Moluccas* make an annual voyage to *New Guinea*, and exchange small pieces of iron for nutmegs. *Schouten*, as we have seen, and other navigators, conceived high notions of the wealth and fertility of this country, which they constantly represent as one of the finest in the world; but they were not able to penetrate far into it, nor can this be effected with a small force, against a numerous, martial, brave, and well-disciplined people.

^a Hist. des Navig. aux Terres Austr. p. 242.

course through the air. The feathers of the male are more beautiful and gaudy than those of the female; and it is very extraordinary, that of all the animals of which we have any knowledge, this inversion of nature and peculiarity appears only in birds, the female of all other animals being the most beautiful. In the eastern language, this bird is called *Mahidrata* that is, the *Bird of God*. The *Moors*, the *Arabs*, and the *Indians*, esteem them great-

ly, using their feathers to adorn their saddles and horse furniture, and, to heighten their lustre, they intermingle them with pearls and diamonds. They wear them likewise in their turbans, especially when they go to war, from a superstitious notion that they are a kind of charm to secure them from wounds. The *fish* and *mogul* used to present them as tokens of the highest favour and esteem (5).

(5) *Roggeveen's Journal*, p. 276.

THE remainder of *Roggewin's* voyage being taken up in his passage on the north of the equator, through places already discovered, we shall finish our abridgment of journals, taking it for granted, that the reader is sufficiently convinced of the truth of the assertion, that there lies a continent in the *South Seas*, of prodigious extent. It is greatly to be lamented, that *Roggewin's* proposals to the *West India* company were never published. It cannot be doubted but they contain a variety of curious particulars, which might reflect great light upon this subject. However, as this is a particular rather to be wished than hoped for, we must content ourselves with endeavouring to supply this deficiency by a close attention to his and the other voyages we have abridged.

S E C T. VI.

Containing the reasons why the Spaniards neglect cultivating and pursuing the discoveries of Quiros; a general View of the Terra Australis; arguments why the English ought to endeavour to establish colonies there; maxims relating to the prosecution of discoveries; proposals for planting settlements in New Britain; and philosophical conjectures concerning the inhabitants of the Southern Continent.

The reasons why the Spaniards do not prosecute the discoveries of Quiros.

WE observed at the conclusion of our abstract of Don *Fernandez de Quiros's* memorial to *Philip III.* that the whole project of this enterprising man came to nothing, tho' the court had then so good an opinion of it, that they ordered commissioners to take it into consideration, and the memorial to be printed at *Seville*, A. 1610. It had been indeed a settled maxim for many years afterwards, in the *Spanish* cabinet, not only to abandon the pursuit of these discoveries, but even to treat as fiction the relations of them published from the best authority. They were reduced so low as to be no longer in a condition to execute enterprises of this nature, or even to attempt them with any probability of success. They foresaw, that if they should establish themselves in two or three islands only, it would encourage their more potent maritime neighbours to dispossess them, and by that means gain not only the settlements from whence they were driven, but a step towards fixing colonies between their *American* dominions and the *Philippine Islands*. As this would be a most pernicious stroke to the *Spanish* trade, the ministry have always declined the immediate advantage, that might result from a commerce with the Southern Continent, rather than hazard the future inconvenience. However prudent this conduct

conduct may be in the *Spaniards*, it is wonderful, however, that other nations have not endeavoured to reap the fruits which naturally flow from the peculiar circumstances of that court. Before we proceed to those political observations, it may be proper we should first lay down succinctly and clearly the several discoveries made by the principal navigators into the *South Seas*. It is evident from what has been related, that *New Guiney*, *Carpentaria*, *New Holland*, *Anthony Van Diemen's Land*, and the countries discovered by *Quiros*, make all one continent, from which *New Zealand* on the one side; and *New Britain* on the other, are disjoined by streights. The former may perhaps be part of a continent corresponding to *Africa*, as the *Terra Australis* does to *America*. This Southern Continent stretches from 44 degrees south latitude quite to the equinoctial, extending from 122 to 188 degrees of longitude; a tract of country altogether prodigious, to have so long lain undiscovered, but far short of the limits ascribed to it by *de Quiros*. To comprehend the nature of this discovery, and the situation of the Southern Continent, a short view of the southern hemisphere may be necessary.

If then we suppose the south pole to be the centre of a *general* chart, of which the equinoctial is the circumference, a division of four quarters will be made, which if thoroughly *known*, this part of the world would be perfectly discovered. *What we mean is*, that if the course from 44 degrees south latitude to the line had been strictly followed, and then the tour round *New Britain* and the north end of the continent, made, the general chart of this tract would be sufficiently clear. Within the first of these divisions, *viz.* from one to nine degrees of latitude, lies the great continent of *Africa*, the most southern point of which is the *Cape of Good Hope*, lying in the latitude of 34 degrees 15 minutes south. Between this cape and the pole several small and very inconsiderable islands have been discovered, affording us only this certainty, that to the latitude of 50 degrees there is no land of any consequence. Mr. *Bouvet*, in the year 1738, performed a voyage purposely to discover whether there were any lands to the south in that quarter. On the 18th of *July* he sailed from *Port l'Orient*, and on the first of *January* fell in with a country in 54 degrees south, the coasts of which were covered with ice^a. This country was in the longitude 28 degrees 36 minutes; the variation of the compass being there 6 degrees 45 minutes to the west^b. In the next quarter, *viz.* from ninety degrees of longitude to 180°, lie the

^a Hist. des Navigat. aux Terres Austr. T. ii. suppl. * HAN: 212, b. i. c. 13. f. 20.

The certainty we have of the Southern Continent.

countries of which we have been speaking, or the large southern continent or island extending from the line to 44 degrees south latitude, which is the extremity of *Van Diemen's Land* in *New Holland*. In the third quarter there is very little discovered with any degree of certainty, that is, from 150 to 170 degrees of longitude. Captain *Tasman* indeed visited the coast of *New Zealand*, in the latitude of 42 degrees 10 minutes south, and in the longitude of 188 degrees 28 minutes. But excepting this, and the islands of *Rotterdam* and *Amsterdam*, we know very little. If there be any doubts then about the reality of a Southern Continent, it must be with respect to that part of it lying within this third division, through which *Schouten* and *Le Maire* failed without discovering any thing but a few islands. The fourth and last division of the southern pole is from 270 degrees of longitude to the first meridian, within which is included the continent of *South America* and the island of *Terra del Fuego*, the most southern promontory of which is supposed to be *Cape Horn*. This cape, according to the best charts, is situated in the latitude of 56 degrees, beyond which there has been nothing discovered with any degree of certainty on the south-east or the west sides. On the whole, however, it appears, that three continents are already tolerably discovered, which point towards the south pole. Hence it is highly probable there is a fourth lying between the country of *New Zealand*, discovered by Captain *Tasman*, and those lands seen by Captain *Sharpe* and Mr. *Waser* in the *South Seas*. Leaving this matter to the industry of future ages, we will return to that great southern island or continent, by whichever of these names the reader may chuse to call it, which was actually surrounded by *Tasman*, *Dampier*, and in a great measure by *Schouten*, the bounds of which are pretty exactly ascertained.

The climate of New Holland and New Guinea.

THAT the reader may have a further idea of the importance of the country, it will be requisite to say something of the climates in which it is situated. As it lies upon the equinoctial line, and near the forty-fourth degree of south latitude, the longest day in the most northern parts must be 17 hours, and in the southern about 15 hours some odd minutes. Thus it extends from the first to the seventh climate, which shews its situation to be the happiest in the world; the country called *Van Diemen's Land* in every thing resembling the south of *France*. In all countries some parts are observed to be more wholesome and pleasant than others. If we may reason from analogy, we may infer, that the countries situated within two or three degrees of the Tropic of *Capricorn*, which

which passes through the middle of *New Holland*, are the most unhealthy and disagreeable parts of the whole. Here, as the days and nights are always of an equal length, the climate must be hotter than under the line. Two degrees further from the tropic; that is, under the latitude of 27 degrees south, the days are thirteen hours and an half, and the sun twice in their zenith, which must cause a scorching heat for two months, or more; although near the line, or beyond 27 south, that is, in both extremities of the continent, the climate must be equally wholesome and pleasant.

As to the wealth and fertility of this continent, both reason and experience seem to unite in making it one of the happiest countries in the world. Both *de Quiros* and *Dampier* have described it in glowing colours, such as might be thought to flow from the pencil of fancy, if farther experience, and the very nature of the thing, did not support their assertions. The country called by the former *La Australia del Espíritu Santo*, in the latitude of 15° 40' south, he affirms to abound with gold, silver, pearl, mace, nutmegs, and ginger. It is opposite to the country called *Carpentaria*, and, from its situation, gives the strongest credibility to the warm description of the discoverer. Captain *Dampier* speaks of the land about *Cape St. George* and *Port Mountague* in much the same language, but enumerates fewer of the rich commodities, which might probably arise from the superficial view he took of the country; whereas *Quiros* actually resided for some time in the parts he describes, and consequently had better opportunities of being acquainted with the produce. *Schouten* and *Tasman* likewise take notice of nutmegs and ginger, as well as coco-nuts, pisans, &c. which they sow on the coast. It cannot either be supposed, that all those writers were mistaken, or that they concurred in a settled plan of deceiving the public, and imposing on their readers. The perfect harmony between their reports, and the situation of this continent, the trees on the land, and the fish on the coast, corresponding exactly with the trees of those countries, and the fish on those coasts, where these commodities are known to abound within land, strongly intimates a conformity throughout, and take away the least suspicion of their authority and veracity.

If the islands of *Sumatra*, *Java*, and *Borneo*, abound in precious stones, and other valuable commodities, and the *Moluccas* in spices, *New Guinea* and the regions behind must, by a parity of reason, be as plentifully endowed by nature.

If the island of *Madagascar* is so fine, and such a country as all authors speak it; if gold, ivory, and other commodities of great value, are common in the southern part of *Africa*, from *Melinda* down to the *Cape of Good Hope*, and up again to *Cape Gonzalez*, here are the same parallels in *New Zealand*, *New Holland*, and *Carpentaria*. If *Peru* overflows with silver, if all the mountains of *Chili* are filled with gold, the *Brazils* with every sort of wealth, this continent enjoys the benefit of the same position; and therefore whoever thoroughly discovers and settles it, will infallibly be possessed of territories as rich, as fruitful, and as capable of improvement, as the *Moluccas*, the *Cape of Good Hope*, *Peru*, *Chili*, or the *Brazils*, and indeed as any that have hitherto been discovered in any part of the terraqueous globe.

As to the possibility of planting colonies, and establishing settlements here, we must confess, that at first sight considerable difficulties would seem to arise with respect to any *European* nation besides the *Dutch* and *Spaniards*. The former, in particular, might either from *Batavia*, the *Moluccas*, or even from the *Cape of Good Hope*, settle with ease where they thought proper. However, as they have neglected this for near a century, no reason can be given why their conduct should be a rule to other nations. It would likewise be absurd to dread the resentment of the *Hollanders*, for endeavouring to turn to advantage countries which they have so long permitted to lie waste and deserts, at least with respect to *Europe*. The power of the *Dutch* is doubtless very great in the *East Indies*; but the superiority of the *British* marine, with a due exertion of *British* spirit, would not fail of keeping them in awe, and affording all necessary protection to the new colonies. That the *Dutch East India* company would be jealous of such an establishment, and do all in their power to impede its progress, is too obvious from their conduct to the *Dutch West India* company, A. 1722-3. But are we therefore to sit still, and be awed and intimidated by a company! We have reason to thank God that we are now governed by a king who has ever shown an equal regard to the welfare of his people, and the dignity of his crown; who is biased by no connections with *Holland*, or with any other maritime power, that can in the least interfere with the commercial interest of *Great Britain*. If the weak and timid measures of the administration made us relinquish the trade of the *Moluccas*; the popularity, vigour, and integrity, of the present ministers afford the happiest opportunity for retrieving that loss, and giving a more severe blow to *Holland* than all the power of our navy could under the protectorate of *Oliver*, or the indolent

Reasons for
not apprehending the
power of
the Dutch
in India.

incident reign of *Charles* the Second. Perhaps the consequences of the tragical affair of *Amboyna* and *Pooleway* have not ceased, through a series of years, to this moment. The *Dutch* have ever since maintained those islands, and engrossed the whole spice trade. Long possession has now given them a kind of right, which it would be hazardous and expensive to dispute with them, as their garrisons are strong and numerous in their different settlements in the *East Indies*. But they can neither pretend an exclusive right, nor, if they did, could they maintain it in any countries south of the equinoctial. Their dispute with the *Dutch West India* company proves what the general sense of that nation was to the rights of the *East India* company. The decision of the commissioners, who were all civilians, and persons knowing in trade as well as learned in the law, was clear against them, although the influence and power of the *East India* company deterred the *West India* company from attempting to reap the fruits of the verdict given in their favour. We have nothing to fear on that head, our fleets and armies, as well as the justness of the undertaking, would be our defence.

WE cannot do better than present the reader with an abstract of what the new compiler of *Harris's Voyages* says upon this subject. We know the reader will excuse it, on account of the good sense, the public spirit, and true commercial knowledge, so conspicuous in every page of this judicious historian. The first point with respect to a discovery would be, as he observes, to send a Squadron on the coast of *Van Diemen's Land*, and thence round by the coast of *New Guinea*, following the course of Captain *Tasman*. By this the nation who attempted the discovery might possibly acquire a certainty of the commodities, harbours, and manner of commencing a trade, with the Southern Continent. Such a voyage might be finished at a small charge by the *India* company in the space of eight months; nor is there any thing improbable, that the legislature, when disengaged from war, and intent upon the affairs of commerce, may be directed to make such an expedition at the expence of the public. Hence all the back coast of *New Holland* and *New Guinea*, quite to the equinoctial, might be thoroughly examined, the country penetrated by a sufficient force, and certain information be obtained how far a colony settled there might answer the expectations of the best judges. To persons acquainted with the navigation to the *East Indies*, the expedition could neither be thought dangerous or difficult. It is already known, that there are islands every where on the coast, where ships,

*Reasons for
establishing
a commerce
and settle-
ment in the
Southern
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upon such a discovery, might be able to obtain refreshments.

If we reflect upon all the circumstances mentioned in the journals we have quoted, the credit of the several authors, their apparent connexion, and the impossibility of making forgeries coincide so exactly with reason, with experience, and with each other, we must conclude that there is ample evidence of there being a continent and many islands to the south, all rich, fertile, and populous. If a trade to these was opened, the same reason shews that it must be very commodious, and produce as great, or greater advantages, than those which have resulted from the discovery of *America*. Is it not therefore astonishing that this powerful and busy nation should never have undertaken to gratify their curiosity, by the fullest conviction of the state of this continent? Many expeditions have been made to the *South Seas*, but not one for the purpose we have mentioned, unless we except *Dampier's*; much less for effecting a settlement. Indeed no *European* power ever fitted out a squadron adequate to the design, or able to penetrate by force into the bowels of the country. The *English* and *Dutch* have contented themselves with running along the coasts, without venturing to make a descent, either for fear of being overpowered by the inhabitants, or of wanting provisions in their return. *Roggewin*, indeed, made some attempts; but without endeavouring to penetrate farther than the groves of coco-trees, and the skirts of the country. The author of *Roggewin's* journal specifies these as reasons for the miscarriage of that expedition, and lays down the following maxims, which he thinks, if steadily pursued, would greatly assist, if not absolutely effect, this important discovery. "In the first place," says he,

*Maxims
relating to
the proje-
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discoveries
in the
Terra
Australis.*

"such a design is not to be undertaken by one or two ships, but by a squadron; and these too of several kinds, some of force, some tenders, all well-provided, manned, and victualled, for a long voyage. 2dly, The ship's company ought to be composed chiefly of good seamen, whereas hitherto the crews of such vessels have at least had a majority of soldiers on board. In such a voyage it is natural that both should decrease; but the consequence is by no means equal; for if there be seamen enough left, they can make shift to fight; but the land-men, in what numbers soever, will not be able to navigate the ships. 3dly, Some months after the departure of the first squadron, there should be another sent after it, which would prevent the bad effects of the scurvy, and of bad provisions, since it would give an opportunity of shifting crews, and pre-

“nor either Squadron from remaining too long at sea without a convenient supply. 4thly, As it is impossible to foresee the accidents that may occur in a voyage, a certain place of rendezvous should be fixed upon before the Squadron sails, and the captain of each ship be strictly enjoined to repair thither, and continue there for a certain time, to wait for the comforts and junction of the whole Fleet. Lastly, Whoever is intrusted with the chief command of such an expedition, should not be limited or restrained by his commission. Much should be left to his discretion, that he may be able to pursue circumstances, and accommodate himself to contingencies, which it would be impossible to foresee. Upon this, and his own prudence, depends the success of the whole expedition.” Our Journalist had reason to mention this last maxim; for he saw the confusion which attended the limited and strict orders of *Roggewin*, who was forced by his instructions to return to *Batavia* at the very time when he might have entered upon his discoveries with advantage and success.

PROBABLY the reason why no European state has attempted settling colonies in the *Terra Australis* may be, that they all wait till some one begin; which having opened a way, the rest may follow with less hazard and expence; yet what reason is there to suppose that the first discoverer would, in this instance, be less tenacious of his right than the *Spaniards* are of theirs in *Peru*; the *Portuguese* in the *Brazils*, the *French* in *Canada*, the *English* in *Virginia*, and the *Dutch* in the *Moluccas*. The law of nations gives an exclusive right to the first discoverers and colonies, who are the lawful sovereigns of this trade; and, in this case, would soon become the most considerable maritime power in the world.

WITH regard to ourselves, perhaps the greatest difficulty attending the sending a Squadron to *Diemen's Land*, to make such of the necessary inquiries previous to the establishment of settlements, would consist in having a fair and impartial account of the expedition when made; for private interest is so apt to interfere and clash with the good of the public, that it is no easy matter to procure the surest intelligence where so many persons are concerned to prevent it. The instances of the *New Russia* trade, and Captain *Middleton's* voyage for the discovery of a north-west passage, are sufficient proofs of this. The latter of these terminated in a warm dispute whether that passage be discovered or not; the person supposed to have made the discovery maintaining the negative. This

*Proposal
that the
journals be
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authority.*

obstruction might, however, be surmounted by prudent cautions in sending none but men of ability and integrity upon such expeditions, who, on their return, should be obliged to deliver their journals upon oath. The principal officers under him should also be obliged to keep their journals distinct and separate, not to be inspected by the superior; and all of them to be published by authority, that every man might have the liberty of examining them, of proposing his objections, or confirming certain circumstances from reason, from experience, or from history. In short, of giving a full and scrupulous critique upon each journal, that the public might have the clearest information that was possible. From hence would appear the expediency of prosecuting or abandoning the design, experience would be assisted by philosophy, and it, on the other hand, be confirmed by experience. Science and practice would go hand in hand, and the public would be freed from the danger of embarking upon expensive ideal projects, which too frequently are the tools of knaves, and the schemes of the artful and designing.

*Project
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with the
exclusive
right of
making
discoveries
and settle-
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the South-
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If extending this commerce, and settling new colonies, might be thought burthensome to the *India* company, whose trade is already sufficiently great for one corporation; if it should be thought grievous to a company that has purchased her privileges at the expence of a large loan upon low interest, to undertake such an expedition, merely to serve the public, promote the exportation of our manufactures, and increase the number of industrious persons maintained by foreign trade; in that case there can be no objection to putting the project in the hands of the *African* company. As they are in a less flourishing condition, they may probably pursue it with more industry. They have opportunities nearly equal with the others, as the voyage may easily be performed from their settlements in ten months. If the trade was found to answer, it might encourage them to settle a colony in *Madagascar*, from which island the trade to *New Guinea* might very commodiously be conducted. Should it be objected, that the *French* settlements on *Madagascar* met with no success, and soon fell into ruin, we might answer, that the case is widely different. There they began upon a stock raised at exorbitant interest; here they are supposed to set out free at least. There the trade was confined to a narrow compass, and markets forestalled by the *Dutch*, *English*, *Portuguese*, and *Danes*; here it would be carried on with a new discovered country, probably rich in many articles hitherto unknown, as well as in those of the greatest value, now engrossed by the *Dutch*; a country the property of the company.

pany, from which foreigners, and Britons not of the company, are excluded. We cannot, indeed, presume to say how far such a trade might be consistent with their present charter; but we will affirm it might be conducted without interfering at all with the rights of the *East India* company. If then it should be found advantageous to the public, and beneficial to the company, there can be no reason assigned why it should not be secured to them in the most effectual manner.

A VERY small progress in this new commerce would soon restore the reputation of the company, and perhaps ease the nation of the annual expence of maintaining forts and garrisons on the coast of *Africa*, as well as bring a large additional revenue to the crown. Something of this sort is absolutely necessary to justify the charge the public is at. If the trade, for conducting which a company is established, proves, by a change of circumstances, inadequate to the support of that company, and a load upon the government, this ought to be the strongest motive with that company to endeavour the extension of their commerce, the striking out some new branch of trade, which might restore it to its pristine splendor, and put it upon an equality with other corporations. As this hath an apparent right, and fair prospects, there is not the least room to doubt of its meeting with all the countenance and protection of a king and parliament devoted, as the present are, to the good of the public, and every scheme that promises the promoting industry and trade, and increasing the maritime power of *Great Britain*.

SHOULD this project ever take place, perhaps the island *Proposed* of *New Britain* might afford a commodious spot to fix a colony in. The situation, extent, and condition, of that island we have mentioned from *Dampier*. The climate, we have seen, is fine, the vallies fruitful, and the mountains covered with useful wood. It is well-inhabited by a robust, strong, well-limbed race of negroes, daring and bold in many parts of the coast, as *Dampier* experienced; but easily brought into commerce, and even a perfect submission with gentle and good usage. The misfortunes that befel this officer ought to have no weight in the present case; since, though he was an excellent pilot, he appears to have been but an indifferent commander. Besides, the *Roebeck*, in which he sailed, was a worn-out frigate, hardly fit to put to sea: we need not wonder then at the impatience of the crew to return from an expedition, the pursuit of which they saw must be attended with so imminent danger. Yet, after all, he performed the business he was sent upon. By the discovery of *New Britain*,

be thought as an indisputable right to a country, which
 is, or might be made, very valuable. A country is situated,
 that a trade from thence with the *Terra Australis* might
 be carried on in its utmost extent, and with the most va-
 luable islands of the *East Indies* to great emolument and
 profit. In short, all the advantages proposed by a junction
 of the *Dutch East* and *West India* companies would by this
 means be procured to *Great Britain*. Passing a law only, in
 favour of the *African* company, would more than give them
 sufficient credit to equip a Squadron at once capable of se-
 curing the possession of that island, and of giving the public
 such conviction of its importance, as might be requisite to
 obtain farther powers and assistance from the government, if
 that should be found necessary. It would be easy to point
 out some peculiar advantages that would naturally result from
 such a project to the *African* company; but it will be time
 enough to make them universally known, when the com-
 pany shall discover an inclination to prosecute the design.

- Neither the *India* or *African* company should think it
 expedient or consistent with their interest to pursue discove-
 ries, and establish settlements, in the Southern Continent,
 there is yet a third company, within the spirit of whose char-
 ter the prosecution of such a design immediately lies. We
 mean the *South Sea* company, who never, we believe, sent a
 single ship in search of inquiries to the *Terra Australis*, al-
 tho' from the extent of their charter, one would naturally
 imagine this to be the great point proposed in their establish-
 ment. To prove this, we need only lay before the reader the
 limits assigned this company by their charter, which we shall
 do in the words of the sensible author of the *Present State of*
Europe, who, in his revival of *Harris's Collection of Voyages*, has
 fully and clearly stated this matter in a new and uncommon
 manner. The extract from the charter is as follows: "The
 corporation, and their successors, shall for ever be invested
 in the sole trade to and from all the kingdoms and lands
 on the east side of *America*, from the river *Oronoco* to the
 southermost part of *Terra del Fuego*, and on the west side
 thereof from the said southermost part of *Terra del Fuego*,
 through the *South Sea* to the northermost part of *America*,
 and into and through all the countries, islands, and places,
 within the said limits, which are reputed to belong to
Spain, or which shall hereafter be found out, or discovered
 within the limits aforesaid, not exceeding three hundred
 leagues from the continent of *America*; on the said west
 side thereof, except the kingdom of *Brazil*, and such other
 places on the east side of *America* as are now in the posses-

Reasons
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 might
 carry on
 this trade
 consistently
 with the
 spirit of
 their char-
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 without
 prejudice to
 the rights
 of the East
 India
 company.

Chapter II. A History of the Southern Continent.

“ King of the king of Portugal, and the court of Portugal, in the possession of the States General. The said company, and none else, are to trade within the said limits; and if any other persons shall trade to the South Seas, they shall forfeit the ship and goods to a double value, one fourth-part to the crown, another fourth-part to the prosecutor, and the remaining two fourths to the use of the company. And the company shall be the sole owners of the islands, forts, &c. which they shall discover within the said limits, to be held of the crown under an annual rent of an ounce of gold, and of all ships taken as prizes by the said company, and their shipping; and the company may seize by force all other *British* ships trading in those seas.” Our author judiciously observes upon this, that it is impossible for any man to imagine that either these limits should be secured to the company for no purpose in the world, or that these prohibitions and penalties should take place, notwithstanding the company’s never attempting to make use of the powers. Hence he infers, that new discoveries should be made, new plantations settled, and a new trade carried on, by this new corporation, agreeable to the rules prescribed, and for the general benefit of the nation. This, he apprehends, was provided for, and chiefly considered, in putting the trade under the management and direction of a particular company.

AWARE of the objection, that this Southern Continent lies absolutely without the limits prescribed by the charter, and that there is also a proviso in the said charter, which seems absolutely to exclude the *Terra Australis*, he reasons in the following manner: “ In this case,” says he, “ I presume the legislature will not permit the private advantage of any particular company to stand in competition with the good of a whole people. It is upon this principle, I say, that the Southern Continent is within the intention of the *South Sea* company’s charter; because, I presume, the meaning of that charter was to grant them all the commerce in those seas not occupied before by *British* subjects: for if it were otherwise, what a condition should we be in as a maritime power? If a grant does not oblige a company to carry on a trade within the limits of that company’s charter, and is at the same time of force to preclude all the subjects of this nation from the right they before had to trade to those limits, such a law is plainly destructive of the national interest, and to commerce in general. I therefore suppose that if the *South Sea* company should think proper to revive their trade in the manner I propose, “ this

"this proviso could be explained by parliament to mean no more than to exclude the *South Sea* company from settling or trading in or to any place settled in or traded to by the *East India* company. As this interpretation would secure to each company its rights, and at the same time reconcile the laws for establishing them to the general interest of trade and the nation, there is great reason to believe it to be the intention of the legislature." We have insisted the longer upon this point, as we believe it to be peculiar to the author we have quoted, and of such importance, that, without it is understood in the sense he explains it, there is an end to all hopes of extending trade on this side, which is perhaps the only side on which there is the least probability it can ever be extended. For as to the north-west passage into the *South Seas*, that seems to be blocked up by the rights of another company; according, therefore, to the letter of our laws, each company is to enjoy its full rights and privileges without infraction, whilst the nation is to have no rights at all.

Arguments in support of this proposal by the editor of Harris's Voyages.

If, therefore, the settling of the Southern Continent should devolve upon the *South Sea* company, as an equivalent for the loss of their *Affiento* contract, there can be no doubt but it may as well be executed by them as by any others. The trade, as far as we are able to see, may be carried on without the least prejudice to the rights of either the *India* or the *African* companies. It is true that if once a considerable settlement was established in the southern part of the *Terra Australis*, the company then might fall into a larger commerce in the most valuable *East India* goods, very probably gold, spices, &c. yet would not these fall within the exclusive proviso of their charter. This proviso undoubtedly must have been intended to prevent their trading in such goods as are brought hither by our *East India* company. But is there any difference, with respect to that company, between our being supplied with cloves, cinnamon, mace, or nutmegs, by the *South Sea* company, and our receiving them from *Holland*? They would certainly arrive in *Europe* some months sooner by *Cape Horne* than by the *Cape of Good Hope*, and consequently cheaper. But if it should still be insisted, that the *South Sea* company should by no means meddle with *East India* commodities, we should be glad to know why the *West India* merchants are permitted to import coffee from *Jamaica*, when it is well known that the *East India* company can supply the whole demand of the kingdom from *Mocha*? Should it be answered, that the *Jamaica* coffee comes cheaper, and is the growth of our own plantations, the reply is ready, that

that these spices will not only be cheaper, but better, and purchased by our own manufactures; which are reasons perhaps as strong as the others.

We have all the assurances that can possibly be obtained in a point of this nature, that spices actually grow in some parts of the Southern Continent. *Quiros* met with spices of all kinds in the country he discovered. *Schouten* and *Le Maire* saw ginger and nutmegs; so did *Dampier*; and the author of *Roggewin's* journal asserts, that the free burghesses of *Amboyna*, and the other islands of the *Moluccas*, make an annual trading voyage for nutmegs to *New Guiney*.

We have hinted before, that had the nation, in the last war with *Spain*, thought of prosecuting the discoveries in the *South Seas*, a settlement might commodiously be made in *Juan Fernandez*, which would equally assist the design of planting colonies, and carrying on a successful commerce with the *Terra Australis*. Perhaps it might be possible still to effect this by a reasonable consideration and equivalent to the crown of *Spain*. The chief difficulty would be to persuade the *Spaniards*, that our commerce with the Southern continent would produce no inconvenience to their trade with the *Philippines*, which we are fully of opinion it would not, or if it did, would be compensated by the advantages it would bring to the *Spanish* dominions in *Mexico* and *Peru*.

UPON the whole it is evident, that if a proper traffick *Proposals* with the Southern Continent was opened by means either of for settling a settlement in the intermediate island of *Juan Fernandez*, or the first colony either in *New Britain*, these three consequences must necessarily result from it. 1st, That a new trade would be opened, which would consume a great part of the produce and manufactures of *Great Britain*, which cannot at present be brought to any market; or if they can, at least not to so good a mart as if there were a greater demand. 2dly, It would render this navigation, which at present is so uncommon, and consequently so terrible to us, easy and familiar. This might be attended with advantages that cannot be foreseen, especially since there is, as we before observed, another Southern Continent still undiscovered. 3dly, It would greatly increase our shipping and *seamen*, which are the true and natural bulwarks of this country, extend our naval power, make our marine formidable, and raise the reputation of the nation. The most distant prospect of such blessings, one would think, would warm the soul of the most dastardly, who has the smallest regard for his country, and inspire him with courage to brave all dangers, and to despise the imputations that may be laid upon him as a visionary projector
for

for taking such pains about a matter that can never turn out to his private advantage (A).

IT is well known what prodigious profits arise from the exportation of the most frivolous toys, in exchange for the commodities of foreign countries, especially the *Indies*, where the natives are unacquainted with the value of the merchandizes they deal in. It is the rivalry of nations only which gives them any notion of raising their price. When these savages perceive the *Europeans* striving to forestall and anticipate the markets, it is natural for them to conclude they must have reason for this conduct, and consequently to make their advantage of it. But where one nation only, and the trade of that nation is under the direction of a company, then it is no difficult matter to keep the merchandize at the first price. No emulation appearing, the natives must remain in perpetual ignorance of the value of the goods they give and receive.

Philosophical conjectures concerning the inhabitants of the Southern Continent.

THE people of the Southern Continent, in particular, would seem to be possessed of a very peculiar sort of philosophy, which consists in calculating whether the fatigue of procuring certain conveniencies of life does not overbalance all the satisfaction they afford. Deciding this matter in the affirmative, they pass their time in an indolence and sloth truly beastly. No foresight, no thought for to-morrow is taken. They live upon what the earth puts forth spontaneously, clothed with no other dress than what nature afforded, insensible to the rigour of seasons, the burning sun of the day, and the sickly damps of the night, and equally hardened to every suggestion of shame, decency, and what nature would seem to dictate. We speak only of some of the inhabitants of the continent of *New Holland*, described by *Dampier*. They esteem the *Europeans* great blunderers in political and philosophical arithmetic, for taking such pains to procure things which custom only renders necessary. But how much soever attached to sloth, ignorance, and prejudices, they may be, it is not to be doubted but the establishment of colonies would soon gain them over to a more rational method of acting and thinking. The natural promptitude to society, observ-

(A) The greater part of these reflections we found scattered up and down in the new edition of *Harris's* voyages, and the *French* collection of voyages to the *South Sea*. We arrogate to ourselves, therefore, little merit besides that of having here presented them in one collected view, and adapted them to the present times, and the purpose of our history.

able in all men, would make this task both easy and meritorious; for what greater benevolence can be exerted than in impressing the marks of religion, virtue, and knowledge, upon the minds of whole nations plunged in the deepest ignorance, sloth, and barbarity?

BUT not to insist upon a topic self-evident, we shall beg leave to add a conjecture which seems to be corroborated by the strong similitude in features, complexion, and manners, between the inhabitants of *New Guinea* and the natives of the coast of *Africa*. It is, that the thick-lipped, woolly-headed negroes of both, are the primitive natives, the *Aborigines* of the Torrid Zone, a species of men more stupid, savage, and brutal, than any other on the globe. That these formed, according to the poet's expression, in a more perfect manner, and finer organization,

Quis meliore luto finxit præcordia Titan,

profiting by the natural advantages given them, attacked and drove the original negroes from their possessions in *Asia*, forcing them to conceal themselves in inaccessible places, where they gradually diminish and decrease. This conjecture will account for the great variety of different people found on the islands, and possessing the continent of *New Holland* and *New Guinea*. If we admit that this variety existed from the first peopling of both, it will destroy all the philosophy hitherto laid down concerning national character. This problem has ever been solved by the influence of the climate, as well as the manners and customs prevalent among each. But, in these islands, the natives of one shall in every respect resemble the *African* negroes, while those of another island, not five leagues distant, shall have *European* features, long black hair, a sprightliness of wit and understanding, as well as a decorum of manners, intirely unknown to the former. Yet do they all live in the same climate, under the same parallels, while the characters of each are as strongly marked as those of the most polished but distant *European* nations. What seems to confirm our conjecture is, that those negroes are found in countries long possessed by *Europeans* or *Asiatics*. In *America* they are greatly decreased since the conquests of the *Spaniards*. In *Africa* they are driven from all the coasts possessed by *Europeans*. In *Asia* they are no-where to be found but south of the equinoctial, except in the south end of *Madagascar*, and those parts of *Monopotapa*, *Casseres*, *Simbabas*, and the country of the *Hottentots*, south of the line. Sometimes the primitive inhabitants are to be met with in the interior

terior and remote parts of great islands. Upon the whole, perhaps the continents of *New Holland* and *New Guiney* are the only parts of the known world where they are found absolute masters of their first possessions.

It would really be a curious research to examine by a scrupulous philosophy the primitive nature of man ; to make experiments upon those untutored savages ; to watch what ideas the human organization, the fingers and toes, would excite ; to observe how far this physical sensibility might be the cause of ideas, as the ingenious M. *Helvetius* asserts ; and, in short, to discover whether these negroes are really endowed with the same powers and faculties as the rest of mankind, or whether they are not a distinct species, whose minds are incapable of receiving all the advantages of culture and education, from a defect in the powers of reflection, or the minuter animal organization. But these are inquiries to be left to philosophers. The province of history is to record things as they are, without entering upon nice disquisitions and subtle distinctions. The present occasion, however, so fairly offered itself, that we could not well avoid hinting this conjecture, which we leave to be prosecuted by others, who have more leisure and ability.

Introduction to the history of the circumnavigators, and the reason of inserting an account of them in this place.

HAVING now finished all that is material concerning the discoveries made in the *Terra Australis* ; having recited whatever is to be found concerning the climate, soil, produce, people, their manners, customs, complexion, and other circumstances, we shall proceed to lay before the reader a short view of the labours of the principal circumnavigators, which we apprehend will be an useful supplement to our history of the *East Indies* and Southern Continent, and no unapt introduction to our account of *America*. In this particular, perhaps it is that the moderns can boast of their only, at least their greatest, superiority over the antients ; we mean in discoveries made of new worlds by the application of mathematics and astronomy ; by a true knowledge of the terraqueous globe, and great improvements in navigation, from the right and happy use of fortuitous principles. This we cannot but esteem as one of the noble achievements of the human intellect, at least with respect to judicious reasoning upon axioms once established, however those axioms might be the result of accident and chance. It is plain from the astronomical tables, calculations of eclipses, and many other particulars remaining in the works of *Ptolemy*, *Archimedes*, and *Hipparchus*, that the antients had no true idea of the figure of the earth ; that they were extremely ignorant in practical astronomy, and that they must ever remain children in navigation with-

our

out a thorough knowledge of the properties of the loadstone. With respect to the figure of the earth, their sentiments were no less various and absurd. One imagined it hollow like a dish; another taught that it was flat, like a table; a third believed it was erect, like a stone column or pillar; and a fourth, more extravagant if possible than any of the former, affirmed that it floated like a bowl on the water. Some described it as approaching to the figure of a drum; and some of the earliest Christian writers imagined the earth was infinitely extended downwards; building this notion upon sacred authority, or rather wrestling holy writ in support of their idle conjecture (B). From this diversity of opinions it is evident the ancients could infer nothing justly either with respect to the parts undiscovered of the terraqueous globe, or the rational means of discovering them. To this a true idea of the figure of the earth was necessary, without which every hypothesis must be vain, idle, and false. True it is that the moderns themselves, after the discovery of *America* and the *East Indies*, after navigation was brought to its utmost perfection, the magnet discovered, and science arrived at a great height, still differed with regard to the figure of the earth. Some held it to be an oblate, others an oblong sphere. But these differences, although they account variously for some curious problems in astronomy, yet have no influence on the general principles either of astronomy or the art and theory of sailing.

As to astronomy, *Hipparchus* was the first philosopher who framed a catalogue of the fixed stars, about 150 years before the Christian æra. His tables were corrected by the famous *Ptolemy*, about 300 years after, and a system erected upon his principles, which lasted for a great number of years, altho' future ages discovered it replete with absurdities and errors. Later discoveries were made by the use of the telescope, an instrument entirely unknown to *Hipparchus* and *Ptolemy*, and even to *Tycho Brahe*, the famous *Dane*; yet did this philosopher arrive within two minutes of the true longitude and latitude; whereas the former generally erred half a degree in both; a circumstance which every one knows must greatly

(B) Those philosophers, in the order in which we have enumerated their sentiments, were *Democritus*, *Anaximenes*, *Anaximander*, *Thales*, *Leucippus*, *Lactantius*, and *Augustine*. The sentiments of most of those

sages are to be found in *Diogenes Laertius* and *Stanley's Lives of the philosophers*. It would be tedious, however, to refer to every page whence they may be collected.

affect the theory of navigation. But the antients chiefly failed in not being able to determine the four cardinal points, and each of the intermediate ones, with any tolerable degree of accuracy. The necessity they were under of coasting along the shore, having no certain criterion for the north and south poles, made their voyages very limited. In the day, indeed, they were able to find a meridian line by the sun's rising and setting; at night the *Urfa Major*, and the pole-star in its tail, pointed out the north; but a cloudy sky deprived them of the benefit of this expedient. Another method used by the antients was, by observing the direction they had run in; for knowing first the course in which they had set out, they kept an exact register of the inflections and variations of that course; a method equally tedious, perplexed, and precarious, as a storm, a strong current, or any such accident, immediately destroyed the whole fruits of their labour.

Of the modern improvements in astronomy and navigation.

By the application of the loadstone, and the nice theory of the needle, all those inconveniencies are removed; the meridian line is known with equal ease and certainty; the mariner is enabled to quit the old and timid manner, to steer boldly into the wide ocean, and to force his passage to the most distant parts of the globe by the shortest, safest, and most expeditious ways imaginable. Such was the invention which enabled the *Portuguese*, in the beginning of the 15th century, to make prodigious voyages and discoveries in the east. The success attending their endeavours gave rise to that series of voyages and travels, which soon became no less advantageous to commerce than to society and science in general. The fables of the antients have been supplanted by true history; every part of the globe is found to be inhabited; the superstition of antiquity, with respect to giants, *anthrophagi*, and *men whose heads did grow beneath their shoulders*, have been refuted; the disproportion between the elements of water and earth, less than was imagined; and the products of the torrid and frigid zones more valuable and rich than those of temperate climates, contrary to the universal supposition. We therefore imagine it will not be disagreeable to the reader, that the history of the first circumnavigators be here presented in one collected view, as he will hence be able to determine with accuracy what improvements have been made in the theory of navigation, in astronomy, and even the art of building and navigating ships. It will at the same time reflect considerable light upon the discoveries in the *East Indies*, which our plan obliged us hitherto to relate diffusely, and only as it regarded the several *European* nations trading thither; but more particularly

early

larly on the means by which the vast discovery of the *Terra Australis* and *America* were made. The method we shall follow is, to recite the material circumstances from the best accounts of those circumnavigators we have; giving at the same time a short history of the lives of those eminent men. Only the principal shall be selected, and those placed according to their dates, with a regular chronology, we shall endeavour to make equally useful and entertaining. We shall distinguish the causes, the consequences, the several improvements in the order of time in which they happened; taking notice likewise of what remains to be done by others, inspired to emulation by the industry, success, and great reputation acquired by those generous discoverers.

As it is universally believed that *Don Christopher Columbus* first formed an idea of the possibility of sailing round the globe; as he first, by his just and powerful arguments, engaged all the learned in his sentiments, and as he afterwards proved that his theory corresponded not only with speculation and the then received system of the world, but with practice too; we shall begin with an account of this philosopher and hero, whose history is scarcely known to this day, thro' the gross misrepresentations of some material facts. The strong prejudices with which he had to combat, the reluctance of all the princes in *Europe* to enter into his measures, and the perseverance with which he pursued them, in contempt of difficulties, dangers, and in spite of the malice of all his enemies, are circumstances we shall dwell upon, as they cannot fail both of engaging the heart of the reader, as well as improving his understanding, as they afford him a striking example to what a pitch of greatness the human mind is capable of arriving by constancy, firmness, and an invariable propensity to what it judges to be virtue.

S E C T. VII.

Containing an account of the life and discoveries of Don Christopher Columbus a Genoese; his various appointments at the court of Spain; and, finally, his death, owing to the malice, rancour, and envy, of his enemies. Also the life and rise of the celebrated Sir Francis Drake; his several exploits against the Spaniards in the South Seas; the endeavour of his enemies to depreciate his merit; the high sense of his conduct which the queen had; concluding with his death and vindication.

An account of the life, discoveries and death of Columbus, with a vindication of his character.

THE life of Don Christopher Columbus was written by his son Don Ferdinand, who acquaints us, that he was descended of an antient family in the territory of the state of Genoa, but does not determine either the time or the particular place of his birth (A). Christopher had shewn an early passion for the sea, he studied geography and navigation with an uncommon avidity, and, when he was very young, distinguished the extraordinary progress he had made by some charts he laid down after a new method, and several projects he began to frame. The Portuguese were at this time the most famous maritime power in Europe; a circumstance which induced Columbus to visit Portugal, where he married, settled, and commenced a trader to the coast of Guiney. By his wife Philippa Muni. de Passyrells he had children, which whetted his ardour to increase his fortune by a diligent application to trade, but by means peculiar to himself. His voyages to Guiney were subordinate only to his more extended views, of which he never lost sight from the time he had first framed his idea of the terraqueous globe. For this purpose he made himself a tolerable proficient in the Latin tongue, and in several other languages, but gave his chief attention to the mathematics, on which he knew the success of his projects depended. During his whole life he main-

* PUCHAS, vol 1 P. ii. p. 9.

(A) The Spanish writers give in his preface to that writer, seems to think that *Navi* claims with justice the honour of this great man's birth. But these disagreements we rather mention out of a desire to gratify the curiosity of the reader, than as a matter of any importance.

trained

tained the reputation of a man sober, temperate, grave, and devout, of a clear understanding, studious but enterprising, and indefatigable in his pursuits^b.

HIS close application to mathematics and maritime affairs, joined possibly to the relations of mariners he had heard, induced him first to think of new discoveries, though the jealousy of the *Spaniards* has given an invidious turn to this part of his life, and derogated all in their power from his glory, for no other reason than that he was not their countryman. *Mariana* tells us, that *Martin Vincent*, a pilot, informed *Columbus*, when very young, that he was once carried four hundred and fifty leagues west of *Cape St. Vincent*, where he took up a piece of wood wrought by man's hand, and, as far as he could judge, without iron, which he concluded must have come from some western island. *Pedro Correa* had likewise told him, that he had seen at *Puerto Santo* a similar piece of timber driven thither by the westerly winds. He also sent *Columbus* some large canes, containing in each knot about two gallons of water, which he reasonably supposed to be the growth of some country to the west, from the winds having set in that quarter for a course of several weeks. To this was added the relation of the inhabitants of the *Azores*, who affirmed that strong west and north-west winds had often brought upon the coasts of *Graciosa* and *Fayal* certain large pine trees, canoes formed of the trunk of a tree, and one time two dead bodies of a different complexion and larger faces than any they had ever beheld^c. Other circumstances of a similar nature are mentioned by the *Spanish* writers, which, instead of diminishing the character of *Columbus*, rather magnify it, by shewing how piercing a wit, how judicious an observer of occurrences, he must have been, who, upon so slender and trivial accidents, could build a project so noble, so useful, and so extensive, as that of the discovery of a fourth part of the globe (B). The fact, however,

^b GOMARA, Hist. Gen. c. 14.
^c HERRERO, dec. 1.

^c Apud LACHAS, p. 9.

(B) The words of *Petrarch* in his consideration of the globe, and the harmony observable thro' every part of it then known. Hence *Columbus* justly concluded, that the want of this harmony in any point of view was the strongest argument that the whole was not discovered, and that whatever was requisite to

ever, upon which the greatest stress is laid, is, that, A. 1484, one *Alonso Sanchez*, of *Huelva*, in the country, of *Niabila*, died in the house of *Columbus*, in the island of *Tercera*, leaving him all his papers, whence he acquired those lights that directed him in his future great undertakings. *Sanchez* had traded for many years from *Spain* to the *Canaries*, and thence to *Madeira*. In his last voyage from *Madeira* he was carried out to sea, and, after a continued course for twenty-nine days, arrived at a certain island supposed to be *Hispaniola*, where he landed, and took an observation. He kept an exact journal of all the occurrences in his voyage, which, say the detractors of *Columbus*, afforded him the chief materials for all the discoveries he afterwards made. From hence, say they, he had not only intelligible hints, but a direct plan, a course chalked out for his future operations. But what destroys the credibility of this plausible tale is, that *Columbus* had actually perfected his scheme, and offered it to his countrymen the *Genoese* in the beginning of the year, when *Sanchez* is said to have begun his voyage. Besides, he offered no testimonies from experience; his arguments were founded upon science, deep thought, and pure reason. As the figure of the earth was spherical, it was probable, he said, that the continent on one side was balanced by an equal quantity of land on the other. That as the *Portuguese* had first discovered islands, and then a vast tract of country, by sailing east, it was in a manner certain, that, by a western course, they should fall in with other islands and another continent. That this was confirmed by the observation in the *Cispe de Verd* islands, that the winds blow for a stated time from the west, which must be owing to a great tract of

establish, that harmony was the part concealed. "*Attollite mentem*," says *Peter Martyr*, "*audite, sapientissime adjuvantes, novum adventum. Meminitis Cololum Ligurum institisse in Castris apud Reges de percurrendo per occidentem antipodes, novo terrarum hemispherio meminisse oportet. Qua de re vobiscum aliquando attulimus; nec sine vestro, ut arbitrator, consilio, rem hic oggrefius est*" (1). But the accounts

given of this affair are so various, that it is difficult to fix upon the most genuine. Every writer speaks of *Columbus*, according to his own prejudices, either national or personal. Some of his friends go so far as to affirm, that the utmost pains were taken to render his design abortive, and to blast his reputation, because it was not the interest of the *Portuguese* that this method of discovery by the *West* should be pursued.

land on that side; concluding, that this discovery, when ascertained, would be equal in glory, in producing wealth, increasing their commerce, navigation, and industry, as that of the *East Indies*, which at that time was the admiration and wonder of all *Europe*.

HENCE it is evident, that though *Columbus* did not actually surround the globe, yet that he was the first who suggested the possibility of such a voyage, who attempted it, and pointed out the means by which it was afterwards effected. Hence also it appears how little he borrowed from the narratives of mariners, of what little use experience could have been to him, and, in short, that his great plan was erected intirely upon a rational idea, an happy turn of thinking, and a sound judgment; that it was a fine theory consonant to reason, but at the same time confirmed by no trials or experiments whatever. The states of *Genoa*, having rejected his proposal, as much beyond their power, and likely to incur the resentment of several maritime princes, *Columbus* presented it to *John* the Second, of *Portugal*, in whose dominions he had resided for a number of years. His majesty appointed commissioners to treat with him, to examine his plan, and give in their sentiments to his privy-council. So treacherously did this board execute their office, that, after their artifice had succeeded in drawing out of *Columbus* his whole sentiments of the project, they advised the king to send a ship to make trial whether it was practicable, endeavouring by every low and mean artifice to rob *Columbus* both of the glory and advantage that might result from the success of the enterprize. The design, however, miscarried through accident, want of courage and conduct in the persons employed. *Columbus* discovered the arts made use of to sap his fortune and reputation; and so highly was he incensed at it, that he refused to treat a second time with the king, though his majesty earnestly desired it, resolving to apply to the court of *London* for means to prosecute his plan.

WITH this view he dispatched his brother *Bartholomew Columbus* with proper instructions to *Henry* the VIIth, not doubting but that wise monarch would readily embrace a proposal so manifestly tending to his advantage; but *Bartholomew* was so unfortunate as to fall into the hands of pirates, by whom he was stripped of every thing, in which poor condition he arrived in *England*. After some time spent in the utmost distress, he at length found means, *A. 1488*, to have his proposals communicated to his majesty. They were received with a graciousness and warmth becoming a prudent prince;

prince; an agreement was struck up with *Bartholomew*, in the name of his brother, and all the reason in the world given him to believe that his journey to *England* would be crowned with success (C).

Colum-
bus goes
into Spain,
and meets
numberless
disappoint-
ments.

CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS, in the mean time, hearing of the misfortunes of his brother at sea, repaired to the court of *Spain*, where he conferred with *Martin Alonso Pinçon*, one of the ablest mariners of his time, and soon made him so thoroughly apprehend the force of his arguments, that *Pinçon* offered to attend him in the voyage, if he could bring his project to bear. The next application of *Columbus* was to *Juan Peres de Marcheno*, a *Franciscan* frier, in great repute for his skill in astronomy and geography. *Marcheno* was not only convinced of the propriety and rectitude of *Columbus's* scheme, but indefatigable likewise in promoting it; and to him it is in a great measure owing that any countenance was ever shewn to it. He first recommended it to two of the first grandees in *Spain*, the dukes de *Medina Sidonia* and *Medina Celi*. These noblemen, although they did not patronize *Columbus* with that warmth which his merit so well deserved, yet shewed him great respect, and even countenanced his application to *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*, their Catholic Majesties, induced by no other motives than the steadiness, gravity, integrity, and upright conduct, which they observed in our great discoverer. Nor was the assistance of his old friend the frier wanting upon this occasion, for he furnished him with the strongest recommendations to the queen's confessor *Ferdinand Tolavera*, a man of probity and erudition, of considerable weight and influence with their majesties. By means of this priest was it, that *Columbus*, amidst the persecutions of malice, envy, and national

* HERRERA, d. i. l. i. c. 2.

(C) From this account, which may with equal reason assert - we find in ~~our~~ *English* historians, and particularly in the collections of *Hacklutt* and *Purchas*, as well as in *Owen's* *History of the East-India Company*, it would appear, that the title of the *English* to the new world is prior to that of the *Spaniards*. If they plead against this claim the actual discovery of the islands, we

the same arguments against them with respect to the continent. However, as this is a point now out of the question, by the division of both what has been made, and confirmed by long possession, we shall not trouble our readers with a detail of the dispute.

(2) *Civico Hist. del Ind. lib. ii. c. 5.*

prejudice, at length accomplished his design. To so high a pitch were these invidious artifices carried, that he had frequent intentions to leave the court of *Spain*, and try his fortune in *France*; but he was diverted by the frier, the confessor, and Don *Alphonso di Quintaniglia*, auditor of the revenue, a sensible judicious man, who had taken a liking to *Columbus*, entertained him at his table, and supplied him with money and necessaries^c. Soon after the auditor introducing him to the archbishop of *Toledo*, and the prelate entering properly into the character of *Columbus*, his affairs began to wear a more favourable aspect. Queen *Isabel* so warmly interested herself in his behalf, that only two obstructions remained to be surmounted, these were, the expence that would attend the equipping a necessary force, and the high demands of *Columbus*. As to the first, it amounted to no great sum; but so exhausted was the *Spanish* treasury by the long wars with the *Moors*, that some writers affirm the queen offered to pawn her jewels to make up the sum. This difficulty was at length removed by Don *Lewis di St. Angelo*, an officer of the revenue, who advanced the greatest part of the money. As to the other difficulty, it was overcome by the admirable constancy of *Columbus*, who would abate nothing of his first terms, viz. being made viceroy and admiral of the land and seas he should discover, and intitled to a tenth part of the clear profits that should redound to their majesties from the success of his labours. This he obtained; and the articles of agreement were signed at *Santa Fe*, in the kingdom of *Granada*, *A. C.* 1492 d.

PRELIMINARIES being thus adjusted, three ships were assigned him, the *Santa Maria*, which *Oviedo* calls the *Gallega*, commanded by *Columbus* in person; the *Pinta*, *Alonso* with *Pinçon*, master; and the *Nana*, *Vincent Tannes Pinçon*, brother to the above-named captain, commander. This Vincent sailed in advanced *Columbus's* proportion of the expence, which, according to the articles stipulated, was one fourth. The admiral's ship was a carrack, or decked ship; the others caravels, or open vessels; and the whole crews amounted to no more than ninety men, according to *Herrera*, altho' *Peter Martyr*, and other historians contemporary with *Columbus*, make his complement to consist of 120 seamen; a force indeed very inadequate to the dangers he was about to encounter. Towards the end of *July*, *A.* 1492, he embarked at *Palos*, and weighed anchor on the 3d of *August*. On the

^c J. DE BARROS, d. i. l. iii. c. 11. apud Purchas, T. i. l. ii. f. 3. ^e HERRERA, ubi supra. HARRIS, T. i. l. i. c. 1.

4th the *Pinta's* rudder got loose, which obliged them to put again into port; an accident that was interpreted into a bad omen by the seamen, but regarded by *Columbus* in no other light than as it retarded his project. He told the sailors, that no omen was unfortunate where the designs were just, brave, and public-spirited. He bestowed great pains in inspiring them with courage, with just notions of the enterprise they were upon, and with the true principles of navigation and geography, himself performing the office of a tutor, as well as of a commander. By the 11th of this month he had sight of the *Canaries*, where he continued instructing and refreshing his men till the 7th of *September*, when he put again to sea. No sooner had the fleet lost sight of land, than the spirits of the seamen began to sink, notwithstanding all the endeavours of *Columbus* to animate and rouse their courage. They now began to esteem it the project of a rash desperado, and an ideal plan, which must soon hurry them into perdition. But *Columbus* still inflexibly proceeded with a calm resolution, and undaunted courage and presence of mind, which seemed to work a happy effect upon the minds of the greater part of the crew. He even deceived them in their reckonings, persuading the seamen that they had not passed such a tract of ocean, or got at so great a distance from land, as they imagined. The 14th he took notice of the variation of the needle, which was the first time that phenomenon had fallen under observation. Two days after, grass and herbs, with a great number of grasshoppers and insects, were seen floating by the water, and this he interpreted into a prognostic that land was not far off. For some days following, the same presages, together with sea fowl, and other occurrences, confirmed their conjectures, and raised the spirits and expectations of the drooping mariners^h. In this train stood affairs, with a favourable gale astern, till the twenty-second, when the wind came to S. S. W. This was no sooner observed by the seamen, than they concluded that God was displeased with the hardy attempt. They reproached *Columbus* with the most opprobrious and vilifying language; nor did they even spare the sacred persons of their Catholic Majesties, who had sent them upon this foolish enterprise, at the instigation of a specious and artful foreigner: they even threatened to throw *Columbus* overboard if he did not immediately alter his course, and make the best of his way home. All this he bore with the patience of a philosopher, and the undiminished resolution of a soldier. He reasoned with his

the variation of the compass first observed.

^h OVENDO Hist. del Ind. l. ii. c. 5. PURCHAS, T. i. l. ii. c. 1. l. iv.

men in the calmest manner, answered their abuse in the mildest and gentlest terms, promised them large rewards if they would persevere in a scheme no less honourable and advantageous to themselves than to him; and at last concluded with a solemn promise to return, if, at the end of three days, land was not discovered. With this prudent conduct, and on these conditions, the mutiny was for that time appeased. Before one day out of the three agreed upon was expired, Columbus perceived by the sun setting, that land was nigh, whereupon he slackened sail, acquainted the crews with the reasons upon which his conjecture was founded; and that same night discovered a fire, to the great joy of all on board. *He discovered land.* About midnight *Rodrigo di Niara* discovered land, which they found to be an island fifteen leagues in circumference, one of the *Lucayas*, called by the natives *Guanahani*, but by Columbus *San Salvador*, situated about 950 leagues from the *Canaries*. Upon going on shore they sung *Te Deum*, and took solemn possession of the island in the name of their Catholic Majesties. The natives, who were themselves naked, greatly wondered at the dress and figure of the *Spaniards*, but much more at the ships, which they took to be large animals. They were of an ordinary stature, well proportioned, their complexion olive, but painted of various colours; a custom observed to prevail among the original inhabitants of many of the islands of the *East Indies*, the Southern Continent, as well as of *America*. They were wholly ignorant of the use of iron, and the nature of the weapons, innocently rubbing their hands against the edges of the *Spanish* swords. In their noses and ears they wore gold rings, which they said came from the south, where there was a king very powerful, and his subjects rich in this kind of metal. On the 15th of *October* the *Spaniards* put to sea, and *La Con* arrived at another island distant about seven leagues from the ception former. This they called *Santa Maria de la Concepcion*, *discovered*. The 17th they went to *Ferdinanda*, the women of which were covered from the waist to the knee with cotton petticoats. Soon after they touched at another island, to which they gave the name *Isabella*, in honour of her Catholic Majesty, who had been so great a promoter of the expedition. Of this, as of all the former, they took solemn possession, using the natives with the most obliging kindness, and presenting them with glass beads, and other baubles, so highly prized among the *Indians*.

¹ PURCHAS, vol. i. l. ii. c. 4. HERREERA, ubi supra.

Cuba discovered.

FROM hence *Columbus* proceeded to *Cuba*, which island the natives of *Ferdinanda* and *Isabella* told him abounded with gold and pearls. Upon his arrival here, two *Indians* were dispatched to examine the country. After travelling some time, they came to a village containing about fifty houses, where they were kindly welcomed by the natives. As the *Spaniards* went thither, they were honoured with incense; the simple natives believing them to be deities; a notion they soon found reason to retract. They made offerings to them of bread and roots, kissed their hands and feet, and performed every other possible act of devotion and adoration. In this country the *Spaniards* saw cotton spring up spontaneously, without any sort of care or culture, and variety of uncommon trees and birds, with which they were wholly unacquainted. What the *Spaniards* chiefly regarded was the precious metal which the *Indians* wore in their noses. After this they made all possible inquiry; to which the natives constantly replied, *Cubmaroun*, meaning that it was found in the middle of *Cuba*; but a word the *Spaniards* interpreted into a different sense, imagining they talked of the *Chan of Cathay*. Before the departure of *Columbus* from *Cuba*, *Martin Alonso Pinçon*, his former friend, becoming jealous of his success, and fearing lest his reputation might be wholly absorbed in the glory the admiral would acquire from such unexpected discoveries, parted with him, in pursuit of honour which could not be shared with him. After this *Columbus* sailed for *Hispaniola*, which at that time the natives called *Hayti*. Here he took a woman, whom he used with great tenderness, and, by engaging her affections, rendered her an useful agent with the rest of the natives. During his residence in *Hispaniola*, he entered into the most familiar correspondence with the inhabitants. By the report of the female *Indian*, they had taken so great a liking to the *Spaniards*, that the king *Guacanagari* often invited *Columbus* on shore, and entertained a high respect and warm friendship for him, and the other seamen. Here *Columbus* built a fort, to maintain the *Spanish* pretensions, in which putting a garison of 38 soldiers, he prepared for his return to *Spain*. Before this he effected a reconciliation with *Pinçon*, by means of a letter carried by an *Indian*, who was astonished to find the *Europeans* could convey their sentiments in a scrap of paper, not doubting but it must be thro' the mediation of some deity. *Columbus* left some regulations with the garison, and a strict charge to live in friendship and harmony with the natives; upon which he set sail for *Spain*. On his arrival he immediately went to court, where he was graciously received by the queen, and made to sit down in her

Nativity
Fort built
in Hispaniola.

her presence; an honour the highest that could be conferred on a subject b.

COLUMBUS, on his return, was persuaded that the places he had discovered were islands on the opposite side of that continent to which the *Portuguese* traded. This was consonant to the system he had set out upon, and to the idea of the terraqueous globe he formed to himself. For this reason, therefore, he gave those islands the appellation of *West Indies*. He made several curious astronomical observations, great improvements in navigation, and inspired the *Spaniards* with courage to trust themselves in unknown seas, by this voyage. In his way home, *Columbus*, to preserve the memory of this discovery, in case he was shipwrecked, carefully wrote a journal of every minute particular. This he wound carefully in a cere-cloth, and put into a close barrel, to be thrown into the sea, if any accident had befallen the ship. From the same motive it was, that, before his second voyage, he drew an exact chart of his discoveries, which he put into the hands of his son.

THE success of this first attempt determined their Catholic Majesties to send him back the following autumn, on the same pursuit, with a squadron of 18 sail. Of the particulars of this voyage we have no account, farther than that the first skirmishes between the *Spaniards* and *Indians* happened on this occasion; that the *Indian* monarch purchased a reconciliation at the price of a golden crown, which he sent to *Columbus*, with great store of provision for the fleet, and some important intelligence; and that the discoveries now made had confirmed him the more in his opinion of his having found out a new passage to the *East Indies*, and the means of circumnavigating the globe. With regard to his third voyage we are left no less in the dark as to particulars. This much we are told, that *Columbus* had now gained some knowledge of the continent, retracted his former mistake, upon hearing that there was a sea on the opposite side of this continent; and now first received the opinion of there being a passage from the north to the south seas, by which it might be possible to sail to the *East Indies*. This was such a proof of his sagacity and penetration, that it was with good reason the great Mr. Boyle affirmed that we are no less obliged to *Columbus* for the discoveries made after his death than for those made by him while living, since they all flowed from his principles, being no more than improvements on the plan he had traced out, and in some measure executed with equal

Soon after
his return,
he is again
sent out
with a
greater
force.

b PURCHAS & HERRERA, in loc. sup. citat.

prudence, fortitude, and good-fortune. It is likewise remarkable, that some of those discoveries, which are esteemed of much later date, were in fact not unknown to him; particularly the constant motion of the sea from east to west, of which he took notice in his first voyage; thence explaining the difference between the time consumed in going out and returning home.

Columbus
and his
friends
sent home
in irons.

BUT this expedition, although in the main successful, did not terminate without misfortunes and fresh matter of grief to Columbus. The gravity of his behaviour, his undaunted perseverance, his good-fortune, and the strict discipline he maintained during his voyage, created him a number of enemies both in Spain and among his mutinous licentious crew. Appeals from both parties were remitted to court from *Hispaniola*; in consequence of which their majesties sent over one *Francis Bobadilla* to take cognizance of the dispute, and do justice, according as things, upon inquiry, should appear to him. *Bobadilla*, upon a superficial examination of facts, to gratify a bishop, whose resentment Columbus had incurred, caused the admiral, with his brethren, to be seized, put in irons, and in that condition sent to Spain. In November, A. 1500, they arrived at *Cadiz*, from whence Columbus made his appeal to their Catholic Majesties, who gave immediate orders that he should be released, and expressed the utmost concern for his sufferings. The queen, in particular, who was warm and hearty in her esteem, gave him signal marks of favour and distinction; but it was some time before he could procure a new governor to be sent to *Hispaniola*; which, however, he at length effected.

No sooner had he carried this point than he solicited leave to make a fourth voyage in quest of farther discoveries; and, after a great many difficulties and obstructions, obtained it. In this voyage it was that he landed upon the continent, lying some days at the *Rafimentos*, A. 1502. While he was in the full career of farther discoveries, he was forced to alter his course, and steer for *Hispaniola*, though for what reason we are not told. Probable it is that new quarrels and mutinies had arisen, which rendered it impracticable for him to continue his pursuit. In the year 1504, he returned to Spain, where, upon his arrival, the first news he heard was the death of *Isabella* the queen, and his firmest friend. So affected was he with this incident, that his health visibly declined, and nothing but his insuperable courage and constancy could enable him to survive a loss which exposed him to all the malice,

intrigue, and artifice, of his numerous and powerful enemies. He still, however, persevered in his duty and applications to an ingrateful court, where he was received with a cold respect, very different from what he had been accustomed to from his royal mistress. This, superadded to his former afflictions, sunk so deep in his noble mind, that, after a few months lingering illness, he died equally admired and envied. When the court was informed of his death, then at length they began to perceive the value of a man they had before neglected. His virtues rose upon them in proportion as obloquy and detraction subsided, and they paid those honours to the dead which were refused to the living. Orders were issued that his body might be interred with all imaginable funeral pomp and magnificence; but *Columbus* had before given some directions concerning his funeral, which should perpetuate the memory of his hard treatment, by ordering the irons he had worn to be put in his coffin with him. Thus died the great *Columbus*, the ornament of his age, and the constant butt of fortune, equal in his private and public virtues, and excelled by none either in prudence, perseverance, courage, or true greatness of mind. With him died that spirit of rancour and malice, which pursued him invariably through the whole course of his life, and which he resisted with a generous and noble resolution. Of this there cannot be a more striking instance than in the famous story of the egg, which is thus related by the best historians of those times, particularly by *Peter Martyr*. After the queen's death, when it was observed that the king received *Columbus* with a reserve and coldness, many of the nobility affected to lessen his merit, by insinuating that he was rather fortunate than prudent, his discoveries being rather the result of accident than of well-concerted measures. These suggestions received strength from the artifice of the *Pinçons*, whose jealousy made them sworn enemies to the superior merit of *Columbus*. They arrogated to themselves the discoveries that had been made; affirming that their pride, stubbornness, and severities, of *Columbus* was the cause of all the mutinies and discord on board the fleet. *Columbus*, one day at a public dinner at court, after bearing a great deal of raillery upon this head, ordered an egg to be brought to him; and, showing it to the company, asked if there was any one who would undertake to set it upright upon the lesser end. All agreeing that it was impossible, *Columbus* very gravely cracked the shell, and, by striking it gently on the table, enlarged the base till it stood upright. Upon which the company fell laughing, and cried out that any-body might have done as

*His death
and character.*

*The story
of Columbus's egg.*

much. "That I do not doubt," answered *Columbus*; "and yet none of you thought of it. Thus it was that I discovered the *Indies*; I first conceived the design of steering that course, and now every miserable pilot can find his way thither as well as I. There are many things which appear easy when once performed, which before were thought impracticable. You ought to reflect on the scoffs I sustained before I put my design in execution; it was then a dream, a chimera, a delusion; and now it is what any-body might have thought of, and put in practice." When *Ferdinand* was told this story, he was extremely delighted, commended *Columbus* highly, and made no difficulty of declaring that he admired the grandeur of that spirit, which at the same time he endeavoured to bring down. Many are the reflections which naturally arise from this incident, which cannot fail of inspiring the reader with extraordinary ideas of the understanding, presence of mind, and constancy of *Columbus*; but they are too obvious to require a recital. Sufficient it is that we observe, that whereas he steadily pursued a settled and regular plan throughout his four voyages, so those who succeeded him were led by no other guide than their avarice, and kept to no other instructions than what they received from the *Indians*, who, to rid themselves of such troublesome guests, were eternally sounding in their ears the riches of distant countries, by which the *Spaniards* were often induced to try the truth of their reports. Thus the discoveries of *Columbus* arose, like those of the great *Sir Isaac Newton*, from deep reflection, a fine chain of thought, and happy deductions; those of his successors from accidental experiments, hearsay, and other fortuitous causes, in which they can claim no other merit than that of having improved upon the invention and discoveries of another. Out of this number, however, we must exclude *Ferdinand Magliana*, or *Magellan*, a *Portuguese* gentleman of family, spirit, and great skill both in the theory and practice of navigation. As we shall have occasion to mention the discoveries of this experienced seaman in our account of *America*, we shall here pass over his voyage round the world, and proceed to a recital of that performed by our renowned countryman the brave *Sir Francis Drake*.

*Reasons
for not in-
serting
Magel-
lan's voy-
age among
the circum-
naviga-
tors.*

S E C T. VIII.

Containing the birth and first exploits of Sir Francis Drake; his voyage round the world, together with a short view of his life, a defence of his character, and an account of his death.

IN the preceding section we gave an account of the life *The life* and discoveries of *Columbus*, not as an actual circumnavigator, but as a philosopher, whose system gave existence *and disco-* to the voyages of *Magellan*, *Drake*, *Van Noort*, *Cavendish*, *Dampier*, *Anson*, and all the other persons who have since *varies of* his time sailed round the globe. It has been observed, that *the famous* *Sir Francis Drake* resembled the heroes of antiquity not more in his virtues than in his dubious and equivocal descent. We are told by the learned *Camden*^a, that he was the son of a clergyman, who, in the reign of *Queen Elizabeth*, was vicar of *Upnore*, on the river *Medway*. On the contrary, the painful and industrious *John Stowe* relates, that he was the eldest of twelve brethren, all children of *Edmund Drake* of *Tavistock*, in the county of *Devon*, mariner; and that he was born in the year 1540^b. These seeming contradictory assertions we find ingeniously reconciled by the judicious late editor of *Harris's* voyages, by supposing that *Edmund Drake* the father, being a zealous protestant, as suffering much for his religion in the reigns of *Henry VIII.* and *Edward VI.* and having likewise a competent share of learning, was ordained deacon in the days of *Elizabeth*, and settled at *Upnore*. Without examining scrupulously into the truth of this solution of the difficulty, which it must be acknowledged is the best it is capable of, we will proceed to the history of *Sir Francis*, who received his christian name from his godfather *Francis* earl *Bedford*. It does not appear that he ever received any advantage from this honour, or that the earl patronized him with the affection and warmth which might be expected from so near an alliance. In his youth he was sent to sea as an apprentice to the master of a small vessel trading to the coast of *France*, who conceived so warm a friendship for him, that, on his death-bed, he bequeathed him all he was worth, his little bark. At the age of eighteen, Mr. *Drake* was made purser of a merchantman bound to the *Bay of Biscay*; and, at twenty,

^a Annal. Elizab. 1595.^b Hist. of Engl. p. 587.

he made a voyage to the coast of *Guinea*. During the whole course of his service he distinguished himself by a courage, a quickness and sagacity, very unusual and greatly superior to his years. In the year 1565, his enterprising genius induced him to venture his whole fortune in a voyage to the *West Indies*, which proved unsuccessful. Two years after he served under Sir *John Hawkins* in an expedition to *Mexico*; from whence he returned disappointed, and almost ruined in his fortunes, but with accumulated reputation and glory. Far from desponding or sinking under those repeated misfortunes, they rather whetted his courage, and set him upon undertakings which otherwise he might never have entered upon. He made two more voyages thither in quality of commander, first in the year 1570, and next in the year following, partly for information, and to qualify him for enterprizes of more importance to his fortune and fame. His courage and constancy had now so raised his character, that he found no difficulty in procuring a number of adventurers to share in any voyage he proposed. His first scheme was to make reprisals upon the *Spaniards* for the losses he had suffered by them; in which enterprize several considerable merchants embarked a part of their fortunes in fitting out two ships to cruize in *America*, under the conduct of Mr. *Drake*. With these, viz. the *Swan* of 250, and the *Pusca* of *Plymouth* of 70, tons, he sailed on the 24th of May 1572. His consort was under the command of his brother Captain *John Drake*; the little squadron was well equipped and provided; but the whole crews amounted to no more than seventy-three men and boys. Such was the armament he carried into the *West Indies*, to revenge the damages sustained from the *Spaniards*. Mr. *Drake*, however, soon proved what great things may be effected by a well-directed spirit and intrepidity. He sacked the famous town of *Nombre de Dios*, and soon after saw from an high tree the *South Seas*; a spectacle that inflamed him with an eager desire of carrying an *English* ship thither, an attempt never made, perhaps never thought of before. On his return, a prodigious dividend was made amongst the owners, and Captain *Drake* all at once found himself possessed of a large and affluent fortune, although he scorned to take advantage of some circumstances which another man would have claimed as his right. Of this we have a remarkable and generous instance in regard to a present made him by an *Indian* prince on the isthmus of *Darien*. This prince, in return for a cutlass which Captain *Drake* had given him, expressed his gratitude by a present of four large wedges of gold, which the captain threw into the common stock; saying, that his

*His first
voyage as
commander
to the West
Indies.*

his owners gave him the cutlafs, and it was but reasonable they should have their share of the produce. His voyage homewards was no less happy than his expedition; for, in 23 days, he passed from the *Capes of Florida* to *Scilly Islands*, arriving at *Plymouth* on the 9th of *August 1573*.

THE fame of this expedition soon spread over the kingdom, and Captain *Drake* found himself at the pinnacle of fortune both in his circumstances and reputation. People crouded from all parts to visit the hero who had performed exploits so glorious, and a voyage so dangerous, with a force so inadequate and slender. After a short respite from the fatigues of his voyage, he generously resolved to spend the fortune he had acquired by his bravery in the service of his country. For this purpose he equipped no less than three frigates at his own expence, with which he served under that worthy nobleman *Walter* earl of *Essex*, and greatly assisted in the reduction of the rebellious *Irish*. After the death of *He obtains Essex*, he attached himself to Sir *Christopher Hatton*, then the queen's vice-chamberlain to the queen, and afterwards high-chancellor of *England*. By the interest of this new patron, Captain *Drake*, notwithstanding great opposition, obtained her majesty's commission for that voyage which he had so long meditated, and of which we are now to render an account. *commission to make reprisals on the Spaniards in the South Seas.*

CAPTAIN *Drake* was no sooner appointed, or rather permitted, to undertake this expedition, than he applied with unwearied diligence to get every thing in readiness for accomplishing his designs, in which his friends assisted greatly by large contributions towards the expence. Every thing was expected from the vigilance, prudence, and courage, of *Drake*; and nothing, it was supposed, besides accidents and unforeseen misfortunes, could prevent his returning with fresh laurels and immense wealth. Five vessels were equipped, viz. the *Hind*, 190 tons, *Francis Drake* admiral, the *Elizabeth*, 80 tons, Captain *Winter*, the *Marigold*, a bark of 30 tons, *John Thomas* commander, the *Swan*, a fly-boat, 50 tons, Captain *Chester*, and the *Christopher*, a pinnace, Captain *Moon*; the whole complement of men amounting to 164 able-bodied seamen. Every thing necessary for so long a voyage was amply provided; long boats, stowed in case of accident, were put on board; wines, cordials, and medicines also. Nor was pleasure forgot; for Mr. *Drake* carried with him a band of music, a prodigious quantity of wrought plate, and other rich furniture, by which the nations he proposed visiting might obtain magnificent ideas of the grandeur of his royal

mistress and country. Some writers have not scrupled to tax him with vanity, from this circumstance, tho' we would rather ascribe this conduct to his generous principles and high sense of national honour. It is indeed an easy matter for little minds to give an invidious turn, and blast the reputation of the noblest purposes, by their own base suggestions^d.

ALL things being now in readiness, Admiral *Drake* weighed anchor from *Plymouth* on the 5th day of *November*, A. 1577, under pretence of a voyage to *Alexandria*; but he was soon obliged to put back, by reason of a violent storm, which did him some damage^e. In a few days he remedied all defects, and set sail with a more favourable wind on the 13th of *December*. On the 25th he made *Cape Contin* on the coast of *Barbary*, which was the first land he fell in with from his departure. Two days after he arrived at the island *Magador*, distant about a mile from the continent, which, with the island, formed a commodious harbour. Here the admiral set his carpenters to work in building a pinnace; during which employment several of the natives came to the shore with flags of peace, and exchanged hostages with the admiral, promising to return next day with provisions for the fleet. At first some misunderstanding arose, and the natives failed in their agreement; but perceiving, upon examining a prisoner they had made, that the squadron did not belong to the king of *Portugal*, with whom the king of *Fez* was at war, but to the queen of *England*, they released the seaman, and carried presents from his majesty to the admiral^e.

THE pinnace being now finished, *Drake* sailed, *December* the 30th, from *Magador*, and arrived on the 17th of *January* at *Cape Blanco*, where he found a ship at anchor, with only two seamen on board. Of her he made prize, carried her into the harbour, mustered his men on shore, and exercised them to land as well as sea-service. Departing thence on the 22d of *January*, and carrying with him a *Portuguese* caraval, of 40 tons, in the room of the *Christopher*; he arrived at the *Cape de Verd* islands, and took in all necessary refreshments at the pleasant island of *Mayo*. Thence he stretched to *St. Jago*, the largest of the *Cape de Verd* islands, keeping at some distance for fear of the inhabitants. In *Purchas* and *Harris* we are told, that, before he left the isle of *Mayo*, *Drake* sent out a party to seize upon some magazines of dried cabritos, or goats, yearly prepared for the *Portuguese* fleet that usually touched there. Here they found

^d Sir W. Monson's Tracts, vol. iii. p. 350.
T. i. p. 47. Part ii.

^e PURCHAS,

grapes in the utmost perfection in the depth of winter, coconuts, salt, &c. of which last they took but little, the islanders having purposely laid the oldest and worst in their way. In coasting along *St. Jago*, three pieces of cannon were discharged at the *English* squadron; an insult which *Drake* did not chuse to lose time in revenging. Here two sail were descried, to which the admiral gave chase. One of them he took, which proved a *Portuguese* vessel laden with wine. He gave the command of her to one *Doughty*, putting the *Portuguese*, with a sufficient quantity of wine and provision, on board the pinnace, and then discharging them. The *Portuguese* captain *Nuno de Silva* he took on board his own ship, to serve as pilot on the coast of *Brasil*, with which he found him to be well acquainted (A).

A detail of
his voyage.

PURSuing his voyage from the *Cape de Verdes*, he arrived at the island *del Fuogo*, or the burning island, possessed by the *Portuguese*, and taking its name from the sulphureous flames issuing out of the bowels of the earth. Being now arrived near the equinoctial, this great and vigilant commander, careful of the health and lives of his seamen, let blood with his own hand of every man on board, to prepare them the better for a change of climate. In a course of 54 days, without seeing land, the squadron met with great plenty of fish, dolphins, boneitos, and flying-fish, some of which dropt down in the ships, their finny wings being dried with the air. April the 4th, he arrived on the coast of *Brasil*, in lat. 33 degrees south. Coasting along the *Brasils*, they parted in a storm with the *Christopher*, which name had been given to the *Portuguese* prize; but found her again on the 11th. The place where all the ships dispersed in search of her rendezvoused, the admiral called *Cape Joy*. All the country round was fair and pleasant, the soil rich and fruitful, the climate temperate, the air mild and agreeable. Great store of deer of an uncommon size were seen, but no inhabitants, although the prints of their feet plainly shewed that the country was not without human beings^f.

^f HARRIS, T. i. l. i. c. 1. LEOP. N. H. p. 171.

(A) The reason of *Drake's* making reprisals, and taking the *Portuguese* ships, was, that, at this time, the crowns of *Spain* and *Portugal* were united upon one head. Perhaps, in-

deed, no part of the expedition can be justified by the law of nations, as, on the present occasion, *Spain* was not in actual war with *England*.

ON the 26th, *Drake* came to the mouth of the *Rio de la Plata*, or the great river of *Plata*, where he sounded in 53 fathom fresh water; but, finding no good anchorage, put again to sea. Sailing along, he came to a fine bay, in which stood a number of pretty islands, well-stocked with seals and fowls; by means of which the Squadron was well supplied with fresh provisions. The inhabitants came boldly round the admiral upon his landing, seemed willing to trade, but would accept of nothing, unless it was first thrown down on the ground. They were a strong-bodied race, swift of foot, and of a lively and brisk disposition. Their faces were painted, and their cloathing only a furred skin round the waist, with certain wreaths and ornaments round their heads. The *Marigold* and *Christopher* being sent out in quest of a more commodious harbour, they soon return with intelligence of one they had discovered; to which the admiral and whole Squadron repaired. News of the fleet was soon spread among the natives, who came flocking down to the shore with large bows and arrows in their hands. They appeared to be not altogether ignorant of martial discipline; for they ranged themselves into tolerable good order. The most convincing proof of their agility they gave, was, in stealing the admiral's hat off his head, a prize they shared among them, one keeping the hat, and others dividing the lace, which on no terms they would give up. This was the people which *Magellan* calls the *Patagons*.

WEIGHING from this place, he sailed to *Port St. Julian*, so called by *Magellan*, where he arrived *June* the 20th. Here he found a gibbet erected by that famous commander for the execution of some of his mutinous crew. It was *Drake's* misfortune to be under the necessity too soon of applying to it; for here *John Doughty*, an able and experienced seaman, but turbulent, haughty, and mutinous, was hanged; an action, says *Harris*, the most blameable and rash of the admiral's life (A). On the 17th of *August*, *Drake* left *Port Julian*,

(A) The editor of the new edition of *Harris's Voyages* states this affair in so short a manner, that the reader is left to believe this action was an arbitrary stretch of power, owing to the cruelty of *Drake's* temper; whereas, according to *Sir W. Monson*, and the most authentic writers, the admiral gave *Doughty* his choice of being tried on the spot for mutiny, or sent home to take his trial according to the laws of his country. He chose the former, and accordingly had a jury not of twelve, but of forty of the chief persons in the fleet, by whom he was convicted. This proceeding, we are sensible,

Julian, and on the 20th fell in with the *Streights of Magellan*, which they entered the following day. The navigation here was extremely difficult; the strait being so crooked, and winding into so many obliquities and curves, that the wind was perpetually shifting. However, after a tedious passage of sixteen days, they at length arrived in the great *South Sea*, or *Pacific Ocean*. No sooner was *Drake* entered into this sea, for which he had long expressed the strongest inclination, than a storm arose, by which he was driven, according to Sir *William Monson*, 100 leagues to the westward, 200 leagues, say *Harris* and *Purchas*, of longitude, and one degree south of the strait (B). He anchored in a fine bay 57° south latitude, in which stood several islands, affording wholesome water and herbage. Not far from hence he entered another bay, where he saw a number of naked people traversing the straits between one island and another, in search of plants, fruits, and other provisions. Their canoes, he observed, were made with some art, and they managed them

He arrives in the Pacific Ocean.

sible, was irregular, and, if admitted, would be a precedent of dangerous tendency. Yet there are some instances in which we cannot but excuse the commander, although we lament the necessity for such an action. Captain *Cheep*, in the last war, was acquitted in *England* for a proceeding infinitely more despotic; the law seeming to look upon those bold actions as the natural cures of so dangerous a malady as disobedience and mutiny. *Doughty* bore his fate with great resolution, resignation, and an undaunted presence of mind. On the morning before his execution he received the sacrament with *Drake*, and other officers. He afterwards dined with them at the same table with cheerfulness, took leave of them all by drinking their healths, with the same calmness as if he had been going a common journey. When the day was ended, he rose from table, and walked

without fear or hesitation to the place of his execution, where he resigned his last breath with the composure of a philosopher, and intrepidity of a soldier (1). This conduct of *Doughty's* it was that spirited up clamours against *Drake*. The *English* nation, of all others, shew the greatest compassion for unfortunate courage. Some affirmed, that he was cut off as the rival of *Drake's* fame; others said, that it was in consequence of secret orders from the Earl of *Leicester*; but none are hardy enough to deny that he had actually plotted against his admiral's life, and stirred up dangerous seditions in the fleet.

(B) In this storm it was that *Drake* lost the *Marigold*, Capt. *Thomas*; so that now, of his whole fleet, only three remained, for the two small vessels were set adrift some time before, on their becoming leaky, and unfit to bear the sea (2).

(1) *Monson*, V. 3. p. 362.

(2) *Purchas*, T. i. P. ii. page 49.

with

with great dexterity. They very readily entered into a commerce with him for such commodities as their country afforded. Here it was that *Drake* observed, contrary to the then prevailing opinion, that the part of the heavens situated nearest the south pole had fewer visible stars, and these of a smaller magnitude. Three only he could discern of any remarkable brilliancy and size in that hemisphere, which he had not before seen in *England*. He likewise took notice of two small clouds of the exact colour, and greatly resembling, the *Via Lactea*, not far from the pole, which the sailors called *Magellan's Clouds*, they seeming to be fixed and immoveable almost vertically to some of the discoveries of that great navigator^a.

SAILING northward, *Drake* discovered three islands, in one of which was such a multitude of birds, especially sea fowl, as is hardly credible. October the 8th he lost company of the ship commanded by Captain *Winter*. He now steered away for the coast of *Chili*, which former maps placed to the south-west, but which *Drake* found lying north-east and easterly; so that those coasts were rather not fully discovered, or at least not faithfully described, before this voyage. The difference he makes about 12 degrees. On the 29th he arrived at the island of *Mocha*, where he anchored, and went on shore with ten men. The inhabitants consisted of refugees, whom the *Spanish* barbarity had driven from their habitations on the continent, here to preserve their liberties and lives. At first they behaved to the *English* with great civility, bringing them potatoes, two fine sheep, and promising to supply them with water, for which they received some presents. Two seamen went on shore the following day, with barrels for water, and were knocked on the head by the natives, who took this opportunity of revenging themselves on the *Spaniards*, not doubting but the fleet belonged to that nation. Their design was to kill the whole boat's crew; for they discharged such a flight of arrows against it, that, of the nine men on board, not one escaped being wounded. *Drake* did not care to revenge an injury which was not intended to him; he therefore continued his course, without entering upon hostilities with those savages, from whom he was sensible nothing could be gained. On the coast of *Chili* he met with a canoe, on board of which was an *Indian*, who, mistaking him for a *Spaniard*, told him there was a rich *Spanish* ship in the road of *Villa Porcifo*, or *Valbario*. The admiral rewarding the *Indian* for his intelli-

^a MONSON, loc. citat. HARRIS & PURCHAS, ibid.

gence, he offered to conduct him to the place, which he did accordingly (C). This ship was manned with eight *Spaniards* and some negroes, who, believing *Drake* to be a *Spanish* admiral, saluted him with their guns, loud huzzas, and bumpers of *Chili* wine. They were soon convinced of their error, the *English* boarding her, shutting the crew under hatches, all except a desperate *Spaniard* who flung himself into the sea, and making prize of her and the cargo. After this they landed, and plundered a neighbouring village, in which they found a considerable stock of *Chili* wine. This village the above writers call *St. Jago*, but by mistake, that error being corrected in a *Latin* manuscript written by *J. Casaubon*, now in the *Cottonian* library^b. Here likewise were found a silver chalice, two silver cruets, and a rich altar cloth, of which the sailors robbed the chapel, not esteeming it any kind of sacrilege to plunder and spoil the churches of *Papists* and *Roman Catholics*. The admiral, setting his prisoners on shore, shaped his course for *Lima*, the capital of *Peru*. In his voyage an ultimate was made of the booty, which amounted to twenty-five *Pezos* of *Bolducan* or the purest gold, with a cross of the same metal, set with emeralds (D). This was the cargo of the ship, for in the village was found nothing besides wine, and the trifles we have mentioned^c.

ELEVATED with this rich booty and prodigious success, the squadron cheerfully proceeded on its course, the sailors now imagining that no force would be able to withstand them, although as yet they had met with no resistance. But they soon experienced that all their victories were not to be gained in so easy a manner. Putting on shore for water at *Coquimbo*, fourteen *English* were attacked by a body of 300 *Spanish* horse and 200 foot. They, however, made their retreat good, in spite of all the endeavours of the enemy, and got to the ship with the loss only of one man. The

^b LED: Naval Hist. p. 175.^c Auſt. citat. ibid.

^b (C) *Harris Hackluit*, and *Purchas*, give this road the name of *St. Jago*, which is a mistake, that city being situated further up the country than ever *Drake* penetrated.

(D) ¹ *T* according to *Hackluit*, *Purchas*, and *Harris*, the

whole booty was valued at 25,000 pezoas, equivalent to 39,000 *Spanish* ducats; but, according to the above *Latin* manuscript of *Casaubon*'s, the gold above weighed 800 lb. besides the cross, chalice, cruets, &c. (3).

(3) *Lehard's Nav. Hist.* p. 175; See also *Drake Reviv'd*, p. 45, 46.

next day the *English* going again on shore to bury the man left dead upon the field, the *Spaniards* hoisted a flag of truce; but the *English*, suspecting their fidelity might be upon a level with their courage, did not chuse to trust them; and therefore, carrying off their man, they returned to the ships. Towards the beginning of *February* Drake put into a port called *Tarapana*, where they found a *Spaniard* asleep upon the beach, with 30 bars of silver, in value about 4000 dollars, lying by him. These they carried off, leaving the *Spaniard* to finish his nap. This is *Camden's*, *Harris's*, and *Purchas's* account; but *Burchett* reduces the number of bars to 13^d. At a small distance from thence, going on shore for water, they met a *Spaniard* and an *Indian* driving eight *Peruvian* sheep, each sheep being loaded with two bags of pure silver, both amounting to an 100 weight. This booty of 800*l.* weight of silver they carried off, permitting the *Spaniard* and *Indian* to pursue their journey without farther molestation (E).

Drake gets
prodigious
booty.

FROM hence the admiral sailed for *Africa*, where he found three small barks at anchor. These he plundered; and carried off, besides other valuable merchandize, 57 wedges of fine silver, each weighing twenty pounds. Satisfied with this prize, he did not attack the town, which he imagined might be attended with more hazard and difficulty, than the enterprise deserved, but put again to sea, and arrived in the port of *Lima* on *February* the 13th. Here lay 12 sail of ships without a creature on board; and, according to the author last cited in our note, 30 sail of fine ships richly laden. On board this fleet he found a chest filled with rials of plate, or coined money, besides great quantities of silk, linen, &c. Having cleared those ships of what he thought proper, he received advice of a rich ship called the *Cacafuogo*,

^d Apud Lediard, p. 176.

(E) According to the author of *Drake Revived*, these sheep were as large as asses. Their necks resembled camels, but their heads were exactly those of sheep. Their wool is exceeding fine, and their flesh sweet and delicate. Some of them are as large as a cow, and greatly exceed that animal in strength. Three men and a boy, says that author, were set upon the back of one of them, which seemed to give the creature no manner of uneasiness (3). What degree of credit the reader is to give to this account, will appear when we treat of the animals and produce of this country.

(3) *Drake Revived*, p. 47.

bound

bound for *Paita*. To her he instantly gave chase, and, in his way, took a brigantine laden with naval stores, about eighty pound weight of gold, together with a rich crucifix of the same metal, studded with jewels. On his arrival at *Paita*, finding that the *Cacafuogo* proceeded on her voyage to *Panama*, he resolved to pursue her, and, to animate his men, promised his gold chain in reward to the first person who should discover her. This fell to the share of his brother *John Drake*, who spied her soon after from the tops, upon which the admiral crowded sail, and bore after her. In the evening he came along-side of the *Spanish* ship, gave her three furious broadsides, which brought her mizen-mast by the board, and obliged her to strike. This was the richest prize he had yet made; for in her he found 13 chests of rials of plate, 80 pounds weight of pure gold, 26 tons of silver bars, and a large quantity of pearls and jewels. The author of the *Columna Rostrata* says that the wedges of gold and silver were uncut, which seems to be more consistent with truth, and the supposed value of the booty, than the accounts of *Hackluit*, *Pu.* and *Harris*; for this was estimated at 360,000 pieces of eight, or near 50,000 *l.* sterling. The *Cacafuogo* was taken off *Cape San Francisco*, about 150 leagues from *Panama*; the cargo was removed, and the ship then dismissed, the admiral steering his course to *Guatoco*, or *Guatula*, a place south of *Panama*. In the *Cacafuogo* were several other valuable particulars besides those we have enumerated, such as rich wrought plate, particularly two fine chased and gilt bowls of a prodigious size; to which the admiral soon after added a beautiful eagle of massy gold, with a large emerald stuck in the breast, which he found on board a small brigantine he met with after taking that great prize.

ADMIRAL *Drake*, on his arrival at *Guatula*, found only 15 *Spaniards* in the town. These he made prisoners, and then ransacked all the houses, the plunder consisting of a bushel of rials of plate, and some other things of value. During their residence in this port, a *Spanish* ship, bound for the *Philippines*, imagining the town to be in possession of the *Spaniards*, put in for water, and was taken, but the cargo was of no considerable value. Having now acquired an immense fortune, raised his reputation to the highest, and revenged the injuries sustained by his country, as well as his own private wrongs, *Drake* began to deliberate upon

his return home. This was a determination, that required the utmost caution, prudence, and resolution. To return by the *Streights of Magellan* would be exposing himself to the tempestuous weather, which, in that season of the year, always prevails there, and at the same time to the danger of being intercepted by the enemy, who he imagined would probably watch his return. This was actually the case; for *Don Francisco de Toledo*, viceroy of *Peru*, had sent two large men of war with this design to cruise about the mouth of the streights. His only resource then was, to steer by the *Moluccas*, and endeavour to find the tract pursued by the *Portuguese* to the *Cape of Good Hope*, but utterly unknown to the *English*, and all the other *Europeans*. He therefore boldly resolved to make his passage by *North America*; and accordingly sailed to the latitude of 43 degrees north, to discover if there was a passage or strait on that side. Here the air was intensely cold; and the farther he proceeded, the more intolerable was the severity of the climate. Meeting with nothing but thick clouds, open shores covered with snow, and a keenness in the atmosphere, sharp, piercing winds that had almost killed the seamen, he returned to the latitude of 38° 8.

NORTH of *California* he put into a convenient harbour, where he entered upon a commerce with the natives, whose cottages were ranged along the shore. Notwithstanding the rigour of the winter here, the inhabitants go naked, except a loose garment of bullrushes which the women wear in form of a petticoat, and a deer-skin over their shoulders. But their good qualities, says *Hacklutt*, make ample amends for their ordinary dress; for they are to a proverb dutiful to their husbands. Their houses the natives surrounded with a trench, upon the edge of which they raise great pieces of timber, which join at the top in form of a cone, and make these little huts warm and comfortable beyond belief. They have no other beds than the bare ground, strewed over with rushes; their fire-place being in the middle of the hut, about which they all lie promiscuously, men, women, and children. The first present the admiral had made to him was of feathers, and cows of a kind of net-work in return for which he entertained them so heartily, as intirely to win their affections. Soon after they brought him another present of feathers and bags of tobacco, attended by a numerous ambassy, who all crowded together upon a little eminence, from which their chief orator harangued him with action and

voice by no means disagreeable. After this they descended, New Al-
 leaving the women upon the hill, tearing their hair, beating ^{bion, or}
 their breasts, and howling in a dreadful manner, according ^{the north}
 to the usual ceremonies among them at their sacrifices. But ^{side of Ca-}
 not to insist upon particulars, which we shall have occasion to ^{lifornia,}
 mention at large, when we come to treat of *North America*; ^{discovered.}
 sufficient it is that, after a visit from the *Indian* king, and
 numberless mutual civilities passed, the admiral weighed from
California, *October* the 13th, after he had taken possession of
 in her majesty's name, and erected a monument, on which
 was engraven her picture, arms, title to the country, the ad-
 miral's own name, and the time of his arrival there. After
 his departure from thence, he fell in with certain islands in
 eight degrees north latitude, whence a great number of canoes
 came to them, laden with coco-nuts and other fruits. The
Indians, who navigated them, had some peculiarities. Their
 teeth were jet-black, their nails an inch beyond the ends of
 their fingers, their ears cropt round the lower part, and then
 stretched down upon their necks, with heavy pendants.
 Their canoes were extremely beautiful, hollowed within, out
 of a solid piece of wood with great art, and shining without,
 with the polish and lustre of burnished horn. Both the stem
 and stern were sharp, with the point turned upwards in a
 spiral, neatly cut. On each side lay a broad piece of wood,
 about a yard and a half long, to keep them close to the wind,
 by embracing a larger body of water. They were of a con-
 siderable height, and stuck round with shells of various
 colours, by way of ornament. Soon after this *Drake* got ^{The islands}
 sight of three other islands, viz. *Tagulada*, *Zeln*, and *Zew*-of ^{Tagu-}
arra; the inhabitants of which were strongly attached to the ^{lada, Ze-}
Portuguese. The first of these islands produced abundance ^{lon, and}
 of cinnamon ^{Zewara.}.

WITHOUT making any stay here, the admiral proceeded ^{Arrives at}
 on the same cruise, arriving *November* the 14th at the *Mo-*
lucas, and steering for *Tiridore*. Passing along the coast of ^{the Mo-}
Matyr, an island belonging to the king of *Ternate*, his ma-
 jesty's viceroy boldly came on board, inviting the admiral to
 sail directly for *Ternate*, without touching at *Tiridore*. In
 compliance with his request, the admiral steered his course
 thither, and came to an anchor before the chief city on the
 following morning. He immediately sent his compliments to
 the king, a present of a velvet cloak, and assurances that he
 had no other intention than to trade upon the fairest terms

^b PURCHAS, HARRIS, HACKLUIT, &c. is loc cit. Edam
 LEO. Nav. Hist. p. 178.

with his subjects. By this time the viceroy had been with him, and disposed his majesty to entertain very, favourable sentiments in behalf of *Drake* and the *English*. In consequence of which, a gracious message was sent to the admiral, expressing his majesty's thanks for the present made to him, and assuring the *English* of his protection, friendship, and free leave to trade with the natives in any commodities the country afforded; adding, that he was desirous of laying himself and his crown at the feet of so glorious a princess as the queen of *England*, and making her sovereign over him with the same authority he had over his subjects. In testimony of this, he sent the admiral a signet, and conferred the highest respect and honours on the *English* messenger, who staid some days at his court. Intending after this a visit to the admiral, he sent four canoes filled with persons of the first rank in his court, and equipped with the utmost pageantry and pomp, to signify his royal pleasure. This procession was conducted with great decorum, and a ceremony not ungentle. The nobility were dressed in fine white lawn, or callicoe. The canoes were covered from one end to the other with large umbrellas of perfumed mats, bore up with an elegant frame of reeds. Their servants clad in white stood round them; and these again surrounded by a guard of soldiers. On each side, in well-contrived galleries, were ranged the rowers; each gallery containing eight men. The canoes, which were of an extraordinary size, were filled with all kinds of weapons and military stores, disposed in the most regular and beautiful manner. Upon their approach to the ship, they all saluted the admiral in great order, one after another; each repeating his majesty's message. Soon after this came the king in person, attended by six persons of a grave and venerable appearance, and the utmost ostentation of eastern magnificence. He was immediately saluted with a concert of music, with which he seemed greatly pleased; but still more so with the admiral's generosity and hospitality, expressed by the rich presents he made to his majesty and the *Ternate* nobility. After a repast on board, the king went on shore, promising to return the next day; but first sent a great store of provisions, fowls, rice, sago, sugar, cloves, and a kind of fruit they call *frigo*. Next day his majesty sent his brother to the admiral, to apologize for his not attending him according to promise, to invite him on shore, and wait on board as a hostage for his safe return. This invitation the admiral declined; but, to oblige his majesty, sent some of the gentlemen of his fleet to court, where they were received with great distinction. Here they met with four

Turkys

Turkish envoys, who had been sent by the Grand Signior to establish a treaty of commerce with the king of *Ternate*. After the *English* gentlemen had waited for some time in a great hall, his majesty came to them, attended by twelve lances, a canopy of rich silk embroidered with gold being carried over his head. He was dressed in a loose robe of cloth of gold, his legs bare, but his feet covered with slippers of cordovan. His hair was interwoven with wreaths and circlets of gold; about his neck hung a rich chain of the same metal, and all his fingers were adorned with rings, richly studded with jewels. On the right side of his throne stood a page fanning him with an elegant instrument for that purpose, and curiously adorned with sapphires and other jewels. After receiving the *English* with great kindness, he soon dismissed them, sending one of his council to conduct them safe back to their ships^a.

THE admiral having closed this scene of grandeur, and finished his affairs, put off from *Ternate*, sailing to a little island south of the *Coches*, where he staid some days. Nothing remarkable was observed here, but that the country was woody, abounding with tall strait trees, without branches, except what formed a fine roundish top, with small leaves, resembling that of *English* broom. A species of shining trees was found in such multitudes, skimming over and perching upon the branches in clusters, as made them appear as if they were on fire. But they saw as large as hens, and a kind of land cray-fish, which burrow under the earth like rabbits, and are so large that one of them will dine four persons. Sailing from hence, the admiral was prevented by contrary winds from running a western course; he therefore d^e to the southward, which he found attended with great danger, on account of the numberless shoals, shelves, and rocks, that lay round him. On the 9th of *January* 1579, his ship struck upon a rock, where she was fixed from eight o'clock at night till four the next morning. In this distress he was forced to ease her, by unloading three tons of cloves, eight pieces of cannon, and a great quantity of stores and provisions. At length the wind chopping about to the southward, he hoisted sail, and a happy gale springing up at that moment, intirely disengaged the ship, without any considerable damage to her hull^b.

ON *February* 8th, he arrived at the fruitful island *Bara*. Arrives at *lene*, or *Berateve*, where he cleaned and repaired his ship. the island The natives of this island *Purchas* describes as handsome and *Baratene*.

^a CAMDEN'S Annals. p. 353.

^b STOWE'S Ann. p. 107.

well-shaped; but still more agreeable for the faculties of the mind than for those of the body. They are mild, civil, generous, and strictly honest, hospitable to strangers, and affable to all. The men clothe only their heads and the middle of their bodies; the women from the waist downwards to the heels. They load their wrists with eight or ten bracelets of bone or horn, each weighing about two ounces. Linen cloth is scarce, but much valued by the natives, who make ornaments for their heads and waists of it. *Baratene* affords gold, silver, copper, sulphur, nutmegs, ginger, long pepper, lemons, cucumbers, coco, frigo, fago, and many other fruits, roots and vegetables of every species. One sort of fruit, resembling a bay-berry in size, shape, and husk, they took notice of as peculiar to this island. It was hard, but of a pleasant taste and delicate flavour; when boiled, it was soft, nourishing, and of easy digestion. In short, in their whole voyage they met with no land pleasanter, richer, or more fruitful in all the necessaries of life, than this island of *Baratene*.

Java
Major.

LEAVING this place, *Drake* steered his course to *Java Major*, where he met with a courteous reception from some of the kings. As we have already minutely described this island, the inhabitant, customs, government, and laws, we shall here omit all these particulars. One circumstance we cannot avoid taking notice of; it is the frequency of *venerea* among the natives, and their extraordinary means of cure. This they effect by exciting a copious sweat to all the pores of the body, by sitting naked for some hours under the scorching heat of the sun, whose subtle rays, says our author, open those fine passages, and give a free vent and emission to the noxious particles. While the admiral lay here, he received advice of some large ships that were at anchor in a harbour not far distant. As he was acquainted with their force, he chose to avoid it at all hazards, and therefore quitted *Java* with all convenient expedition. From thence he sailed in one continued stretch to the *Isle of Good Hope*, which was the first land he fell in with since his departure from *Java*. Without stopping here he proceeded to *Siererra Leona*, on the coast of *Africa*, where he took in wood and water. Here he saw a great number of elephants, mangoes, and lemons; the two last proving a seasonable refreshment. Staying only two days here, he set sail on *July* the twenty-second, and by the 25th got sight of the *Canaries*, where, as he was in no want of necessaries, he did not stop.

but continued his course to *England*, arriving in *Plymouth Sound* on *September* the 26th, 1580, after a voyage of two years, ten months, and a few days.

THE report of his return, and his fame, were soon spread over every part of the kingdom. As this was the age when virtue and courage were fashionable qualities, the great rivalled each other who should patronize him most, and shew him the greatest countenance. Every man who regarded the arts, or military virtue, expressed his sense of our admiral's merit by the most profuse praises, and other testimonies of esteem. Epigrams, songs, sonnets, and poems, upon this expedition, were handed about without number. Even the ladies paid him the tribute of their applause, and *Drake* was at the same time the admiration of the men and the darling of the women. But as envy and malice are ever the attendants upon extraordinary and superior merit, so there were not *Endeavouring* persons who endeavoured to give an invidious turn *vours used* to this gallant exploit, and to set in a false light the conduct *to blast the* of the brave admiral. His voyage round the world was no *reputation* more than what had been effected by several *Portuguese*, upon *of Drake*. more generous principles than those of spoil and robbery. They insinuated, that, as there was no declared war with *Spain*, the nation might come to suffer for his avarice. The merchants in *Spain* enjoyed, it was said, a perfect security under the protection of that crown; but whether the *Spanish* would not now make reprisals, was a point very doubtful. Abstracted from views of policy, it was ungrateful, ungenerous, and base, to attack and ruin a nation in their distant dominions, while *English* subjects received all manner of countenance and kindness in the very bowels of *Spain*. These reports, as is common with every species of scandal, soon gained ground, and prejudiced the minds of numbers of men against *Drake*; even some of those who had been the loudest in their praises upon his first arrival, began now to fall off from the warmth of their friendship, and soon after to join with his enemies against him. To add to his mortification, the *Spanish* ambassador wrote bitter memorials against his conduct; asserted the right of nations, and used every *vindication of* every art and opprobrious term to sting the mind, lessen the reputation, and break the spirit of this noble commander. His friends (for some friends he still had in spite of malice) found themselves wounded through his sides, and accordingly took the utmost pains to vindicate his reputation, and justify his conduct. They alleged, that he bore her majesty's commission to make reprisals; that he had constantly attacked his enemies with the generosity of a soldier; that, besides the

national injuries sustained from the *Spaniards*, *Drake* in particular had suffered greatly in his fortune by them; that *England* was under infinite obligations to him, not only for lowering the pride and checking the insolence of that haughty nation, but for the great addition of wealth and treasure he had brought into the kingdom; that he had extended the dominions of her majesty, and spread her fame and power over the most distant parts of the globe; and lastly, that if *Spain* had any intention of making reprisals, by seizing upon the effects of the *English* merchants, the nation was in a capacity to assert her own rights, and could never want a leader both able and willing to avenge any insult upon his royal mistress, while the brave circumnavigator, the terror of *Spain*, and glory of *England*, lived.

In this train things continued some time, whilst *Drake* lived in the most irksome suspense, lest, whether after all his toil, after all the dangers he had undergone, and after the most enthusiastic spirit with which he had inspired the nation, he should now be declared a pirate or a heretic: There is reason to believe that the queen declined, from motives of true policy, to disclose her sentiments. She probably waited to see the effects this conduct would have on the court of *Spain*. She knew that *Philip* was prevented from breaking with her, or at least from meddling in her affairs, in expectation of being able to draw so great a treasure out of her hands. To keep him in this expectation, she very artfully consented to pay with some small sums to *Mendoza*, his resident in *London*.

The queen
dines on
board his
ship,
where she
confers the
honour of
knighthood
upon him.

But at last, when things were come to a crisis, she threw off the veil, openly countenanced *Drake*, dined on board his ship at Deptford, and conferred on him the honour of knighthood: telling him, at the same time, that his actions were more honourable to him than his new title. On this occasion a prodigious concourse of all ranks and degrees attended her majesty; the bridge erected from the shore to the ship, unable to support the loads of people upon it, broke down before her majesty had well set foot on board, yet, of 2000 persons who fell into the *Thames*, not one was hurt or drowned; a circumstance the queen was pleased to ascribe to the good fortune of Sir *Francis Drake*. After this public testimony to the royal approbation, the shafts of envy glanced almost unheeded; all ranks of people joining in the general applause, redoubled their congratulations. Sir *Francis*, upon this occasion, aptly enough assumed the motto, *Tu primus circumdedit me*; "Thou first encompassedst me;" without excluding his former, *Dumus auxilio*. Henceforward his reputation was daily increasing, till he came to be considered

sidered as an oracle, both by the court and country, in maritime affairs².

HAVING dwelt so long upon these circumstances, which we thought necessary to set the character of this great man in a clear light, it is time that we point out the principal advantages flowing from the happy execution of this noble enterprise. It is worthy of remark, that this glorious voyage was not a mere sound, serving no other purpose than to gratify the vanity of our nation. A reputation in maritime affairs is of real and solid benefit to a commercial people. Numbers of grants and favours are obtained merely upon the sense that foreigners have of their power and abilities. The *Dutch* were so sensible of this, when they first established settlements in the *East Indies*, that they reported the most ridiculous and vain-glorious fictions of the great power, weight, and character, of their republic. In the celebrated collection of voyages on account of the *East India* company in *Holland*, *Olivier Van Noort* is always mentioned with particular honour, although his voyage round the world was attended with no extraordinary discoveries. But the *Dutch* esteemed it a matter of importance to their reputation, and of consequence to their interest, that a mariner of their country should have done what had been effected by a *Magellan*, a *Columbus*, and a *Candish*.

St Francis Drake would seem, on his first setting out, to have had the honour of his country no less in view than his own reputation. He provided every thing which might dazzle the eyes of foreigners, strike their imaginations, and impress high notions and an admiration of the country from whence he came. The same spirit carried him farther to *North America*, than even the *Spaniards* themselves had been. Here, under the 38th degree of north latitude, beyond which we know nothing at this day, he extended the fame of the *English* name, the power of their arms, and left the natives equally in admiration of their generosity, their courage, and their perseverance. Of this there are abundant testimonies, some of which appeared after his death, in letters sent to *England* by *Indian* princes, all of which agreed in bestowing upon *Drake* the highest encomiums, and acknowledging that they had received very respectable ideas of the *English* nation from the conduct of their admiral. Besides, his descriptions of the countries where he had been are very exact. His observations have corrected several errors of consequence in

² See the author already cited; also *Stowe*, *Campden*, and *Burchett*, *ibid*.

all the charts both of *South* and *North America*. In the latter, particularly his touching upon the north side of *California*, to which he gave the name of *New Albion*, has for ever put it out of the power of the *Spaniards* to contest that country with us, should ever a north-west passage be discovered, which probably cannot be at a great distance from this part. They must allow us to be the first discoverers, and the first possessors, which at least make our right to *New Albion* equal to that which they claim to any part of the *Indies*.

It is to be lamented that Sir *Francis Drake* has himself left no accounts of his voyages and discoveries. From the few letters of his which remain, it appears that he was better qualified to record his own exploits than any of those who have employed their pens on that subject, without we except one late writer, we mean the sensible author of *The Lives of the Admirals*. We should then probably have at large the reasons that induced him to believe there might find a passage back by the north. Certain it is that he looked out for such a passage, and was prevented from continuing the pursuit only by the extreme rigor and sharpness of the weather, against which his crew, after so long a voyage, was but indifferently provided. How it happened, that from this time to this, no farther experiments have been made in seeking that early gave so great hopes, is what we cannot determine. The *Spaniards* have their political reasons for not publishing their discoveries on this coast; but certainly it was the interest of *Great Britain* to prosecute with diligence the hints suggested by Sir *Francis Drake*. We ought thoroughly to have satisfied ourselves whether or not there was such a passage; the most rational manner of doing, which was perhaps the very method he pointed out. There are many circumstances in this voyage which prove him an able navigator. Although, in his course from *California* to the *Ladrões*, he made no discoveries, yet his passage was glorious as to give us the highest opinion of his ability and good-fortune. To conclude, it appears that this voyage was executed with a prudence equal to the greatness of the undertaking; that it was, in all its circumstances perfectly well conducted; and that as Sir *Francis Drake* made the best use of the glimmering lights afforded him by others, so he left to posterity some clearer directions, and at least a noble example of prudence, intrepidity, and perseverance, which we ought too much admire, or too closely follow.

* V. d. *Drake Revived*, p. 52. *HARRIS*, p. 22. T. i. *LEN. Nav. Hist.* p. 180. *HARRIS*, p. 23.

HERE, in strictness, we ought to close this account of Sir *Francis Drake* as a circumnavigator; but as his virtues, his fame, and this last exploit, may have raised the reader's curiosity, we will endeavour to gratify him with a concise detail of his succeeding actions. The war in *Spain* breaking out a few years after his return, Sir *Francis* was appointed general by land and sea in an expedition to the *West Indies*, which he executed with the same spirit and good-fortune as had before attended him. Now it was that he had an opportunity of exerting the talents of a warrior, and drawing forth his courage into act. He took the cities of *St. Jago*, *Carthagena*, *St. Domingo*, and the town and fort of *St. Augustine*, returning with equal glory and advantage both to his country and himself. Yet the profits, tho' considerable, were far short of his former voyage. They amounted, all charges defrayed, to 60,000 *l.* Two years after, that is, *A.* 1587, he had the command of another fleet, with which entering the bay of *Chilz*, and afterwards the river of *Lisbon*, he took, burnt, and destroyed, 10,000 tons of *Spanish* and *Portuguese* shipping, which had been collected together to invade *England*. This good-fortune he crowned by the capture of a prize called the *St. Philip*, which the writers of those times say was the first *carrack* ever taken and claimed by the *English*. Again, the year following, he was appointed by her majesty's commission vice-admiral of the fleet sent out against the formidable *armada*. In this service he even performed wonders, having taken in the beginning of the battle two large men of war, the one commanded by the *Spanish* vice-admiral *Oquardos* in person; the other by Don *Alonso Mex*, who, after a gallant resistance, struck rather to the reputation than the power of *Drake*. When he surrendered to him his sword, he made the *English* admiral this compliment, that he had determined to die fighting, if he had not fallen in the hands of a man, whose felicity and valour were so great, that *Mars* and *Neptune* seemed to wait upon all his enterprizes. Sir *Francis* requited these *Spanish* flourishes by solid acts of kindness. He paid Don *Pedro* the utmost ransom on account of his brave defence; set him at his own table, lodged him in his own cabin, and made him almost forget that he was his prisoner. The *English* seamen were well recompensed for their bravery, sharing among them a booty of 55,000 ducats in gold, which they found in Don *Pedro's* treasury. *Drake* performed other extraordinary feats of courage and conduct in this action, and particularly distinguished himself by advising the use of fire-ships. Some historians

storians affirm that he even invented them; but this is what we will not take upon us to assert.

In the year 1589 he was sent with a strong fleet to *Portugal*, to restore Don *Antonio* to his kingdom. Here indeed he had a joint command, to which circumstance the admirers of this great man ascribe its ending unfortunately; as if *Drake's* good fortune could be shared with no other. However, although the chief intention failed, yet the *Spaniards* suffered great losses, the compliment of an invasion was returned, and they utterly deprived of the power to attempt another descent upon *England*. Thus we may reckon, that Sir *Francis Drake* saved the nation from no less than three *Spanish* invasions. After this, we find but one more expedition he ever undertook, and this was a conjoint one. On this occasion he performed very gallant exploits in the *West Indies*; but, aiming at something higher, and his usual good fortune not attending his endeavours, the disappointment

*His death
and cha-
racter.*

broke his heart, and he died the martyr of a well directed ambition, a public spirit, and sublime, seas of national and personal glory. In the harbour of *Porto Bello*, January 28th, 1595, his body was put into a leaden coffin, and committed to the sea, under a general discharge of the cannon from the whole fleet, and, of what was still more glorious, the tears of all the seamen. To conclude this *Section*, *Sir Francis Drake*, to use the words of his best historian, "a person of low stature, but extremely well made; complexion fresh and fair, his eyes large and lively; hair of a light-brown, and his countenance open and cheerful. He was naturally eloquent, expressing gracefully what he conceived clearly; very knowing, not only in his own profession, but in all the sciences belonging to it; so that he was able to discharge every office in a ship, even that of a surgeon. He was just to his owners, kind to his seamen, loyal to his sovereign, and remarkably merciful to his enemies. His many glorious exploits justify his title to extensive fame, which, when he died at 55, will convince us, that he shewed the utmost ardour in the pursuit of glory." A character not drawn by the warm pencil of imagination, but founded on facts, and, if at all varying from the truth, rather unequal than superior to the merit of the person described.

To this may be added, what we think the greatest praise of *Sir Francis Drake*, that he first raised the spirit of naval enterprises, and drew forth the latent genius of the *English*

nation for maritime affairs. The hopes of rivalling his fame excited the youth of all ranks to try their fortunes at sea, in such a manner as their abilities and quality would permit. Men of fortune and fashion fitted out vessels at their own expence, which they manned with their dependents. Those in a lower station entered themselves as inferior officers, either in those private ships, or in her majesty's fleet. To such a pitch was this spirit carried, that, before the end of the reign of *Elizabeth*, there were numbers of young fellows of eighteen years of age in the kingdom, capable of navigating a ship to almost any part of the known world. Such is the account of honest *Stowe*, whose industry was never surpassed, or integrity called in question. So alarmed were the *Spaniards* at the skill and conduct of *Drake*, as well as the spirit he had diffused through the nation, that strict orders were issued that no draughts should be made, no journals published, or even written, of their discoveries in *America*^b. But all their precautions were in vain; the *English* now became maintained with their own strength, their natural talent and genius; nor could all the arts, first of *Spain*, then of *Holland*, and lastly of *France*, prevent their rising to their present high and glorious pitch of maritime power.

^b STOWE, ubi supra.

S E C T. IX.

Philip II. sends a squadron to the Streights of Magellan, under Pedro Sarmiento, who fortifies them; Sir Tho. Candish's voyage round the globe; his birth; procures a commission; engages the Spanish fleet; arrives at the Streights of Magellan; miserable end of the Spanish settlement there; Candish enters the South Sea; visits Moro Moreno island; burns Paita; plunders and destroys Puna; takes the St. Ann Acapulco ship; loses the Content; has an interview with the casiques of Cabul; his letter to Lord Hunsdon; Reflections on his voyage and character; his death.

PHILIP the Second, of *Spain*, was so alarmed with the easy and successful passage of *Drake* into the *South Sea*, through the *Streights of Magellan*, that he immediately sent a squadron to make a thorough discovery of that passage, and, if possible, to block it up, to the utter exclusion of all other nations. *Pedro Sarmiento*, the best seaman in the *Spanish* service, was chosen to execute this important com- mission; *Streights*

of Magellan; who, sailing from *Lima*, actually passed from the
lan.

North to the *South Seas*; and, on his arrival in *Spain*, gave his Majesty the strongest assurances, that the *Mogellanic Streights* might be so fortified, as absolutely to prevent the entrance of any foreign ships^c. The king, greatly delighted with this intelligence, sent a squadron of 23 sail, with 3500 troops on board, to execute this plan. *Sarmiento*, with 500, were appointed to garrison the intended works; and the whole court was filled with the notion of *Spain's* becoming absolute master in the *South Sea*. After an unfortunate voyage of two years, the fleet arrived in the streights, built a town and fort, which they called *Nombre de Jesus*, where they left a garrison of 150 men. The great settlement was founded fifteen leagues distant from this, in the latitude of $53^{\circ} 18'$, in the narrowest part of the streights. It was called *Ciudad del Rey Felipe*, fortified with strong walls, bastions, a great number of cannon, and 400 men, with provisions for eight months. This was one of the best contrived colonies the *Spaniards* had ever planted, but it failed^d. *Sarmiento* some time after was made prisoner, and sent to *London*, after many fruitless attempts to relieve his young colony: the garrison, having consumed all their provisions, perished with hunger; *Sarmiento* fell into despondency; the whole project dropped, and the *South Seas* again came open to every nation that chose to push the advantage. The *Dutch*, the *French*, and *English*, followed the footsteps of the great *Sir Francis Drake*, the first instance of which we have in the remarkable voyage performed by *Sir Thomas Candish* round the globe, of which a short abstract has already been given in our account of the *English East India*

Voyage of
Sir Tho.
Candish
round the
globe.

Company. As this voyage was attended with many remarkable circumstances, we shall here give his journal at large, and in such a manner as may conduce most to the reader's satisfaction and improvement. There we selected only such parts of the voyage as related to the *English East India Company*; here we shall attend him through the whole course, remarking particularly on such circumstances as we imagine to be of the greatest importance.

His birth,
and first
inclination
to the sea.

THOMAS CANDISH, or *CAVENDISH*, of *Trimley* near *Ipswich*, was a gentleman of an antient family, and considerable fortune. His vicinity to a town at that time a mart of great trade, had given him an early inclination for the sea. He was of an open, liberal, and even expensive, but

^c Hist. des Navig. aux Terres Austr. T. i. art. 14. p. 200.
^d PURCHAS, T. i. P. ii. page 56. HARRIS, ubi supra.

a profuse disposition, setting no value upon money, but as it was necessary to his pleasures. Some writers affirm, that the decline of his fortune had first inspired him with the notion of repairing it by an application to maritime affairs. Others, again, are no less positive that he had a natural propensity to this employment; which, as soon as he was of age, he gratified by converting part of his lands into money, and equipping a ship of 120 tons, called the *Tyger*, at his own expence. Certain it is, that with this ship he accompanied Sir *Richard Grenville* to *Virginia*, A. 1585, and that he surmounted many dangers and difficulties in this voyage, but without any profit.

No longer discouraged with this rub of fortune, he deliberated, and soon prepared for, a greater and more hazardous enterprise. In his voyage he had seen a great part of the *Spanish West Indies*, made a number of curious observations, and conversed with some intelligent persons who had surrounded the globe with Sir *Francis Drake*. Upon these hints he formed a project for retrieving his fortune, gratifying his curiosity, and raising his reputation, if not equal to *Drake's*, at least second to none but his. As soon, therefore, as he returned, he applied himself diligently to every measure necessary to his great design. He either sold or mortgaged the remainder of his estate, to make up a sum sufficient for buying two stout ships; and so expeditious was he, that in six months his little squadron was ready to put to sea. The largest ship, which he called the *Desire*, was burthen 140 tons; the smaller, to which he gave the name *Content*, about 120 tons. To these he added a bark of 40 tons burthen, all completely provided and equipped for the voyage, at his own expence. On board he had 126 seamen and officers, some of whom had served under *Drake*, but all of them able-bodied, and men of experience. The fleet had stores for two years; and, to prevent all disputes, quarrels, and small quarrels, either on or after the voyage, *Cumlish* entered upon a fair agreement with respect to the proportion in which all prizes should be shared. He laid up magazines of journals, charts, draughts, and maps, of all those places and seas he proposed visiting. He also procured a commission from the queen, by the favour of Lord *Hunsdon*, then lord of the bed-chamber, and his patron.

He procures a commission from the queen.

* *Acquis* by Sir W. MONSON, T. ii. p. 274. CAMDEN's Annals, p. 83. * *Blacklitt*, P. iii. p. 803. PURCHAS, V. i. B. ii. p. 57. * *Ibid.* Etiam HARRIS, L. i. B. i. c. 1.

ALL things being thus in readiness, he embarked at *Hurwich* on the 10th of *July* 1586, and sailed with the *Desire* for *Plymouth*, there to join the rest of his squadron. From thence he proceeded on his expedition on the 21st, and fell in with a fleet of eight sail in the *Bay of Biscay*, one of which attacked the admiral. The engagement was sharp for about an hour, when the enemy was obliged to sheer off, though greatly superior in force to the *Desire*. *Candish* was prevented from giving chase by the darkness of the night, and the fear of losing company with his consorts. The 5th of *August* he got sight of the island of *Fortventura*, and soon after arrived on the coast of *Guiney*. By this time the scurvy appeared among his men, which obliged him to set them on shore for their recovery as soon as an opportunity offered. On the 23d he fell in with *Sierra Leona*, where he destroyed a negro town, and lost one of his men by a poisoned arrow. His boat ran four miles up the harbour, returning with a cargo of fish and lemons. *September* the 7th he departed from one of the *Cape de Verd* islands, distant 10 leagues from *Sierra Leona*, and by the 1st of *November* got to the *Brasil* coast, sailing between the island *St. Sebastian* and the continent. Here he cast anchor, landed his men, erected a fort, and built a pinnace. He sailed the 25th, and on the 26th fell in with the coast of *America*, in 47 degrees 20' north latitude, running along a large steep shore, till under the 48th degree. Next day he fell in with a harbour which he entered, calling it, after the name of his ship, *Desire*. This harbour he found convenient on account of the ebbing and flowing of the tide, extremely commodious for cleaning, graving, and repairing ships. Here two of his men were wounded with an arrow made of cane, and pointed with flint, which the natives discharged at them. They are described as a rude, savage, and gigantic race, the footstep of one of them measuring eighteen inches. His whole description of this country coincides exactly with what *Magellan* relates, as shall be more particularly pointed out when we come to give an account of *America*. The editor of *Harris's Voyages* says, that the name *Patagonia* was given to this coast by *Candish*; which is a mistake, *Magellan* having before given it, from the extraordinary stature of the inhabitants, who are said to be five cubits, or seven feet and an half, in height (A).

DECEMBER

(A) *Candish* and *Magellan*, as this circumstance. If we take well as late travellers, agree in the usual proportion between the

DECEMBER the 28th he left *Port Desire*, and anchored near an island three leagues to the southward, keeping along the coast south-west-by-south. On the 30th, in $48^{\circ} 30'$; about five leagues from land, he discovered a rock, which, for the benefit of future navigators, he describes distinctly. Still he kept coasting along the shore, amidst multitudes of seals and sea-calves, till the 3d of *January*, when he fell in with a white cape, from which runs a long beach about a league to the southward, stretching to the mouth of the *Streights of Magellan*. On the 6th he put into the streights *Arrives at* which he found five or six leagues wide in some places, but *the* narrower in others. Next day he took a *Spaniard* belonging *Streights* to the garrison of the *Spanish* fort prisoner. From him he of *Magel-* learnt, that, of the whole garrison of *Ciudad del Rey Filippé*, *lan.* only 23 remained ^b.

CANDISH describes the mouth of the streights in 52° south latitude; a stretch of 14 leagues to the narrowest pass; from hence to *Penguin Island* 10 leagues, the course west-south-west, and a little to the south. At this island they anchored, and, having killed a great number of penguins, salted them for ship-provision. The 9th of *January* Candish passed south-*The miser-* south-west of the largest *Spanish* settlement, which he found *ab. end of* in a ruinous condition, the cannon dismounted, many of *the S. p.* the houses deserted, and the church, with some *nish settle-* *ment there* ^c ornaments, left to be possessed by the birds and ^d *by*. The garrison, after having struggled with cold, hunger, and every other misery, for the space of two years, living wholly upon shell-fish, and being at length reduced to the miserable remnant we have mentioned, retired to the small fort. Candish relates, that they were at perpetual war with the neighbouring *Indians*, the implacable enemies of the *Spanish* name. That, when their necessities obliged them to go in search of deer, the settlement, in the absence of the party, was presently attacked, and the party hunted like wild beasts through the mountains; often cut off from the garrison, and suffering the most extreme hardships and fatigues before they could return. Thus would they die, like rotten sheep, with pinching cold and insupport-

^a PURCHAS, T. i. B. ii. p. 59.

the foot and the rest of the body, which is supposed to be as 5 to 6 to 3 then the height may be tolerably ascertained from the rootstep. *Cavendish* was a man of sense and a scholar, consequently could not be ignorant of this method of computation, which however is not very exact.

able hunger, the stench from their bodies so infecting the survivors, that with one consent the settlement was abandoned, and the soldiers rambled along the shore, the cruel sport of fortune, till, happily for them, they at length became prisoners to the *English*¹.

ON the 14th *Candish* made *Cape Froward*, in latitude 54, degrees, and the southermost land of the streights. After this he saw *Elizabeth Bay*, and two leagues further a fine river, in which he towed up the boat for three miles. The country, and banks of the river, were pleasant, plain, and open; the inhabitants a strong, well-made, barbarous, and brutish race, who had eat up many a *Spaniard*. They had laid a plot for feasting upon the *English*, but were disappointed by the vigilance of the admiral, who saluted them with a brisk discharge of harquebusses, that did great execution. Leaving this river, he steered to *St. Jerom's Chancel*, two leagues further. Hence he sailed westward about four leagues, to a cape lying north of the chanel, from which to the mouth of the streights the course runs north-west and north-west-by west. The distance from this cape to the entrance into the *South Sea* is 34 leagues, so that the whole streights measure in length about 90 leagues. 'Tis farther observable, that both openings into the *South* and *North Seas* are much in the same latitude, 52° 4' south. For several days the fleet was forced to lie-to on account of storms of wind and rain, which burst with such violence from the mountains, that they were brought into extreme danger; nor were they less distressed with famine than by the inclemency of the weather, being prevented by this from ranging the country for supplies. One happiness attended them, that the coasts supplied convenient harbours on both sides the streights; at almost every two miles distance^k.

Candish
enters the
South Sea.

At last, on the 24th of *February*, *Candish* entered the *South Sea*, observing on the south side of the opening a high cape, with a low point annexed to it, north of which were four or five islands lying about six leagues from the continent, and surrounded with sunk and broken ground. The first of *March* he lost company with the bark, in a storm that blew at night, lat. 40° degrees, and 45 leagues from land. The bark had sprung a leak, and was driven far to leeward in the most distressed condition; however, by the vigilance and good conduct of the captain and crew, she joined the admiral on the 15th, between the island *St. Mary* and the con-

¹ PURCHAS, ubi sup. Etiam HARRIS, T. i. p. 28. LEO.
NAV. MIST. p. 230. PURCHAS, p. 60.

tinent. The *Desire* and *Content* had sheltered themselves, during the storm, on the lee side of the island of *Mocha*, where some of their men, going on shore well armed, met with a warm reception from a body of *Indians*. They belonged to the district of *Aranco*, a country rich with gold, that had often tempted the avarice of the *Spaniards*, but to no effect, as they were constantly defeated by the obstinate bravery of the *Indians*. After this skirmish the admiral ran under the west side of *St. Mary Island*, where he rode secure at six fathom water. It lies in $37^{\circ} 30'$ south latitude, and is well stocked with hogs, poultry, and a variety of delicious fruits. The inhabitants are in such abject slavery to the *Spaniards*, that they dare not touch the most trifling production of their own country without leave from the usurpers, thus starving in the midst of the most luxurious plenty. The admiral, going on shore with a party of seventy men well armed, was met and welcomed by two *Indians* of quality, who conducted them to magazines filled with hogs, poultry, dried fish, potatoes, and maize, or *Guiney* wheat. This courtesy the admiral returned by inviting them on board, where, after the wine had begun to work its effects, and they discovered he was not a *Spaniard*, they talked with great freedom; complained of the insolence, cruelty, and avarice of the *Spaniards*; telling him, that if he crossed the country to *Aranco*, the natives would grant that to his origin; manner which they had ever denied to the arrogant *Spaniards*, and put him in possession of the rich mines of the country. However, their intelligence was neither explicit, or well enough understood, for the admiral to venture with so weak a force upon an enterprize so dangerous. He knew he should have to encounter a numerous, warlike, and resolute nation, whose prejudices it would be difficult to remove, especially as their language was spoke by no one on board. He therefore prosecuted his voyage, leaving this place on the 10th, and, sailing about 10 leagues that day north and north-east, he anchored under *Conception Island*. The 30th he came into the bay of *Quinero*, in $33^{\circ} 60'$ south; and the day following a party of sixty men, well armed, marched eight miles up the country. They met with large herds of cattle, with horses, dogs, hares, rabbits, partridges, and other fowl and game. After marching till they were tired, without meeting with any extraordinary adventure, they retired in good order to their ships, without being molested by the *Spaniards*, who, on receiving intelligence of their arrival, assembled in a body of 200 horse, but without venturing to attack them. Next day, however, while some

of the *English* were busied in filling their casks with water; the *Spaniards*, seizing the opportunity, attacked them with a large body of cavalry that came pouring down from the hills. Their superiority in number enabled them to kill two or three, and to make an equal number of prisoners; but the arrival of fifteen more seamen soon altered the fortune of the day, snatched the victory from the *Spaniards*, killed 24 upon the spot, and obliged the rest to seek their safety in a precipitate and shameful flight. After this exertion of spirit, the *English* watered with security, scoured the country, and, after supplying themselves with every thing necessary, weighed anchor, steering north and north-north-west¹.

Moro
Moreno
Island.

APRIL the 5th they fell in with *Moro Moreno*, lying in 23° 30' south latitude, under the tropic of *Capricorn*. An island with a passage into the bay at each end forms a fine harbour here. The admiral, landing with thirty men, was met by great numbers of *Indians* bringing wood and water to the ship on their backs. They are a simple, ignorant people, living under the greatest awe and subjection to the *Spaniards*, who treat them with a savage barbarity. They conducted the admiral and his party to their huts, about two miles from the harbour. These habitations were composed only of a few rafters laid across, supported by forked poles stuck in the ground, and covered with leaves and boughs spread over them. The skins of wild beasts laid on the ground were their beds, and their food stinking raw flesh. It is usual, when any of them dies, to bury his effects with him, that is, his bow, arrows, and even his canoe, if he be worth one. Their canoes are neatly constructed, being formed of two skins resembling bladders, which are blown full at one end with quills. A couple of those being joined after their manner with thongs made of the hides, but made frequently the tendons and sinews, of wild beasts, and then put into water, puff and swell to such a degree, that nothing can be more tight, compact, and firm. In these boats they put to sea in all weather, loading them with great quantities of fish, part of which is paid by way of tribute to the *Spaniards*, and the remainder suffered to stink for their own use^m.

HOISTING sail from hence, he arrived May the 3d in a bay, at the extremity of which are three small towns, *Poracco*, *Chinca*, and *Pischa*, the latter standing in 13° 20' south latitude. Here a party landed, and took some provi-

¹ PURCHAS, B. ii. T. 1. p. 60.

^m HARRIS, T. i. l. i.

sions out of the houses, as wine, fowls, figs, and other things. A high sea prevented their putting to shore at the last towns, and where they could be plentifully supplied. About this time, though we are not told whether it was in this bay, the admiral made prize of two rich ships laden with sugar, melasses, maize, *Cordovan skins*, *Montego de Porco*, *Indian carts*, marmalade hens, and packs of *Pintadoes*, &c. The richest would have yielded 20,000 *l.* at a proper market; but here neither were of any farther use than merely to supply the Squadron with what they most wanted. This done, they set fire to the ships, and, steering their course for *Païta*, arrived in that road the 26th. The town lies in five degrees four minutes south latitude, containing at that time about 200 houses. Here the admiral landed with sixty men, had a skirmish with the inhabitants, drove them out of the town into the mountains, seized all the effects they had carried with them; and afterwards, upon their attempting to rescue the town, intirely defeated them. Here the seamen found abundance of household furniture, some of it rich; store-houses filled with all kinds of merchandize; and twenty-five pounds weight of silver in pieces of eight. After having plundered it of what they most commodiously could carry off, they set fire to the town, which they burnt to ashes, *Païta burnt to the ground.* and with it to the value of 6000 *l.* in merchants goods, and then departed for *Puna*.ⁿ

ON their arrival at *Puna*, they found in the harbour a ship of 250 tons burthen, riding at anchor, which they sunk, and went on shore. The chief of this island was by birth an *Indian*, but married to a *Spaniard*, whose religion he embraced, obliging his subjects to follow his example. He had by the sea side an elegant and well-contrived palace, with fine gardens extending along the coast, which made a grand appearance towards the water. All the inhabitants were kept in perpetual drudgery, making cables, which is one of the best commodities of the island; yet does it abound with every necessary of life, which we shall enumerate under the article of *South America*. In the gardens of the casique, or chief, was found plenty of the most delicate and luxurious fruits, in the utmost perfection. May the 25th the admiral sailed to a small neighbouring island, into which the casique had conveyed all his valuable moveables. This island the seamen *The island of Puna plundered and destroyed.* plundered of what they thought proper, burnt the church, after having robbed it of its bells and ornaments. They

ⁿ PURCHAS, B. ii. T. i. p. 60. LED. NAV. HIST. p. 231. HACKLUIT, p. 806.

were soon attacked by a party of 100 *Spaniards*, whom, after a sharp engagement, they defeated, with the loss of 12 *English* killed and taken, but of 46 *Spaniards* left dead on the field. Next day the admiral, landing with 70 men, was a second time attacked by 100 *Spaniards* armed with muskets and swords, and 200 *Indians* with bows and arrows, the usual weapons of the country. A fierce conflict ensued, which terminated in the intire defeat of the enemy, the spoiling of their fields and orchards, the burning of four ships on the stocks, the plundering, sacking, and total destruction, of the town, which contained between 2 and 300 houses; an unnecessary and wanton act of severity, which has ever been the ruin of all our expeditions. The best settled island on all this coast, and perhaps the most pleasant in the *Spanish* plantations, was totally effaced, and reduced to rubbish, only to gratify the humour of the seamen, without drawing a single advantage from the miserable condition in which they left the industrious natives.

WEIGHING from hence, the Squadron watered at *Rio Dolce*, and, on the 12th, passed the line, keeping a northerly course for the remainder of the month. On *July* the 1st they had sight of *Nueva Espenna*, being under lat. 10° north, and four leagues distant from the continent. On the 24th he took a ship of 120 tons, the most valuable prize he had yet made, in which was one *Muhamel Samous*, a *Marseillian*, and good seaman, whom the admiral appointed his pilot. This man gave the first hint of the *Ann Maria*, which the admiral afterwards took. The 26th the admiral came to an anchor in the river *Copalita*, after having taken a bark going to alarm the country. The same night he rowed in the pinnace with 30 men to *Agatulis*, which he burnt, together with the custom-house. The latter they plundered of 600 bags of anise, each bag worth 40 crowns; 400 bags of cacao, which the natives use both for meat and money, every bag valued at 10 crowns (B). *Harris* says, that the town he destroyed was in 15° 45' N. lat. and that he rowed back

• *Hist. des Navig. aux Terres Austr. T. i. art. 16. p. 227.*

(B) These descriptions are proofs of the inquisitive and curious disposition of *Cacandis*, as well as of his avarice. The *coco* are like almonds, but less pleasant to the taste, they afford both meat and drink, at the same time that they pass for money in trade, 150 being equal in value to a rial of plate (2). Every-body knows that from them chocolate is made.

(2) *Paradis, p. 61. Hist. Nat. T. iii. p. 306.*

the.

the same night to *Agatulio*; but he does not oblige us with its name. • *August* the 24th, with a party of men, he went into the haven of *Natividad*, in the latitude of 19 degrees, where the *Marseillian* pilot acquainted him he should meet with a prize; but she was sailed before his arrival twelve leagues further, to fish for pearls. Here he burnt the town, took a mulatto, sent to give notice all over the coast of *Nueva Galicia* of the arrival of the *English*; destroyed two ships, of 200 tons each, upon the stocks; after which exploit he returned to his ships. The 26th he came into the bay of *St. Jago*, where he met with fresh water, fish, and a quantity of pearls. Soon after putting into the bay of *Malacca*, he set out from thence with a party of 30 men, demolished an *Indian* town consisting of 30 houses, then retreated to the fleet.

ON the 8th of *September* he came into the road of *Chacalla*, and next day defeated a party of 40 men with *Sanctius* as guide, who returned with plantanes, oranges, and lemons, after having travelled two leagues thro' a woody, mountainous country, without meeting with any other habitations than those of a few poor *Spaniards*, *Portuguese*, and *Indians*. • Two of the former they carried off, the *Spaniard* being a carpenter. • On the 12th he came to the island of *St. Andrew*, where he met with great store of fowls, seals, and a kind of lizard called *Iguans*, which proved excellent food. Hence he went to the road of *Masatlan*, under the tropic of *Cancer*. There is a large river running into the bay, which abounds with a variety of fresh water fish. On the coast they found some good fruit. In a little island two leagues distant they found some excellent spring water, upon digging about two feet in the sand, although it afforded not the least prospect of a relief so seasonable. The 14th of *October* he fell in with *Cape Lucar*, on the west side of *California*. Within this is a large and commodious bay, called by the *Spaniards* *Aguada Segura*. Here he watered, and remained till the 4th of *November*, being detained by a westerly wind, and desirous of watching the *Acapulco* ship. This Takes the day, as he was heaving up and down on the headland of *St Ann, a California*, one of his men from the tops descried a sail, which being signified to the crews of both ships, all things were joyfully prepared for action. They bore up with the ship, which they found to be the *St. Ann*, of which *Sanctius* had given intelligence, of 700 tons burthen. He immediately ran alongside, and some of the men boarded her; but were so warmly received, and hotly pressed, that they retreated with the loss of four men. *Candish*, unwilling to

lose such a prize for one rebuff, renewed the attack with redoubled vigour, first pouring in his great and small shot till he cleared the deck, and then intending to board her; but a lucky shot between wind and water rendered this unnecessary. The enemy was forced either to sink or surrender; the latter of which being their choice, a white flag was hoisted, and the *Spanish* colours struck. This prize rewarded all the toil of *Candish*, having found in her 122000 pezoës of gold, an immense quantity of rich silks, sattins, damasks, musk, with various kinds of other valuable merchandize, and all manner of provisions, as acceptable to the *Eng'ish* at that time as any part of the cargo. He put the *Spaniards* to the number of 150 on shore, chusing a fruitful spot for them to live in, and supplying them plentifully with wine and provisions, the sails of their ship to build huts with, and every thing else in his power to compensate the necessity he was under of taking away their ship.

AFTER this glorious acquisition of honour and wealth, the ungrateful business of distribution involved the admiral in difficulties from which nothing but his generosity and contempt of money could extricate him. Forgetful of the compact entered upon at their first setting out, quarrels and contentions, even to mutiny, arose in both ships, especially on board the *Content*. All, however, was compromised and settled by the candour and liberality of *Candish*, who made up all deficiencies out of his own proportion. Of the *Spanish* crew he retained two *Japanese* boys, a *Portuguese* who had been in *China* and *Japan*, and a *Spanish* pilot, perfectly skilled in all the parts between *Acapulco* and *Nueva Espanna*, thinking they might prove useful in his voyage. After giving a sum of money to the *Spanish* captain, arms and ammunition to defend himself against the *Indians*, he set fire to the galleon, destroying above 500 tons of rich merchandize with her, which he was unable to carry off. This great business ended, he determined to steer for *England*. Soon after he weighed from *Puerto Seguro* he had the misfortune to lose the *Content*, and, in her, the vice-admiral, who had staid behind in port after the *Desire* was under sail. He, every hour expected she would again join him; he lay by, slackened sail, and took every precaution to meet with her, but all to no purpose. In 45 days he ran from *Puerto Secura* to the *Ladrones*, a stretch of 1800 leagues. On *January* the 3d he had sight of the island of *Guad*. Here he was met by 60 canoes filled with savages, and loaded with

*He loses
the Con-
tent, his
conjoint.*

cocos, plantanes, potatoes, and fresh fish, which they bartered for bits of old iron, and other things of equal value. After the traffick was ended, and the goods delivered on both sides, they crouded so close to the ship, that two or three canoes were broke in pieces, though none of the crews drowned. They still continued round the ship; nor would they part company till the admiral ordered the harquebuses to be discharged, being apprehensive of their having some design upon the ship. Notwithstanding they were large fat men, so expert and active were they in diving, that the journalift questions whether any of them were hurt by the shot. It was amazing with what agility they leapt into the water, and returned to their canoes as soon as they apprehended the danger was over. Their canoes were neatly made, considering they were not wrought with iron tools. They were seven or eight yards in length, and half a yard broad, their heads and sterns shaped in the same fashion. The starboard side was made of rafts and reeds; their masts of bamboo or cane, and their sails of sedge, under which they fly either before or against the wind with incredible velocity.

THE 14th he got sight of the *Cape de Spirito Santo*, or *His inter-*
headland of the *Philippines*, distant from *Guam* 110 leagues. *course*
The same day he entered the streights between the islands *with the*
Luan and *Gambaia*. The next day he anchored in a bay in *casiques of*
the island of *Capul*, where a canoe, with one of the casiques, Cabul.
or chiefs, rowed along-side of the ship. The *English* passing themselves for *Spaniards* traded with the natives for roots and fruits. They were all naked, and the casique's skin painted over with some monstrous figures. He came on board the ship, and dispatched one of his attendants to invite his six colleagues to visit the admiral. They soon arrived, and with them a large train of hogs, fowls, and a whole market of cocos and potatoes. Here the *Spanish* pilot taken out of the *St. Anne* was hanged, for a plot he had contrived to betray the ship. As *Candish* lay off this island for nine days, he was furnished with many opportunities of making his remarks upon the manners and customs of the natives. Their religion is the grossest idolatry and paganism. They go naked, except a girdle with a small apron round the waist; and are of a tawny olive complexion. The rite of circumcision is almost universal among them; besides which the males undergo another operation hardly practised any-where else but in *Pegu*. They perforate the glans of the penis with a slip of tin split in the lower end, and rivetted,

* *Histoire des Navigat. ibid. PURCHAS, ibid.*

which they take out occasionally. This custom had its rise, 'tis said, from an order of the magistrates, in order to prevent the frequency of a certain unnatural crime, to which the men of the island were greatly addicted. Just before his departure the admiral summoned all the casiques, with 100 of the chief inhabitants, to appear before him. He discovered himself, told them that both he and his men were *English*, and implacable enemies to the *Spaniards*, gave them in money the full value of the tribute they had paid to him as a *Spanish* admiral; and no less surprised them by the discovery than with his generous treatment. They admired his conduct and liberality so much, that they offered to assist him with all their forces not only against *Spain*, but against all the powers on earth; after which they took their leave, and the admiral weighed anchor ^b.

ON *June* the 24th, he ran along the coast of *Manila*, steering between that island and the island of *Masbat*. They observed that the *Spaniards* kept a strict watch, by great fires on the hills, and the discharge of minute-guns for the whole night. The 29th, they passed the streights between *Panama* and *Negro* island. On the former of these the admiral landed a *Spanish* prisoner, with a message to the captain of a ship lying in the road. It imported a piece of advice to the said captain, to provide a sufficient quantity of gold against the admiral returned that way; and that he would now have weighed his *Spanish* gold in *English* scales, but for want of a pinnace large enough to land his men. After this bravado, he steered for the island *Batschin*, in one degree north latitude, continuing his course to *Java Major*, where he staid some days. Here he wooded and watered, the natives shewing him great civilities. They came with ten canoes deep-loaded with hogs, fowls, eggs, sugar, cocos, and other kinds of fruit. Some *Portuguese*, who came on board to inquire after their king *Don Antonio*, gave the admiral a very explicit and distinct account of the manner, customs, laws, and government of the natives. Their king, at this title, was a man much respected, and who had acquired a dominion more absolute than any of his predecessors. His power extended so far over the liberty and property of his subjects, that the most common bargain could not be concluded without leave from him, or some of his officers. He had an hundred wives, and his son fifty. The fate of these, after the king dies, is very particular and extraordinary. Five days after the royal body is burnt, and the ashes laid in an urn, the dowagers

assemble in an appointed place. The lady most favoured by the king in his life-time throws a ball, the spot where it rests being the place of the future tragedy. The women one by one go to the spot with drawn daggers in their hands, with which they stab themselves mortally, besmearing their bodies with the blood till they drop down dead; a barbarous sacrifice peculiar to this country, and as savage as extraordinary. The men in general are a bold, hardy, resolute people, that stick at no orders of their king, of whatever nature. Should he order them to plunge a dagger in their breasts, leap off a precipice, or perform any other the most desperate and unnatural act, they obey without reluctance, glorying in the sacrifice they make to duty and loyalty.

An extraordinary custom which he observed among the natives of Java.

HAVING gratified his curiosity with respect to *Java*, the admiral steered directly for the *Cape of Good Hope*, spending the remainder of the month of *March* in travelling the vast ocean between *Java* and the continent of *Africa*, and making observations on the appearances of the stars, the weather, the winds, and tides, the bearing and position of lands, and other matters equally entertaining and useful. On the 10th of *May* he arrived at the *Cape of Good Hope*; the 9th of *June* he made *St. Helena*; the 20th of *August* he had sight of the island of *Flores*, and arrived safe at *Plymouth*, after a terrible storm, on the 9th of *September*. We are told, that he made his entry into *Plymouth* harbour under silken sails, displaying his good fortune in the most magnificent and ostentatious manner. 'Tis probable that the loss of sails he sustained in the late storm obliged him to make use of a silk grass, a beautiful and shining manufacture, which the common people might mistake for genuine silk. Be that as it will, his vanity, if it was so, he supported fairly at his own expence. • None of those who embarked with him had the smallest cause of complaint; on the contrary, the just, nay generous, distribution of the prizes he had made, gained him little less reputation than the fame of his voyage and the circumnavigation of the globe. •

NOR was his gratitude inferior to his other qualities; for, on the day of his arrival, he wrote to his patron the Lord *Hunsdon*, the queen's near relation, in terms so warm and obliging, in a style so uncommon and concise, and in a manner so expressive of his character, that we doubt not but the letter will be thought deserving of the reader's perusal.

" Right honourable,

" **A**S your favours heretofore have been most greatly extended towards me, so I humbly desire the continuance thereof; and though there be no means in me to deserve the same, yet the uttermost of my services shall not be wanting, whensoever it shall please your honour to dispose thereof. I am humbly to request your honour to make known to her majesty the desire I have had to do her majesty service in the performance of this voyage; and as it hath pleased God to give her victory over a part of her enemies, so I trust are long to see her overthrow them all: For the places of their wealth, whereby they have maintained and made their wars, are now perfectly discovered; and if it please her majesty, with a very small power she may take the spoil of them. It hath pleased the Almighty to permit me to circumnavigate the whole globe of the world, entering in at the *Streights of Magellan*, and returning by the *Cape of Buena Esperanza*; in which voyage I have either discovered or brought certain intelligence of all the rich places of the world that ever were known or discovered by any Christian. I navigated along the coasts of *Chili*, *Peru*, and *Nueva España*, where I made great spoils, sunk, burnt, and destroyed, 19 sail of ships, small and great. All the villages and towns that I ever landed at, I burnt and spoiled; and had I not been discovered upon the coast, I had taken great quantity of treasure. The matter of most profit to me was a great ship of the king's, which I took at *California*; which ship came from the *Philippines*, being one of the richest for merchandize that ever passed through those seas, as the king's register, accounts, and merchants, did shew; for it did amount in value to — in *Mexico*, to be sold; which goods, for that my ships were not able to contain the least part of them, I was enforced to set on fire. From the *Cape of California*, being the uppermost part of all *Nueva España*, I navigated to the islands of the *Philippines*, hard upon the coast of *China*, of which country I have brought such intelligence as hath not been heard of in these parts; the stateliness and riches of which country I fear to make report of, lest I should not be credited. For if I had not known sufficiently the incomparable wealth of that country, I should have been as incredulous thereof as others will be that have not had the like experience. I sailed along the islands of the *Moluccas*, where, among some of the heathen people, I was well-entreated, where our countrymen may trade as freely as the *Portuguese*, if they will themselves. From thence I

" passed .

" passed by the *Cape of Buena Esperanza*, and found out by
 " the way homeward the island of *St. Helena*, where the
 " *Portugals* used to relieve themselves; and from that island
 " God hath suffered me to return to *England*. All which
 " services, with myself, I humbly prostrate at her majesty's
 " feet, desiring the Almighty long to continue her reign
 " among us; for, at this day, she is the most famous and
 " victorious princess that liveth in the world. Thus hum-
 " bly desiring pardon for my tediousness, I leave your lord-
 " ship to the tuition of the Almighty."

Plymouth, this 9th of

September, 1578.

Your honour's most humble
to command,

Thomas Cavendish.

SUCH was the harmony in these golden days between the sovereign and the subject. The one offered his all, and the other accepted no more than the absolute exigences of the state required.

THIS voyage must by the curious be esteemed of great value, on account of the accurate search and nice description *Cavendish* has given of the *Streights of Magellan*. His exact account of the *Philippines* was, in those times, of great importance; but, above all, his map and descriptions of *China*, which were much the best then known, and till the *Dutch* had made some considerable progress in this trade. The best judges, therefore, of this and other nations have bestowed the highest praises upon this gentleman, who shewed, through the whole voyage, the prudence and courage of a great officer, with the abilities and diligence of an able seaman. The success of this expedition must considerably have enlarged his fortune; but we are no-where told the amount. *Hackluit* says* it was sufficient to have purchased a fair earldom; a general expression from which no particular inference can be drawn. Whatever the sum was, certain it is, that his liberality and generous disposition rendered it necessary for him, in a few years, to meditate another expedition. He maintained, at a princely expence, all those persons whose experience could by any means improve his knowledge of maritime affairs; a public spirit greatly to be admired, and worthy of imitation, if not carried beyond the limits of prudence and oeconomy, necessary to keep a man easy in himself, and lastingly useful to his country. Hence it would seem, that he looked upon his voyage round the world only as an

Reflections upon his voyage, and character.

* *PURCHAS*, T. i. Part ii. p. 70, 71.

* *Idem ibid.*

introduction to future attempts. In this light, what to many appeared to be profusion and extravagance, owing to a vain and ostentatious disposition, was really done by him with a view of laying the foundation of a more extensive fortune, in a way glorious to himself and useful to his country. By his will it appears that he died without debt, and possessed of very considerable effects, after all the expences he had been at, and the losses he sustained in his second attempt to pass into the *South Seas*.

THREE ships fitted out for this voyage were the *Leicester*, *Roebuck*, *Desire*, *Dainty*, and *Black Pineapple*, all, as in the former expedition, equipped at his own expence. With this squadron he sailed from *Plymouth* on the 6th day of *August*, A. 1591, falling in with the coast of *Brazil* in *November*. Here he took the town of *Santos*, and burnt that of *St. Vincent*. From hence he continued his voyage to the straits of *Magellan*, encountered by nothing but storms, disappointments, and misfortunes; various accounts of which are given. The most copious detail is by himself, addressed to Sir *Thomas Gorges*, sole executor of his last will. Here he attributes his miscarriage to the desertion and villainy of *Davis*; he complains of dissensions, quarrels, and mutinies; of the south-west winds and winter-storms, by which he was driven from shore to shore, with such snow and frost as he never before saw or felt. For these reasons he was obliged to return to the *Brazils*, where he sickened and died of grief. Thus ended the expedition and life of Sir *Thomas Cavendish* (for he was knighted after his return from his voyage round the world), which greatly affected maritime knowledge and the interest of seamen in general; many of whom were turned abroad in the world, and obliged, for bread, to offer their services to foreigners. After what has been said, it would be unnecessary to sum up the character of this great man, which was chequered with noble virtues and splendid vices; whose faults, at the same time that they impaired his fortune, and impeached his prudence, raised his reputation, were useful to merit, to science, and to his country.

His death.

S E C T. XI.

*The voyage round the world of Oliver Van Noort ; the rise and intention of it ; his arrival at the Bra-
zils after many previous misfortunes ; his distresses in
the Streights of Magellan ; his entrance into the Pa-
cific Ocean ; the success of his cruises on the coasts
of Chili and Peru ; his arrival at the Ladrões,
Philippines, and his sharp engagement with the Spa-
niards off Manila ; his arrival at Borneo, at the
Cape of Good Hope, St. Helena, and lastly in
Holland.*

THE low condition to which the *Hollanders* were reduced ^{Oliver} by their long and vigorous struggles for liberty with ^{Van} Philip II. of Spain, gave them the first notion of establishing ^{Noort's} a commerce with the *East and West Indies*. The late suc- ^{voyage} cesses of the *English* against the *Spanish* plantations and ship- ^{round the} ping, their own repeated disappointments in search of a world. north-west passage, and probably the ambition of rivalling their neighbours in the fame of circumnavigating the globe, were the motives which occasioned this expedition of *Van Noort*. The design was originally set on foot by some eminent merchants in the *Low Countries* ; and the success, they were sensible, depended in a great measure on the choice of an able, vigilant, and brave general ; for by that appellation the *Dutch* distinguished in those days the commanders in chief, either by land or sea. No man more likely to answer their purposes could be thought of than *Oliver Van Noort*, then in the flower of his age, of an established character, great maritime abilities, and a strong passion for glory. The scheme was accordingly communicated to him, and he embraced it with a readiness that gave happy omens of success. The necessary measures being concerted, and the terms settled, the adventurers proceeded to build two stout ships, and to appoint officers every way qualified for so important and hazardous a voyage. These vessels were called the *Maurice* and the *Henry Frederick*, which were to be attended by two yachts, the *Concordia* and the *Hope* ; the whole manned with 248 able-bodied seamen, well provided with arms, ammunition, naval stores, provisions, and every thing necessary to make the expedition secure, successful, and easy. All imaginable care was taken to put the officers in a condition to

The wise precautions of the proprietors to establish the authority of the admiral, and prevent mutiny on board.

to maintain their authority ; a precaution ever since attended to by the *Dutch*, and the want of which has been fatal to the enterprizes of almost all other nations.

THE Squadron being completely manned, and all things in readiness to enter upon their voyage, the proprietors presented a petition to the board of admiralty at *Rotterdam*, upon which the parties concerned were summoned before the board ; the regulations for their government read to them, and every man sworn to their strict observance. These rules had been drawn up by the company, revised and approved by the stadtholder, and afterwards perused by the admiralty. This circumstance deserves notice, as it shews the early attention paid by that wise republic to the commerce of her subjects, by putting a check upon those who might attempt to abuse their authority. The laws even of private traders became the laws of the state ; by receiving the public sanction they became of equal force with those of the country ; and they suffered the same penalties who were hardy enough to break through them. *Mellish*, the favourite and companion of *Candish* in all his voyages, who had offered his service to the *Dutch East India* company, then in its infancy, was appointed pilot to this voyage, and heartily engaged in the cause by a reward equal to his merit, and the nature of the service. On the 13th of *September*, A. 1598, the little Squadron sailed out of *Gorée* harbour, and pursued their voyage to *Plymouth*, where *Mellish* came on board. The 21st, *Van Noort* set out from *Plymouth*, the wind blowing a fresh gale at north-east. Next day he observed that the shallop, with the men belonging to his vice-admiral, had been left behind. He was deliberating whether he should not return for them, when he was hailed by an *English* privateer, who told him that they had wilfully run away, and his returning would be to little purpose, as they were probably concealed. This raised some doubts and jealousies on board concerning the capacity and vigilance of the vice-admiral, which were soon increased by his losing this shallop which he had in tow, with a man in her. Now his carelessness was loudly taxed by the seamen, who promised themselves but little success under an officer, who, at the first setting out, had given such manifest proofs of supineness and indolence. *Van Noort*, however, by his authority restored the seamen to their former humour, and secretly enjoined the vice-admiral to be more upon his guard ; assuring him that vigilance was a chief quality in a commander. On the 4th of *October*, he met at sea with a small fleet of *English*, *French*, and *Dutch*, from whom he had advice of the terrible plague on the coast of *Barbary*, which

had swept away above 250,000 people in a short space of time; a circumstance which determined him not to touch upon that shore. December the 4th, he made *Cape Palma* in 3° 30' north latitude, and, on the 10th, had sight of *Prince's Island*, lying in 1° north latitude. Having sent his boats before to make discoveries and soundings, he entered the bay with a flag of truce, and met a negro canoe, with the same pacific emblem. His demand for provisions was granted upon fair and amicable terms; but, while this point was adjusting, a party of the inhabitants sallied out of their ambushade, and cut several of the *Dutch*, in pieces. The brave *English* pilot Captain *Mellish* was among the slain, whose loss *Van Noort* lamented as being irrecoverable. Not contented with this, the treacherous *Portuguese* pushed their villainous conquest to the utmost, drove the *Dutch* to their boats, killed and took a considerable number, among the former the admiral's brother, and were near making prisoners of all the rest. In revenge for this outrage, it was determined, in a council of war, to attack the fort; which experiment being tried, it was soon dropt, as too dangerous. However, they destroyed all the sugar-works, took on board fresh water, and then set sail ^a.

*The
treachery
of the
Portu-
guese.*

On the 25th they arrived off *Cape Gonçalvo*, where they observed the sea and land breezes, but in a manner unusual in other countries. They were informed here of the misfortune of Captain *Verhagen*, on the same island where they had lately suffered. On the 9th of *January* they arrived at *Rio Janeiro*, and after some further losses, owing to the treachery of the *Portuguese*, arrived at *St. Sebastian*, where they met with the comforts of a good harbour, fresh water, and plenty of provisions, but no fruits. On *March* the 14th, the vice-admiral and the *Hope* were parted from the fleet in a violent storm; but afterward joined on the 17th. The scurvy appeared in the fleet, which, together with the approach of winter, made *Van Noort* desirous of putting in at *St. Helena*; but, missing that, he resolved to steer for *Ascension*, or some other island capable of supplying them with fresh provisions. It was his hard fate to be carried to a barren island, where nothing was found besides a few sea-fowl, which the men knocked down with clubs. Sailing from thence in hopes of meeting with *Ascension* island, he found himself by the first of *June* on the coast of *Brazil*.

^a See the Latin Journal translated in PURCHAS's Pilgrims, p. 71. T. i. Part ii. to which we refer the reader for the rest of the voyage, as to particulars.

The *Portuguese* denying them the liberty of coming on shore, the admiral sailed for the island of *Clara*, lying in $21^{\circ} 15'$ S. lat. This small island, but a mile in compass, afforded nothing but herbs, and a species of four plumbs, which, in the space of fifteen days, cured all the scorbutic patients. After much bad weather, the admiral reached *Port Desire*, *September* the 20th. He furnished himself with abundance of fish and penguins at an island three miles south of the harbour. Of the latter sort the seamen took 50,000 as large as geese, well stored with eggs, which proved excellent food. They went up the river on *October* the 5th, on the banks of which they saw a kind of stags, several buffaloes and ostriches. Some of the nests of those birds they met with contained 19 eggs. On the 20th, the admiral went on shore, to examine the country, leaving orders with those who guarded the boats not to stir a foot from them; which charge they disobeyed, and suffered for it. They had gone but a little way from the shore, when they fell into an ambuscade, in which three were killed, and one wounded. The savages were tall well-proportioned men, naked, and armed with bows and arrows. On the 24th, *Van Noort* made *Cape Virgins*, and had several struggles to enter the straits; in all of which he was frustrated, and beat back by tempests of snow, hail, wind, and rain. They lost their anchors, and broke their cables. Sickness, and then contention, were superadded to their other calamities.

He is prevented by storms from entering the Straights of Magellan.

THINGS remaining for some time in this situation, it was fifteen months after their departure from *Holland* before they could enter the *Straits of Magellan*. They observed the land to lie south-west from *Cape Virgins*, and the mouth of the straits to be about fourteen miles distance from it. They saw men upon two different islands lying near *Cape Nassau*. These were hardy enough to bid defiance to the *Hollanders*, brandishing and flourishing their weapons at them. The *Dutch*, notwithstanding this menace, landed, and pursued the savages to a cave, where they put every man of them to death, after they had defended themselves to the last drop of their blood. The *Dutch*, entering the cave, found the wives and children of those brave unfortunate men in the darkest part of the recess, bewailing and lamenting their loss. Taking compassion on their sufferings, the *Dutch* left them unmolested, carrying off only four boys and two girls of their number. One of these boys having learned to speak *Dutch*, gave a description of the islanders, which we shall insert in its proper place.

ON the 28th they steered towards the continent, entering the mouth of a pleasant river, the banks of which were well stored with wood, and beautified with numerous flocks of parrots green and grey. This they called *Summers Bay*, on account of the pleasant prospect it afforded. Next day they bent their course to *Port Famine*, the land leading here so far to the south, that the island of *Pantagon* and *Terra del Fuego* seemed at a distance to meet. Not the least vestige could they discover of *Sarmiento's* city, except a heap of stones and rubbish, which shewed there had once been buildings. *Sarmiento*, when he laid the proposal for building a city before *Philip*, acquainted him, that the straits in this place were no more than a mile in breadth; whereas, according to *Van Noort* they measure at least four miles, the hills on each side being lofty, deep, and covered the whole year with snow. In *Port Famine* they cut down large trees to make a boat, the bark of which they found of a hot pungent taste, biting the tongue like pepper. After this, doubling *Cape Frost*, and with some danger, they anchored at four miles distance, in a fine large bay. Here they met with *inckwe-wort*, and a plant which they affirmed occasioned a delirium for some time, and afterwards a *coma*, heaviness, and stupor, which could not be overcome but by long sleep. In this bay *He met*, they met with *Schaffian de Weert's* ship, separated with *an-de Weert* other vessel from *Lerhagen's* squadron, and driven hither out in the of the *South Sea*. *De Weert* had spent five months in the straits, straits, having but 38 men left out of a crew of 110 able and ar-seamen. r: in the South Sea

VAN NOORT, on the first of *January*, directed his course to *Maurice Bay*, which, he took notice, extended eastward, receiving several rivers that pour into it from the surrounding mountains. This was now the summer season in that climate, yet could they not touch the bottom at 10 fathoms sounding, so thick was the ice, which blocked up the mouths of the rivers with mountains of congealed snow, that seemed to have continued for years. After sustaining a variety of hardships from famine, extreme cold, and storms of hail and rain, to crown their misfortunes, they lost company of the vice-admiral, for whom they waited several days in vain. *Van Noort*, upon this, held on his course to the island of *Mocha*, in the latitude of 38 degrees south. Here the seamen bartered knives hatchets, and toys, for sheep, fowls, maize, hacheys, &c. They visited the town, which consisted of 50 houses thatched with straw, in which they were entertained by the natives with a liquor made from maize steeped in water, which they called *Chii*. *Van Noort*

us, that polygamy is practised here in such a manner, that the man who has the happiness to have a large family of daughters, is sure to make a fortune by the sale of them to husbands. If a man commits murder, the kindred of the slain are his judges and executioners. They have no magistrates of justice, that being intirely left to the sufferers; yet is it no uncommon thing for a criminal to buy off his punishment by a bribe of *Cici*. Their clothes are made of the wool of a large species of sheep, which they likewise use as beasts of burden.

AT *St. Mary's Island*, distant about 18 miles from the former, the admiral met with a *Spanish* ship laden with meal and lead for *Aranco* and *Conception*. To her he gave chase, and had the good fortune to take her, which proved a seasonable relief to the crew. By the pilot of this ship he was acquainted, that the south winds would prevent his getting back to *St. Mary's Island*, and that at *Arica* lay two *Spanish* men of war. This determined him to steer for *Val Paraiso*, by which he lost all hopes of again joining the vice-admiral. *Val Paraiso* stands upon the sea, in 33° south latitude, and is distant from *St. Jago* about 13 miles, the latter lying up the country. They took two ships, and killed some *Indians* in a skirmish in the bay. Here they received letters from the captain of the *Flying Hart*, a ship belonging to *Verbaghen's* squadron, separated from him by a storm, and led into the hands of the *Spaniards* by a mistake in our common maps, which placed *St. Mary's Island* as high as 38°, tho' in fact in lies 37° 15' south latitude. Hence we see of what import-

His observations
and incur-
sion upon
the Span-
ish colo-
nies.

ance it is to lay down exactly the parallels of places. A party marched up to *St. Jago*, where they intercepted some letters which informed them of the wars between the *Spaniards* and the natives in *Chili*. The latter, revolting, sacked the town of *Baldivia*, putting great numbers of *Spaniards* to the sword, and carrying off troops of captives. They set fire to the houses and churches, and struck off the heads of the images, crying Down go the gods of the *Spaniards*. They crammed their mouths with gold, bidding them satisfy themselves with that dust, for the sake of which their votaries had committed such barbarities, cruelties, and massacres, amongst them. After this, laying siege to the city *Imperio*, they almost starved the garrison to death; the whole party of *Indians*, that performed such exploits, amounting to no more than 5000 foot and 3000 horse. But such is their valour, and hatred of the *Spaniards*, that no danger could dismay them, no difficulties overcome them. To such a pitch of fury do they carry their resentment, that they tear

open

open the bowels of all the *Spaniards* they lay hands on, gnaw their hearts with their teeth, and imagine they give a higher relish to their liquor by drinking it out of a *Spanish* skull. But we shall have occasion to speak of this warlike nation elsewhere.

APRIL the 1st the admiral entered the bay *La Guasco*; which he left on the 7th, arriving on the 11th at *Moro Cove*, ten miles from *Moro Moreno*. All this tract to *Arica*, and up to *St. Francis Hill*, is subject to constant south winds, although in the adjoining sea they are exceedingly variable. The 20th the air was obscured and quite darkened with an *Arcual*, or cloud of dust, raised so thick, that a man cannot see before him at the smallest distance. They are frequent in these parts, being carried off from the adjacent shores by the violent gusts of wind. As the admiral approached the famous city of *Lima*, he first got intelligence of the value of the prize of which he was robbed by the malice of the *Spaniards*. *Nicholas Peterson*, who had been made captain of the prize, told *Van Neort*, that he was certainly informed of a negro, that the ship had on board three tons of gold dust; a circumstance the more to be credited, as the negro was employed in shipping it. Whereupon the *Spanish* pilot was closely examined; but he refused to make any confession, till another negro asserted it. Upon this he owned, that they had on board 52 chests, each containing four *arobes* of gold; besides 500 bars of the same metal, weighing from 8 to 10 lb. each; all which, with the private adventures of the ship's crew, the captain ordered to be thrown overboard, to prevent its falling into the hands of the *Dutch*. The whole cargo of gold weighed 10,200 pounds weight, valued from its fineness at 2,000,000 of pieces of eight. This they owned was brought from *St. Mary's Island*, where gold mines had been discovered about three years before, defended at this time by no more than three or four *Spaniards* and about 200 *Indians*. The admiral ordered the strictest search to be made through every part of the ship, and all the crew to be closely examined; but all he found was a pound of gold-dust in the pilot's breeches. He bore his disappointment with fortitude, determining, if an occasion offered, to repair it, as far as caution and courage could be of use.

SEPTEMBER the 5th he had sight of the *Ladrones*, putting in on the 16th at *Guana*, where he supplied himself with fresh fish and fruits of all kinds. Frequently 200 canoes would surround the ship, crying out, *Hiero, Hiero*, Iron, Iron, the men overturning their canoes and all with eagerness to snatch this much-valued commodity. The 17th *Van*

Noort sailed for the *Philippines*. On the 20th he met with ice in the latitude of 3° north; a phenomenon that greatly surpris'd him. In *October* he came to *Bogla Bay*, where, pretending to be a *Spaniard*, he was plentifully supplied with every necessary; but did not follow the example of the generous *Candish*, in throwing off the disguise, and paying liberally for whatever he had taken. However, he was soon detected, upon which he steered for the streights of *Manila*, where he was overtaken by a storm, which carried away his masts, and greatly damaged the ship. When they approached land, some of the men went on shore, and, eating heartily of palmetoes, were seized with the bloody flux. On the evening of the 24th he passed the island of *Capul*, near which he found whirlpools, bottomless as far as he was able to discover. *November* the 7th the master of a *Chinese* junk laden with provisions for *Manila* acquainted him, that there were two large ships which came yearly from *New Spain*, and also a *Dutch* ship bought at *Malacca*; that the town was walled, and the harbour defended by two forts: that this port drove a prodigious trade with *China*, no less than 400 ships came yearly with silks, and other rich merchandizes, from *China*; adding, that two ships were every year expected from *Japan*, laden with iron and provisions.

Van Noort takes several small prizes.

ON the 15th the *Dutch* took two barks loaded with fowls and hogs, the tribute paid by the *Indians* to the *Spaniards*. Passing the streights of *Macassar* islands *Bankingle* and *Alindore*. the admiral anchored in a bay on the opposite island of *Luffon*, in 15 degrees north latitude, waiting here for the *Japanese* ships. *December* the first he took one of them of 50 tons burthen, and a very peculiar construction, besides that the sails were made of reeds, the anchors of wood, and the cables and ropes of straw. The 9th he took two barks, one laden with coco-wine and aqua vitæ, the other with rice and fowls. On the 14th he met with the *Spanish* ships returning from *Manila* home, when immediately a fierce engagement commenced. The battle having continued for some hours, the *Dutch*, overpowered with force and numbers, were reduced to great distress, the admiral being once boarded, and very nearly taken. *Van Noort*, seeing that without a desperate push all would infallibly be lost, renewed the courage of his men by despair, threatening, that if they did not speedily clear the decks of the *Spaniards*, he would blow the ship up. Upon this, the *Dutchman*, hurried on by fear and rage, fought with incredible fury; cut down all before them, cleared their own ship, boarded the *Spanish* admiral, and sunk the ship in the heat of blood. This

His brave action with the Manila ships.

3

brave action cost them no more than five lives, but they had 25 wounded. As to the enemy, above 300 were either killed or drowned, and near 100 wounded.

AFTER this exploit, which gained *Van Noort* immortal honour, he sailed for *Borneo*. On his arrival, he sent a messenger to the king, requesting leave to trade with the natives; but his majesty, suspecting him to be a *Spaniard*, refused that permission upon any terms, till his officers had thoroughly examined the ship, and fully satisfied themselves that she was *Dutch*. After this, *Van Noort* traded with the *Patanees* for pepper to a considerable amount.

IN the mean while the *Borneans* formed a plot to seize the ship; to effect which, they surrounded her with 100 praws, pretending they brought presents from the king; but the *Dutch*, suspecting some treachery, gave them notice to keep at a distance, or they should be constrained to fire their cannon upon them; the very mention of which sufficiently terrified the *Borneans*, and made them drop their design. On the 4th of January, in the night, four *Borneans* were discovered in attempting to cut the ship's cables, and to bring her aground. They were immediately so closely plied with grape-shot, that, quitting their design, they left their praw a prize to the *Dutch*, who took her in the room of the shallop they had lost. Next day the admiral set sail, and, in his way, met with a *Japanese* junk bound to *Manila*. By her he received advice of a large *Dutch* ship forced by tempests to *Japan*, so distressed by famine and disease, that, of all her crew, only 14 remained. She first put in at *Bongo*, from whence, by the king's order, she was removed to *Atonza*, where the men enjoyed a safe harbour, liberty to trade, and leave to build a new ship; after which they were permitted to go where they pleased. From this account *Van Noort* doubted not but it was *Verbagen's* ship, or at least one belonging to his squadron. Dismissing the junk, he crossed the line a third time, sailing with the utmost hazard and dread for want of a pilot, or accurate charts to guide him through shoals, islands, and rocks innumerable. Providence, however, soon delivered him out of his distress, by bringing in his way a junk of *Per*, out of which he took a pilot perfectly acquainted with these seas. Nothing could be more welcome or seasonable than this unexpected accident; for such was his condition, that he now had but one anchor left, and the cable almost worn out. He was an in-

ture stranger to the navigation of these seas, and so was every man on board; nor, from past experience, could they have any confidence in the too general and erroneous charts hitherto published. Now he sailed with courage, and a joy equal to the greatest success and most prosperous voyage. On the 28th he came to *Jertan*, upon the island of *Java*, where he received advice of some *Dutch* ships lying at *Bantam*. Thither he proposed sailing; and, on his way, saw a *Portuguese* ship of 600 tons stuck upon the shoals, and in the utmost danger of foundering. He was told by the crew, that she was bound to *Ambona*; but *Van Noort*, suspecting she had been sent out in quest of him, left her, with a true *Dutch* brutality, to perish with 700 men on board, without offering the smallest relief. After this, he steered for the *Cape of Good Hope*, arriving at *St. Helena* without any remarkable occurrence. In his way from thence to *New Holland* he met six *Dutch* ships bound to the *East Indies*, *James Heemskirk* admiral. By him he was told, that he had engaged thirteen *Spanish* ships off the *Salt Pits*, in which he lost his vice-admiral and pinning. Steering away for *New Holland*, he met with some *Emden* merchantmen with whom he exchanged rice and pepper for beef and bread; after which he arrived at *Rotterdam* on the 26th of *August*, after a perilous voyage of nearly three years.

He arrives
in Hol-
land.

His conduct was greatly approved by the proprietors, although they reaped no great advantage from the voyage. It was rather looked upon as an affair of national benefit; and of future more than present advantage. The *Dutch* now reaped not only the benefit of some new lights thrown upon the navigation of the *South Seas*; but likewise shared with the *Portuguese* and *English* the glory of having surrounded the globe, a circumstance that highly delighted them.

Reflections
on the
voyage.

One thing very remarkable occurs in this voyage performed by *Van Noort*; it is, the rigorous discipline maintained and kept up only by the inferior officers and seamen, but by the very highest in authority. Even the vice-admiral experienced the weight of that power necessarily lodged in the hands of the general; he was tried with immovable severity and caution; proceeded against for breach of the articles of association sworn to before the board of admiralty; had full time allowed him for his defence; and, after a fair and impartial hearing, was condemned to be detained in the *Sanctiights of Magellan*, with a slender pittance of provisions, where he probably fell a prey to hunger, or to the furious rage of the savages against all foreigners. A circumstance omitted in the journal of the voyage, but mentioned by other historians, particularly *De*

Weert's journal inserted in that curious collection of *Harleian Voyages*. The dread of such punishments keeps within bounds, and to their duty, those whose errors are most fatal in such expeditions. From a deficiency of authority in the commander in chief, many great undertakings have fallen, a competition between the officers being naturally attended with faction, discord, and mutiny, among the seamen. The gratification of private ends, of resentment and pride, is constantly preferred to the public good; to the consequences of which we may well apply that observation of the Latin poet,

Quicquid delirant reges, plebsuntur Achivi.

THIS voyage of *Van Weert's*, although attended with no striking advantages, served to incite the ardour of the *United Provinces*, and particularly of the *East India* company, after farther discoveries in the *South Seas*, and a more complete intelligence of the passage of the famous *Magellan*. For this purpose a commission was granted to *George Spilberg*, or *Spilbergen*, a seaman of great experience, merit, and reputation. Six ships were appointed him, completely equipped, and the nomination of the officers left in a great measure to his own discretion, which they imagined would prevent all jealousies and disputes on board. On the 8th of August 1614 this fleet sailed from *Texel* with a strong gale at *S. E.* Nothing remarkable, besides storms and tempests, occurred till his arrival in the height of the *Sape de Verd* islands, which he observed stood in $14^{\circ} 30'$, whereas in all preceding charts and maps they were laid down in 17° south latitude. By the 12th of October he fell in with the *Brasil* coast, having happily escaped the shoals of *Abrolhos*, lately fatal to the *Portuguese*. On the 20th, anchoring in the road of *Ilus Grande*, he erected tents on shore for the sick, keeping three distinct *corps de garde* for their security, as he was in perpetual apprehension of the *Portuguese*. Soon after he hoisted a white flag, as a signal for holding council of war. Here it was resolved to send the shallops to water at a river two leagues distant from the fleet, with the *Huntf-~~man~~* yacht to convey them. The captain having strict orders to anchor so close to the shore, that the cannon could cover the men at work in filling the barrels. This order he neglected, the consequence of which was fatal, the *Portuguese* having cut off a shroud that had been put into the shal-

^b T. vii. p. 120 in *Histoire des Voyages aux Terres Austr.* T. vii. p. 293.

lops. They had two stout frigates concealed in a little harbour, inaccessible to strangers, formed by two high islands, which forced *Spilbergen* to set sail without attempting to revenge the insult.

A conspiracy on board discovered. ON the 1st of *January* 1615 a conspiracy, formed on board the admiral ship, to carry her off, was happily discovered. The ringleaders were hanged up at the yard-arm, and the rest put in irons, and distributed among the different ships. In case of separation, certain places were appointed for a rendezvous, and the necessary precautions taken for effecting a junction, after which he steered directly for the streights, having taken a *Portuguese* bark in their way. Several jesuits were on board, who offered a ransom of plate, pictures, and some fair manuscripts of value; but these being already the prize of the *Hollanders*, they refused parting with them but for an equal number of *Dutch*. On *Mar-* the 7th *Spilbergen's* Squadron was in extreme danger from a violent storm, which came on under latitude 6° 40' South. This produced a mutiny, which the admiral quelled with a rebud, by throwing the most turbulent overboard, without inquiry or form of trial. The 28th of the month the straits, and was driven back by strong winds and tides; upon which some of the crew cried out to winter in *Port Desire*, others being no less eager to hold their course for the *Cape of Good Hope*, a thing impolitic, and not to be admitted. *Spilbergen*, without giving ear to either, re-entered the straits; and, after passing through numberless dangers, and surmounting almost insuperable difficulties, arrived on the 6th of *April* in the *Pacific Ocean*, where he was welcomed by the most dreadful storm he had yet encountered. Soon after he had sight of *Chiloe* and *La Mocha*, at which island he did all he could to draw the inhabitants to traffick with the seamen. The governor and his son dined on board the admiral, and seemed resolved to see to complete and strong an armament, directed against the *Spaniards*. The natives of *Chiloe* were also invited to see to strong a body of soldiers, and, in token of their regard, exchanged sheep and fresh provisions for haberdasheries and coral. The remainder made by *Spilbergen* on the animals, and other produce of this country, taken up, and what we have related, that the reader will excuse our repeating them. Putting into harbour, he narrowly escaped being cut off by an ambuscade laid for him by the *Spaniards*, who had invited him to dinner. They suspected, however, from their treachery, the party appointed to way-lay the *Dutch*, being discovered and cut in pieces. To prevent this, the *Dutch*, without delay, set fire to their house, and burned every thing till the

carried off 500 fowls, a great number of sheep, and other provisions equally useful to them. Here they received intelligence of three large ships, having 1000 men on board, sent in quest of the *Dutch* squadron, which was now spoiling and plundering their country. This determined *Spilbergen* to seek them in his turn, for which purpose he steered his course for *Conception*. Not finding the *Spanish* squadron here, he sailed for *Val Paraiso*, meeting in his way with a *Spanish* ship, which the crew burnt, and abandoned on his approach. From hence he went to *Quintero*, where he watered, then turning his course to *Arica*. Every-where, on his approaching the coast, he found the people alarmed, and prepared to receive him. Leaving *Arica*, he took a small vessel with some treasure on board; after which, on the 16th, *Spilbergen* from the tops descried a squadron of eight sail. This general meets, the captain of the prize told him was the royal squadron of *engages*, *Pera*, come out in search of the *Dutch* fleet, against the advice of the remonstrance of the council. Don *Roderigo de Sotoy, the* *royal* *squadron*, *Merloza*, the viceroy's kinsman, was admiral, a vain-glorious, arrogant, and naughty man, who boasted, "that with two of his ships he would make *England* tremble; much more those *Dutch* land, half-starved, weather-beaten, hens." So conceitedly full of his own power was this *Thraso*, that he imagined the *Dutch* would be no match for so superior a fleet, and to the terror of his vains, which, by the way, they never before heard of. His relation the viceroy, upon his remonstrances, had given him liberty to put to sea, to bring the *Hollanders* bound hand and foot into his presence, the admiral swearing he would never return till he had accomplished it, if perchance they were not all killed in battle. With a fleet completely equipped, armed with brass ordnance, and filled with seamen and marines, he joyfully hoisted sail in quest of *Spilbergen*, and now met with him. As it was late in the evening, he deferred engaging, by the advice of his vice-admiral, till the next morning, when the light might prevent their making their escape, and render the victory more complete, conspicuous, and glorious. Notwithstanding *Merloza* offered to this advice, yet so impatient was he to acquire honour, that about 10 o'clock the same night he made a signal to attack, and bore down with his own ship on the *Dutch* admiral, who gave him a reception very unlooked for. *Spilbergen* met upon him with so much courage, and poured in his shot so expertly and vigorously, that the *Spaniard* was soon discovered, and would have struck, but for the interposition of his vice-admiral, who disengaged the *Dutch* vice-admiral, with whom he had been

in close fight. After a short contest, in which *Mendoza* behaved with an intrepidity uncommon in a boaster, his whole fleet was intirely defeated and destroyed. Of the 460 men on board his own ship, not 50 remained alive, and these covered over with wounds. The other ships suffered proportionably; two of the smaller vessels were sunk with their crews, and as complete a victory obtained by *Spilbergen* as *Mendoza* had promised to the viceroy. On the side of the *Dutch* 30 men were slain, and above 50 wounded; but the glory resulting from this brave action made the survivors not repine at the loss.

IMMEDIATELY after the engagement *Spilbergen* sailed for the road of *Caba de Lima*, imagining *Mendoza* had escaped out of the battle; but here he learnt, that the ship, and the few remaining hands on board, had sunk before day-light appeared. Passing by *Peyta*, the Squadron was hotly plied by the heavy batteries on shore, a 36 pounder having nearly sunk the *Huntsman* yacht. An army of 4000 men, and several squadrons of horse, were seen drawn up on the shore, commanded by the viceroy's person. *Spilbergen* was cruising for the *Manila* fleet, being anxious of raising his fortune in some degree proportioned to the glory he had obtained by the late empty victory. Orders were issued to the captain, to take the utmost care to prevent a separation; a circumstance which threw them into great danger and perplexity in the late action. It was also concerted, that if a *Spanish* ship should strike, the captain and chief officers, without leaving their own ship, should order the enemy to come on board in their boats, to prevent the confusion which avarice had so lately occasioned, and which had almost been fatal in the late engagement. The 28th he arrived in the road of *Guarime*, 10 degrees beyond the line, a pleasant place and safe port, but deserted on their approach by the inhabitants. The 8th of April *Spilbergen* came before *Paita*, and landed 300 men, who, after skirmishing with the enemy, returned to the fleet, having found the town too strongly fortified for an attempt by so small a body of men. The ships were brought to bear upon the walls, which they battered for the whole day, being esteemed impregnable towards the sea. They remained in the road till the 21st, without effecting any thing. The fleet put to sea, and anchored at *Rio Tumbuco*. After their departure from hence they were afflicted and troubled about with tempestuous weather till the 13th of the next month. The 20th of September *Spilbergen* got sight of the coast of *Nueva Espagna*. At length, having been off the coast till the

the 11th of October, surrounded by a thousand dangers, and Spilbergen every moment before their eyes, the storm continuing without intermission for several weeks, he entered the haven of *Acapulco*, within shot of the castle, hanging out a white flag. Two *Spaniards* came on board, and settled a cartel for the prisoners, who were to be exchanged for fresh provisions. Soon after *Melchior Hernando*, the viceroy's nephew, made the *Dutch* admiral a visit, to gratify his curiosity with respect to the strength of that armament which had defeated the royal squadron of *Peru*. He was received with marks of great distinction, which he returned with florid and high-strained compliments to *Spilbergen*, upon his courage and conduct.

He now determined to steer for *Manila*, which he did on the 18th, arriving there on the 9th of February. The *Indians* refused to trade with him, because they said the *Dutch* were enemies to the *Spaniards*. This, however, was a very coherent argument with others for transferring the whole trade into his hands. At *Capul*, where he arrived the 11th, the *Heavens* gives to a man freely trade with him, and even gave the *Dutch* the preference to the *Spaniards*. The *Indians* of this place wear long coats like shirts, and are remarkable for the profound veneration in which they hold all the clergy, before whom they will throw themselves as the highest mark of honour, be permitted to kiss their hands. On the 15th, he drops anchor on the coast of *Luconia*, the chief island of the *Manilas*, in which stands the city of *Manila*. The 24th, he passed the high and flaming mountain *Allaca*; two days after he saw the further end of the streight; and, on the 28th, anchored before the island *Mirabelles*. On March the 5th, he took several barks which had been sent to collect the tribute paid to the *Spaniards*. Now it was that he received advice of a fleet of twelve sail, manned with 2000 *Spaniards*, besides *Indians*, *Chinese*, and *Japanese*, sent to the *Moluccas* to drive the *Dutch* out of those islands, and wrest the trade from them. This determined *Spilbergen* to set all his prisoners at liberty, and proceed with all expedition after the *Spanish* fleet; not doubting, but he should soon meet with a reinforcement of *Dutch*, which would render him in a condition to cope with the enemy. It accordingly fell out as he expected; for, on his arrival at *Malaya*, he found twelve large ships, which, joined to his squadron, composed a very formidable armament. It was debated whether an attack should be made on *Tidore*; but it was only debated; for the high ships on any other side prevented their coming to a resolution. Those discords pointed out the necessity there

there was for electing a commander in chief of the united fleets. Accordingly *Laurence de Real* was invested with this authority.

The great
Spanish
armaments
dwindle
away
without
having ef-
fected any
thing.

Soon after *Spilbergen* received the governor's commission and orders to sail with two ships to the island of *Java* and city of *Bantam*, with instructions to settle the trade on such terms and in the manner he should think proper. He arrived at *Batavia* on the 7th of *September*, where he found it necessary to carry his ships, and provide sheathing, which he did with the utmost caution, lest he should be surprised by Don *Juan da Silva*, who was expected to sail from *Molucca* upon a cruise against the *Dutch*. His apprehensions on this head were soon eased by certain advice he received, that Don *Juan* had died suddenly, not without suspicion of having been poisoned; just as he was on the point of departing; and that, in consequence of this accident, the *Spanish* fleet, which sickness had before greatly weakened, was now returned to the *Manilas*. Thus a *Spanish* armament, supported by great expence for four years, dwindled away into nothing, without striking a single blow; a circumstance, that greatly impaired the reputation of that people in the *Indies*.

While they were thus employed at *Tacaran*, the rapid increase of the *Dutch* trade through all the colonies was observed with great surprise. In the short space made here, no less than four ships loaded with spices, and other valuable cargo, arrived from the *Moluccas*, and from *Hollanda*. The ships from *Europe* brought a reinforcement of soldiers to the garisons, and supplies of ammunition and all kinds of warlike stores, which were much wanted. About this time arrived *Schouten* and *Le Maire*, of whose voyage we have given an account, and of *Roggewin's* arrival at *Batavia*, and the seizure of his ship. To add more weight to our assertions concerning the jealousy of the *Dutch East India* company, lest a traffick should be opened with the Southern continent, we shall repeat the words of the author of *Spilbergen's* voyage. The reader will hence see with what diligence the company endeavoured to depreciate the merit of any new, or all a coveries by that route, and to diminish the attention to the reality of the pretensions some persons had made to discover new coveries. Speaking of the arrival of *Le Maire* in the "course of their long voyage," says the author, "*Spilbergen's* expedition, 'those people did not redress at *Rio Tumbuco*, 'no new nations, with whom we might have trafficked and raised

the coast, till the

" pretended to have discovered a passage, different from that
 " the which ships hitherto passed. But there was little ap-
 " pearance of this, since, by their own account, they had
 " spent fifteen months and three days in their course from
 " the streights to the island of *Ternate*, tho' they had fair
 " winds all the way, and notwithstanding the advantage a
 " single ship has over a fleet, where the best sailor must stay
 " for the worst. These pretended makers of discoveries, who
 " boasted of having found out a new freight, were very *The endea-*
 " much surprised to hear that admiral *Spilbergen* had waited *vours of*
 " so long at *Ternate*, and arrived so much sooner than they, *the Dutch*
 " notwithstanding his fleet was composed of such large ships, *East India*
 " and had been so much and so often retarded, had fought *company*
 " so many times, had been put back, stopped and trafficked *used to dis-*
 " in so many parts, and yet come out but scarce eight months *credit the*
 " before then, and spent only a year and seven months in *discoveries*
 " all their expeditions to the time of their arrival at the *Le*
 " *Maire*.
 " *Lucas*."

Thus to work the reader will perceive a strange mixture
 of truth and falsehood, of vanity, prejudice, and injustice,
 founded partly on error, partly on selfish and narrow views.
 Great praise is doubtless due to Admiral *Spilbergen*; and
 his voyage must be regarded as one of the most successful
 that ever had been performed through the *South Seas* by the
Dutch, as by no other nation. But but justly can
 we attribute no depreciating the labours of another; and
 setting in question a fact at that time so well attested, and
 since so thoroughly proved.

To proceed; *Spilbergen*, on the 14th of December, A. 1616,
 weighed anchor at *Bantam*, to proceed on his voyage to *Hol-*
land, with two ships, the *Amsterdam* and *Zealand*. On Ja-
 nuary the first, 1617, the *Amsterdam* lost sight of her con-
 sort. March the 6th, he arrived at *St. Helena*, where he
 found the *Zealand*; both arriving in *Holland*, after a prospe-
 rous course, in the month of July. Their return was ex-
 tremely grateful to the company, who loaded them with
 his, particularly *Spilbergen*, whose audience equally re-
 sulted to the advantage of the company, his own honour,
 and the glory of his country. Multitudes of people stocked
 his ships; an extract of his voyage was imme-
 diately published; and, from the day of his return, the
 large ships, with company men, were said to date their first
 formidable armament. Reputation they acquired
 should be met of surrounding the globe, and power and
 high dispute.

PURCHAS, *ibid.*

wealth

wealth were the necessary result of the conquest of the *Moluccas*; in which *Spilbergen* not only assisted, but brought home the first intelligence.

Remarks
on *Spilbergen's*
voyage.

ONE remark on this voyage we cannot avoid making. The defeat of the royal squadron of *Peru* by *Spilbergen* is the clearest proof of the great superiority the free spirit of a republic will ever maintain over the most refined politics of an arbitrary court. The king of *Spain* was by no means ignorant of the importance of his colonies in *America*. He had their support, and the interest of commerce, really at heart; and yet we see in how short a time not only the *English*, but the States General, who a little before had been slaves to the *Spanish* monarchs, were able, on their own private accounts, and through the courage of their officers, to cope with all the naval power of this kingdom. Hence it appears, that, to raise a maritime strength in any country, nothing is so requisite as freedom, a wise and honest administration, and a confidence in the people, that they may enjoy in security what they have acquired with danger and labour. This encourages them to support disbursements, to exert their utmost strength and diligence in equipping armaments, and to persevere with unshaken constancy in the prosecution of what appears to be their interest, at the same time they are protected as pursuing the interest of the public. Hence it appears not only how soon a nation rises, raised by their means, but how soon it declines, when freedom, liberty, and spirit, begin to droop. Not many years before, the *Dutch* were so ignorant in navigation, that they were obliged to have recourse for skilful pilots to the *English*; but, twenty years after, they sent out powerful fleets, aiming not at plunder, but conquest, and defeating that maritime power which had acquired such reputation by the discovery of one of the *Indies*, and prodigious strength by the possession of both. "Reputation will vanish," says a judicious historian, "and power must necessarily decline, when men grow wiser than wealth, and employ the blessings and gifts of Providence for other purposes than they were designed." As the industry and virtue of the *Portuguese* and *Spaniards* began to slacken, by the abuse of rewards, which were now applied to the maintenance of an empty magnificence, a dissipation, luxury, and a proud indolence; so the *Dutch*, by their just estimation of merit, by their diligence, their frugality, and public spirit. The *Spaniards* picked themselves in being absolute masters of other nations; the *Dutch* struggled to be their own masters. The prodigious flux of wealth, and extent of dominion, ruined the one; the poverty, the narrow

row limits, and the oppression of the haughty *Philip*, roused up the others unto an exertion of their strength, and enabled them to perform actions superior to their natural abilities. Such reflections as these naturally arise from perusing the first accounts of a rising commerce; and happy are the people who pay a due attention to their importance. Corruption and luxury are equally fatal to all; and whenever we see them prevail in a maritime state, the foundation of whose power and grandeur is in commerce, we may, without any extraordinary share of penetration, venture to foretel that her decline is approaching, and her total ruin and destruction not very remote.

S E C T. XIII.

The voyage of Jaques Le Hermite round the world, with the squadron commonly called the Nassau Fleet. His passage through the Streights of Le Maire; his attempts on Calao de Lima, and the other occurrences of the voyage.

MOST of the maritime powers began now to be sensible, that the true method of distressing his Catholic Majesty was by destroying his settlements in the *South Seas*. Sir Francis Drake, and other English officers, led the way; the Dutch followed with more success, as the advantages they gained were of a more lasting nature. To destroy the fortified towns, and lay the *South Seas* open to the incursions of privateers and small squadrons, it was necessary first to send stout ships and strong armaments, with authentic and proper commissions. In the year 1622, Prince Maurice of Nassau was at the head of the admiralty in *Holland*, and the first spring of the administration. With his approbation, if not at his motion, a resolution was taken of sending a strong squadron into the *South Seas* for the above purposes. This squadron it was intended should not pass by the *Streights of Magellan*, but by those of *Le Maire*, in order to be in a condition to commence hostilities against the Spaniards. The prince not only approved this project, but likewise assisted it by a considerable sum of money out of his own private purse. A fleet of no less than seven men of war, besides smaller vessels, was fitted out, and the necessary instructions for accomplishing it given to the admiral of *Holland*, and to the *East India*

dia company, who appointed certain commissioners to inspect and preside over this equipment^a.

The preparations for this voyage. THE necessary preparations were forwarded with such diligence and vigour, that, in the spring of the following year, the fleet was in readiness to put to sea. The chief officers were appointed, and the command of the whole given to *Jaques Le Hermite*, an experienced seaman, enured to the fatigues of long voyages, and accustomed to an extensive command, which for many years he executed with great reputation in the service of the *India* company. *Hugo Scapenham* was made vice-admiral, the sweetness of whose manner, and the integrity of whose life, were no less recommendations than his great naval abilities, to the trust reposed in him. The whole force of the fleet amounted to 1637 men, of which 600 were regulars, divided into five companies, and 294 pieces of cannon, brass and iron. It is necessary to observe, that the government of the *United Provinces* differed at this period from what it was before, or has been since. It was in fact rather a monarchy than a republic; the prince of *Orange*, then stadtholder, having a true regal influence, weight, and authority. Under colour of necessity he assumed the supreme executive power; every thing passed through his hands, and the stadtholder in reality held the reins of government, but in the name of the states. Most of the officers in this expedition were appointed by him, who in this, as in every thing else, had in view the establishment of his own power, as well as the good of the public. Hence the reader will easily perceive the original source of the many misfortunes and miscarriages of this voyage. Sea-officers were made by court-favour, and a land-general, who pretended to no skill in maritime affairs, consequently could be no proper judge of the merits of the persons he appointed. These are the reflections of *John De Witte*, the most celebrated statesman, and the best political writer of his nation and age, without who except the learned *Grotius*.

To proceed; the *Nassau* fleet sailed from the *Goeree* April 9th, 1623. In the evening of the 30th, the *Eagle* sprung a leak, which obliged *Le Hermite* to put into the ill-famed *Wight* for repairing her. Next day the *Hope* and *et app*cept the *Hope*, anchored at *Portsmouth*. The captain's ship, out of mere caprice, must take a different course by which was almost attended with fatal consequences. She run her

^a The remainder of this voyage is extracted from HARRIS's Collection, T. i. l. i. p. II. to which we refer the reader, without specifying every page.

ground, and was with the utmost difficulty saved by the vigilance of the vice-admiral, who assisted him with the shallows of the whole fleet, eased the ship of her guns, and took every other effectual measure to save both ship and crew. On the 14th, the admiral gave the signal for sailing, by ordering a gun to be fired, which, by some unhappy accident in the charging, burst, blew up a part of both decks, demolished the cabin near it, and had almost communicated with the powder-room.

THE admiral gave orders, that, in the day, the fleet should extend itself as far as possible, without losing sight, in hopes of intercepting the plate-fleet, each ship returning at night to the flag. It was also resolved in council to keep as close to the Spanish shore as possible, in order to make prizes, from which the proper intelligence might be procured. On the 31st they spoke with three Turkish corsairs, who acquainted them that they had been chased off Cape St. Vincent by six Spanish men of war. Next day they fell in with two more corsairs, one of which they took several Dutchmen who had been made prizes, contrary to the treaty subsisting between the states general and the piratical states of Algiers and Tunis. On the 1st of July they gave chase to a fleet of ten sail, which proved to be Spanish, homeward-bound from Fernambuco, and laden with sugar. The admiral was acquainted by the captains of some of the prizes that there were not less than thirty thousand Spanish men of war cruised in those seas; a circumstance that required the most cautious and prudent conduct in him. He therefore resolved to call a council of war, and to be determined by the sentiments of this assembly in what manner he should proceed. Here it was strongly debated, whether, their ships being deeply loaded, it would not be next to impossible for them to use their lower tiers of guns, without easing their ships of many things necessary to the success of the voyage? hence it was concluded not to enter upon action with a fleet so superior, which would probably terminate in the destruction of the design they were upon, if not the squadron. This being the opinion of a majority, a resolution was taken to bear away to the road of Safia, where there were several Dutch ships, on board of which they might put the goods taken in the prizes, to be transported to Holland. Here they met the *Overijssel* man of war, with some other Dutch ships. The captain of the *Overijssel* acquainted Le *Hermite*, that his crew had mutinied, and deprived him of the command: upon which Le *Hermite* ordered the ringleaders to be put in irons, tried, and condemned, and hanged at the yard-arm; a necessary severity.

Some unlucky accidents at their first sailing.

He falls in with some corsairs, who gave him intelligence of the Spanish fleet.

A mutiny punished on board one of the Squadron.

rity to reduce the rest to obedience. Three others, who had been turbulent, tho' not authors of the conspiracy for running away with the ship, were ordered to be keel-hawled, and afterwards to serve on board without wages.

*He arrives
at Sierra
Leona.*

THE fleet anchored in the road of *St. Vincent* on the 5th of *July*, where the admiral determined to disarm the ships, and wait the proper season for doubling *Cape Horn*. The 25th he weighed from these islands, in order to prosecute his voyage. On the first of *August* they came within sight of the high coast of *Sierra Leona*, where the admiral put in to repair the leak in one of the squadron. Here the negroes insisted upon having made a present to them, before they would permit any of the seamen to go on shore. Accordingly two bars of iron, two pieces of cloth, and a few ribbons, were given them, with which they appeared to be highly satisfied. Next day they came on board to visit the admiral, to whom they presented an elephant's tooth and some fowls, for which they were amply rewarded. Among the visitors was the king's brother, dressed in a suit of striped cloth, made for the Dutch fashion, and scarlet slippers. He was attended by a captain of the guard, a man who seemed to set a high value upon his reputation. Some of the ship's crew found a species of nuts on shore, greatly resembling nutmegs. They were so delicious in the taste, that the men ate heartily of them; but were afterwards ill, and soon dropt down dead with bodily covered over with livid spots. The rest escaped by proper medicines and care.

*The admiral
was in great
danger.*

THE 25th of *August* the *Maurice*, a capital ship, had been almost lost through carelessness; for, after careening her, they forgot to shut the scupper-holes, by which she had eight feet water in the hold before it was perceived. September, the 4th, the admiral, who was confined to his bed with sickness, ordered anchor to be weighed, and the fleet got under sail, steering to the island *Annaboa*; but a contrary wind and a storm arising, they were driven back, and almost with the loss of the admiral and vice-admiral, both of which stuck upon a sand-bank. After the whole fleet had been alarmed, and put in confusion, they were both got off without any considerable hurt. The admiral, in a galliot, assisted in performing the men employed at this work, in order to inspire and encourage them by his presence and example. His, and cold he contracted, brought on a relapse, which he never afterwards recovered. While the fleet was at anchor in the road of *Cape Lobo*, a circumstance fell out, which, on account of its singularity, deserves to be mentioned. A great number of seamen died on board the *Maurice*, and it was observed

observed that they were taken ill immediately after the surgeon's medicines were administered, with symptoms very suspicious. The matter being debated in council, and the facts clearly proved, the vice and the rear-admirals were directed to send for the surgeon, *James Verger*, and closely to sift and examine him. This they accordingly did, but with the utmost address, tho' to little purpose. All their exhortations and entreaties could extract nothing from him; upon which the torture was applied, by hoisting him up to a great height, with weights to his feet and hands, and then letting him fall suddenly down. All this he suffered not only with constancy, but with insolence and contempt, laughing at his judges for their vain endeavours to put him to pain. His insensibility induced a suspicion, that some charm or incantation he was master of prevented the effects of the torture. He was searched accordingly; and in a little bag, which hung round his neck, were found the skin and tongue of a serpent. Some days after this another examination was appointed; of which when the criminal had notice by their coming to take him out of lions, he sprung out of the hands of the persons ordered to confine him, and tho' he was pinioned, plunged himself over the ship's side into the sea. A sailor, who was near him, leaped in after him, and endeavoured to save him; but the surgeon made such strong efforts that he had certainly drowned both, if another sailor had not had resolution and presence of mind enough to throw himself after them, and keep the surgeon's head above water, till all three were laid hold of by the men in the shallop. Perceiving, after this attempt, that he would be too strictly watched to find such another opportunity, he made the following horrible confession; viz. that he was a native of *Louvaine*, descended from *Spanish* parents, and a licentiate in physic and surgery; that he had wilfully destroyed seven men, because they had given him a great deal of trouble, without any emotion resulting to him from it; that he was resolved to attempt some extraordinary cures, and, if he succeeded, to demand, as a reward, an order from the admiral to dine at the captain's table; that, if this favour was denied him, he resolved to poison the admiral, the vice-admiral, and every officer he suspected would oppose his request; that he had determined to enter into a contract with the devil, and had, for that purpose, often invoked him, but without effect; that, since he had been in irons, he had often attempted to destroy himself, and among other methods, had endeavoured to smother himself with his pillow. There appeared strong reasons for suspecting him of other crimes no less shocking and

*He is put
to death.*

unnatural, he was therefore, by the unanimous consent of the council, condemned to death; and accordingly had his head struck off on the poop of his own ship; a death too mild, if there could have been a more complete punishment inflicted on a wretch that had revolted from every dictate of virtue, of reason, of conscience, and of the human heart.

*Le Her-
mite ar-
rives at
the island
Annobon.*

By the time the Squadron arrived at the island of *St. Thomas*, the scurvy had so prevailed, that, despairing of having hands sufficient to work the ships to *Annobon*, the admiral appointed a day of fasting and solemn prayer, and the chaplain had instructions to compose a discourse suitable to the occasion, humbly imploring the divine favour towards those who were sick, the preservation of those who were yet in health, and, he giving an happy issue to the endeavours of the officers in seeking a proper place for the refreshment and recovery of the crews. They then altered their course, steering westward, in order to meet with a south-east wind, when, on the 29th, to their great astonishment, they saw the island of *Annobon*, at the distance of ten leagues, and at a time when they did not think it possible to fall in with it from the course they held. The 30th they anchored in the road of *Annobon*, and next day the vice-admiral and fiscal went on shore, where they were received with a flag of truce. The governor *Don Antonio Nunez de Matos* gave his consent that they should traffick and barter with the natives for whatever they wanted; take in water, gather what number of oranges they thought fit; and that they should place a guard at the watering-place, for the security of their seamen; upon this single condition, that they behaved discreetly, without giving molestation or offence to the inhabitants. The *Dutch* had received fowls, hogs, oranges, &c. in exchange for salt, upon which it was resolved to make the governor a present worth 300 livres, with which he was by no means satisfied. Besides this, the seamen had given other causes of discontent, by insulting the negroes, and taking from them their fowls without paying for them, which, with some other grievances, so provoked the governor, that he was very near arresting the vice-admiral, and some other officers who were on shore. However, reflecting that they came in confidence of the promise he had given, he suffered them to retire, telling them withal to be cautious how they relied for the future on the word of an officer, for that it was then in his power to have carried them up to the mountains, from whence double the force of their whole fleet would not be able to rescue them. After this, they parted with mutual civilities. It must indeed be acknowledged, that the conduct

*The noble
conduct of
a Portu-
guese go-
vernor.*

C. II. *A History of the Southern Continent.*

conduct of the *Dutch* officers was rash and imprudent, in putting themselves in the power of a *Portuguese* officer, from whom they had little to expect, and merely upon his bare promise. But, however they were to blame, we cannot enough admire the generous behaviour of the governor, who, by no indignity or affront, could be prevailed on to break thro' the laws of honour and hospitality. •

AFTER leaving the island of *Annobon*, they saw a great number of sea-gulls, and a quantity of herbage floating on the water, whence it was conjectured they were not far distant from the *Southern Continent*. On the 16th the sea appeared as red as blood, which they afterwards found proceeded from an infinity of small shrimps floating on the surface. On the 28th they lost sight of their bark with eighteen men on board, which they never more beheld, altho' they were afterwards told that she had reached *Holland*, the men having endured all the extremities of thirst and hunger. On the first of *February* they made *Cape de Pennace*; but the admiral's instructions restraining him from touching on the coast of *Brasil*, north of *Rio de la Plata*, they did all in their power to discover that river, but soon found that the south-west winds had driven them too far eastward. At length, on *February* the 2d, they found themselves at the mouth of the streights, which they discovered accidentally by means of a *Spanish* pilot on board; so little skilled in navigation were the best officers on board, in the admiral's absence. Having gained the entrance of the streights, they saw two ships at anchor in the bay, which they afterwards called *Valentine's Bay*. From *Le Hermite's* having spent nine months in his passage hither from *Holland*, the reader may be led to imagine that the voyage must be extremely tedious and dangerous, which it by no means is, if undertaken at a proper season of the year. It is obvious, that the *Dutch* fleet sailed too soon in the year, and thence crossed the line in the worst season; for if they had deferred this till the end of *October* or beginning of *November*, they would then have had a physical certainty of meeting with the north wind between the tropics; a circumstance which would greatly facilitate the passage through the *Streights of Maire*. •

FEBRUARY the 6th the fleet had sight of *Cape Horn*, which then bore from them three leagues north-north-east. They were on the 11th in 58° 30' south lat. the weather so excessively rigorous that the seamen, who were at short allowance, found it almost insupportable. On the 14th a great variation was observed in the compass, which they were unable to adjust, as all the compasses in the fleet varied from

The natives of the
straights
order
some
Dutch-
men to
wait on
them.

each other; a phænomenon that greatly perplexed and surprised the most experienced seamen on board. This day the admiral called a council, to deliberate about the currents, and procure the opinion of all the pilots in the different ships. At the instant when the white flag was hoisting as a signal, *Cape Horn* was discovered about seven leagues to the west, whence it was obvious, that the currents had carried them strongly to the east; whereas they imagined they had set to the west, according to *Le Maire's* account. On the 16th they were in the latitude of $56^{\circ} 10'$, *Cape Horn* lying then east. They likewise sailed in sight of two islands situated about 15 leagues west of the cape, which were not set down in the charts. While the shallops were watering in a bay, a storm arose which drove them to sea, leaving 19 men on shore, two only of which were found alive the next day, when the shallops returned, the rest had been knocked on the head by the savages. As only five bodies cruelly mangled could be found of the seventeen that had been murdered, it was supposed the savages had carried off the rest for food.

The difficulty in re-
turning
thro' the
straights,
from the
South to
the North
Seas.

THE vice-admiral, being sent in the *Greyhound* to examine the coast, reported, that he had found the *Terra del Fuogo*, as marked in the charts, divided into a number of islands; and that it was not at all necessary to double the cape, in order to enter the *South Sea*; but that they ought to leave it on the south, and enter in on the east, the bay of *Nassau* passing into the open sea by the west of the cape. He likewise gave it as his opinion, that there were several passages out of the bay of *Nassau* into the *Straights of Magellan*. Till the time of *Le Hermite* almost all navigators had been of opinion, that it was easy to go from the *Straights of Le Maire* to *Chili* and *Peru*; but that it was scarcely possible to pass from them, by the *Straights*, into the *North Sea*, because, according to their opinion, the south winds blow constantly in those seas. But *Le Hermite* found it quite different, the frequent tempests from the north-west and-by-west rendering it incomparably more easy to pass from *Chili* and *Peru* into the *North Sea*, than it was to reach these through the *Straights* from the *North Sea*. The winds that rage here with more violence than is known in any other country, and indeed with a fury altogether inexpressible, blow constantly from the west, and may be reasonably supposed to arise from watery exhalations. Such ships, therefore, as are bound westerly, ought to avoid this coast with a scrupulous caution, keeping as much as possible to the south.

THE strong westerly winds, still continuing, gave the admiral great uneasiness, as they prevented his complying with his instructions from the states to proceed directly to *Juan Fernandez*, as soon as he had passed the straits. A council was called, that a resolution might be taken as to a fit place for the rendezvous of the fleet in case of being dispersed, or of wintering if these tempests continued. A majority were of opinion, that the most prudent resolution would be to wait two months for better weather, and to employ their utmost endeavours to double the cape, and get into the *South Seas*. On the 8th they were in 61° ; on the 14th in 58° ; and on the 18th, 19th, and 20th, they had a fair and fresh wind from the south-east. The weather likewise became warm, so that, after all the tempestuous blowy season they had sustained, they now began to imagine themselves in another climate. On *March* the 28th they saw the coast of *Chili* lying east-south-east. The admiral, who was at this time confined to his bed, being informed that they were within a few leagues of the coast of *Chili*, expressed an eager desire to put into the port of *Chiloe*; but at the same time declared, that it was contrary to his instructions to touch, before he entered upon action against the *Spaniards* in *Peru*. This determined him to make the best of his way to the island of *Juan Fernandez*, there to prepare everything necessary for annoying the *Spaniards*, attacking the galleons in the port of *Arica* in case they were there; and making themselves masters of that place, in order to extend their conquests by the assistance of the *Indians*. On *April* the 1st the vice-admiral was forced to keep his bed, and appeared to be so much exhausted and worn out with fatigue, that the crews were under great apprehension of losing both the admiral and him before the voyage was at an end. When they anchored at *Juan Fernandez*, every ship's company had orders to provide themselves with as many chevaux de frise and pallisadoes as possible; and the vice admiral, being somewhat recovered, visited all the artillery in the fleet.

ABOUT this time five of the seamen, being convicted of breaking into the hold, and stealing from thence several barrels of wine, were for that offence condemned to be hanged, but pardoned by the admiral. On the 13th of *April*, all things being in readiness for the intended attack, the fleet weighed from *Juan Fernandez*. As it was not possible to determine how soon they might be obliged to enter upon action, the necessary instructions were distributed to all the captains, and the fleet was directed to sail for the future in three divisions. On *May* the 2th they took a bark off the

i.e. Her-
mite ar-
rives on the
coast of
Chili.

*Prepara-
tions for a
descent on
Arica.*

coast of *Peru*, in which, besides the captain, there were four other *Spaniards*, and six or seven negroes. From these the admiral was informed, that the plate-fleet had sailed the preceding *Friday*, being the third of that month, from *Calao* for *Panama*, consisting only of five sail, two men of war and five merchantmen, richly laden. They were further informed, that the *Spanish* admiral was still at *Calao*, a fine ship of 800 tons and 40 brass cannon; with two pataches of 14 guns each, with 40 or 50 merchantmen of no force. That all the shipping was towed on shore, and secured there by three strong batteries, with other stone works mounted with upwards of 50 pieces of cannon, all ready prepared for the reception of the *Dutch*, of whose motions they had early and certain intelligence. That the viceroy had formed a body of men amounting to 400, well armed and disciplined; but that lately hearing of the near approach of the *Hollanders*, he immediately summoned the whole force of *Peru*, so that it was not doubted but he would be soon at the head of an army of several thousand men. Experience proved the truth of this information procured from the *Spanish* prisoners, than which nothing could be more seasonable. A council was assembled on board, and a resolution taken to delay the attack no longer than the next morning. As the admiral was absolutely incapable of fatigue, the vice-admiral, assisted by his brother-in-law *Cornelius Jacobsen*, took the command. Besides the companies of soldiers on board, it was thought necessary to have an equal number of seamen formed into companies, and headed by their own officers. As the boats were not sufficient to land the whole together, it was resolved that the soldiers should debark first, and fortify themselves by throwing up a breast-work till they were joined by the seamen.

The attack MAY the 10th, the vice-admiral, putting himself at the
made on head of the land forces, got into the boats, and rowed for a
Calao de considerable time along the shore, but without finding it
Lima. possible to land, though, if he could, there was a great appearance of his being joined by the natives and negroes. The

The Dutch admiral ordered that the *Greyhound* yacht should draw close
sail in to the shore, and protect the boats, and cover the landing
their at- by a perpetual fire; but the *Spaniards*, aware of this, had
tempt thrown up a strong battery on the only part of the coast where it was possible for a ship to ride. The yacht was soon disabled, and this design frustrated; notwithstanding this, two companies, with twelve shallops, armed with small cannon, began at midnight to row directly to the fort of *Lima*, having on board a great quantity of combustible matter.

- A false attack, was at the same time made to the north of *Colao*, to draw the *Spaniards* thither; which had the effect, the shallows entering the port during the confusion the feint had occasioned, and distributing their combustibles among fifty sail of shipping, thirty of which perished. No sooner had the *Spaniards* discovered the design of the *Dutch*, than they made a furious fire; but to little purpose, the shallows sheltering themselves behind the burning ships, and firing from thence on the enemy with great success. After this action had continued with great obstinacy for several hours, the *Dutch*, having finished their business, retired with the loss of seven men killed, and 15 wounded. The attempt was extremely bold, hardy, and well conducted; but the consequences by no means corresponded with its merit. Nothing could be gained from burning the *Spanish* ships; glory was all the reward, and that to a penurious *Dutchman* is of less value than perhaps to any other *European*. What increased the disappointment was, that, after the ships were in a flame, they perceived, if they had carried hatchets with them, the cables might have been cut, and the whole fleet made prize of with equal loss to *Spain*, and with infinitely more advantage to *Holland* than empty praise. The greatest loss was sustained, in the admiral's ship, with which he desperately attempted to board one of the pataches in the middle and hottest of the enemy's fire. Early the next morning nine of the burning ships broke from their moorings, and fell down with a gentle breeze on the *Dutch* squadron, which obliged them to weigh with all possible dispatch, and screen themselves behind the island of *Lima*, of which a captain's command took possession. Here the *Dutch* threw up strong works, that they might screen their shallows then in a leaky and shattered condition.

AFTER this miscarriage, a council, to deliberate on their future operations, was held. As their instructions directed them, in case of any disappointment in a descent, to apply their whole force to the distressing the *Spaniards*, by taking their shipping, this they resolved upon. In their instructions, this reason was given for blocking up the port of *Lima*, and stopping all commerce, viz. that by this means a trial should be made of the inclinations of the natives, and possibly a total revolution brought about. Prince *Maurice* had received, before the sailing of their fleet, some general intelligence with respect to the dissatisfaction of all the negroes in the *Spanish* colonies, particularly in *Peru*; this was the foundation of that article of the instructions, which, admitting it to be true, the fleet had no opportunity of proving, *The miscarriages of the fleet owing to false intelligence: seized by either Holland.*

either by the negroes or natives. The prudent precaution of the viceroy rendered both the negroes and natives incapable of any attempt. They were immediately disarmed ; a body of *Spaniards* raised ; all the works put into their hands ; a company of free negroes assembled, who were so proud of their liberty, that they became the greatest oppressors of their own countrymen, and the most zealous partisans of their old masters ; pride, interest, and gratitude, all co-operating to make them discharge the trust reposed in them with fidelity. As the whole fleet was not wanted to block up *Calao*, *Cornelius Jacobson*, with four ships, was ordered to cruise to the south, and make as many prizes as possibly he could. Here they appear to have varied from the spirit of their instructions, which was, to attack and plunder *Arica* ; and this might easily have been done, supposing it in the defenceless state they believed in *Holland* ; after which they might have stretched their conquests to the inestimable mines of *Potosi*, where their acquisitions would at once more than indemnify the States and Prince *Maurice* for the expence of the fleet ; the greatest injury would have been done to *Spain*, the most decisive blow struck, and the sailors fully recompensed for all the dangers and fatigues they had undergone. Whether it was that they found *Arica* in a different condition from what was believed in *Holland*, well fortified, garrisoned, and supplied with every necessary to render the design of the *Dutch* impracticable, we are not told in the journal of this voyage. Yet it is probable, that some such reasons deterred the admiral from the attempt, since we find by other accounts, that this was the state of *Arica* a few years after, and that neither of the *Dutch* admirals had hitherto afforded any handle to impeach their courage. As for *Potosi*, there were certainly 2000 *Spaniards* assembled there capable of beating arms, soon after the attempt on *Calao*. Thus all the fine projects formed in *Holland*, of rich and extensive conquests in *India*, appeared to the admirals, upon trial, to be wild chimeras, romantic dreams, founded upon an imperfect intelligence, and false estimate of their own and their enemies strength. Among ourselves, we have of late fully experienced many similar instances.

MAY the 14th *Jacobson* sailed with his division to cruise off *La Nufca*, *Pisco*, and the coasts south of *Lima*. During his absence, the vice-admiral converted two of the prizes into fire-ships, determining, if possible, to destroy the galleon lying in the harbour, and at the same time to seize on the town of *Galagui*, either by force or stratagem, which he heard was a place of no considerable strength. Both attempts

tempts miscarried; the town was found to be well fortified, *An at-* and garrisoned. As to the fire-ship, she was carried into *tempt to* the harbour, filled with 2000 weight of powder, fire-works, *burn the* and shells, and brought with great danger within a short *galleon* distance of the galleon, when it was perceived that the whole *frustrated.* project was frustrated by a bank of earth that separated the galleon and fire-ship. The *Dutch* then retired with great precipitation to their own fleet, amidst showers of shot that came pouring down among them, but happily with no effect.

On June the 2d *Jaques Le Hermite*, Admiral of the fleet, *Jaques Le* expired in the port of *Calao de Lima*, after a long illness, *Hermite* which he bore with the courage of a soldier and the resignation of a Christian. His sickness and death have undoubtedly been the cause of numberless miscarriages in the expedition. To him the States reposed the chief confidence, and the bad state of his health prevented his exerting himself in the manner his own honour, spirit, and courage, dictated, and that was expected in *Holland* from his known reputation. The vice-admiral suffered his flag to remain flying in the *Amsterdam*, that the enemy might have no notice of *Le Hermite's* death. Next day he was buried on the island of *Lima* with great decency, and all the pomp their circumstances would permit. All the prizes were adorned with streamers and flags; in order to deceive, the guns were fired over the admiral, as on rejoicings for their success in the *South Sea*. After this, a second attempt was made to fire the galleon, but to as little purpose as the foregoing. The fire-ship navigated by the supercargo of a *Dutch* ship entered the harbour boldly, and, finding that the galleon rode in a basin every way defended, the *Dutchman* endeavoured to escape; but the enemy fired upon him so briskly, that, forced to set fire to the train, the fire-ship blew up with a dreadful explosion, but no damage to the enemy, and he retreated in the shallop to the fleet. Such was the end of this enterprise, which cost them much labour, danger, and money.

JUNE the 13th the *Spanish* prisoners representing, that the viceroy was disposed to treat for their ransom, it was determined to make him the overture. In consequence whereof, an officer with a flag of truce was sent in a small vessel on shore. Notice of the arrival of the *Dutch* being carried to the viceroy, he gave orders that the seamen in the vessel should have their hands tied, and their eyes covered, while the shallop remained on shore, and that the officer should be conducted to him in the same manner. In the evening the seamen were set at liberty, and all imaginable pains taken

to engage them in the *Spanish* service, which they all to man rejected with scorn. After this, the viceroy gave this answer to the *Dutch* admiral's proposal: That he had nothing besides powder and ball at his service; that he would enter into no negotiation or treaty of any kind with him; that he would not ransom the prisoners at any price whatsoever; and that if any of the *Dutch* should hereafter, upon any pretence, or under any pretext, enter the port of *Culao* with a flag of truce, he would have them instantly hanged up with the flag about their necks, since he could not but esteem them as traitors to their king, enemies to their country, to the laws of nations, of nature, and of honour. When this answer was reported to the council of war, they resolved to hang up all their prisoners, giving the following reasons for so inhuman a proceeding: they were greatly straitened for provisions, and had hardly any water left; it was therefore impossible to keep the prisoners, and, if they did, no ransom could be expected. On the other hand, to set them at liberty was equally against the laws of prudence and of war, since it would only serve to expose their weakness, and render them the scorn and derision of their enemies; weak arguments indeed to combat the feelings of the heart, and that compassion which every generous breast owes to the unfortunate. On the 15th, in the morning, this cruel resolution was put in execution, with a barbarity that justly renders them infamous to posterity, and which can hardly be paralleled in history, excepting by the shocking affair of *Amboyna*. Certain we are, that no people pretending to civilized manners, and the Christian religion, ever disgraced both by a more flagrant instance of a rude, savage, and callous heart, dead to all the warmer and nobler feelings of the mind! Twenty-one *Spaniards* were actually hanged up at the yard-arm of the mizen-mast of the admiral, in the sight of an infinite number of people on the shore, and amidst the brutal insults of the sailors on board. Three old men were sent in a bark to *Culao*, with a message to the viceroy, importing, that as they had no quarter to expect from him, they were determined to give none to such as fell into their hands; that therefore he ought to esteem this action as the necessary consequence of his own brutal conduct.

The Dutch
hang up
all the
Spanish
prisoners.

The consequences of
Cornelius Jacob-
son's at-
tempt.

In the mean time *Jacobson* returned from his cruise. His report was agreeable to the disappointments the whole fleet had hitherto met with, but not with the expectations of the admiral. He had landed at *Pises* on the 4th, with much difficulty and danger. Marching within musquet-shot of the town, he found it regularly fortified, with a wall round it of

fifteen feet, a garison of 2000 foot, 200 horse, and every other requisite for a long and obstinate defence. In these circumstances *Jacobson* was under the necessity of throwing up an intrenchment for his own security, and, instead of laying siege to the garison, was under the greatest apprehension of being surrounded and cut off by it. Under cover of the night he retreated to his ships, with the loss of five men killed, sixteen wounded, and thirteen deserters, happy that he got off so cheaply. Hitherto there never had been a more disastrous expedition undertaken with so potent an armament. It begun with misfortunes, which continued in one uninterrupted chain till the death of the admiral, which would seem to crown the mishaps of this unfortunate voyage.

BEFORE the resolution was formed of sailing for *Chili*, a gunner was hanged at the yard-arm in sight of the whole fleet, for endeavouring to desert. From the intelligence they received of the condition of *Chili*, they had reason to promise themselves a happier issue to their enterprize than so unlucky a beginning seemed to forebode. The natives had now been in arms against the *Spaniards* for more than thirty years. They had taken the city and port of *Baldivia*, which they kept. The *Chilians* were at that time the most warlike nation of *America*, different in manners, customs, and government, from the rest. Their hose especially were excellent, and greatly superior to the *Spanish*. The usual method with them was to raise an army of 3 or 4000 men, to lay waste the country, block up the fortresses, starve the garisons, and harass the encampments of their enemies. Their perseverance was equal to their courage; and their activity could be exceeded by nothing but their caution. Willingly, if we may pay any credit to the historians of those countries, would the *Spaniards* have abandoned *Chili*; but they dreaded the loss of *Peru*. The brave *Chilians*, they were sensible, could not enjoy their own liberty, without giving freedom to their neighbours; and their resentment was directed against tyranny, not against the *Spaniards*, if their conduct had not rendered them the same object.

As to the *Spaniards*, they had for many years contented themselves with recruiting their exhausted forces by fresh supplies of transported malefactors. A little before the arrival of the *Dutch*, they had augmented the garisons by a supply of regulars from *Buenos Ayres*. Hence a new mischief arose; these people finding themselves ill-treated, and the service hard, mutinied, and dispossessed their officers of the command. Thus all things were thrown into confusion; no one acknowledged a superior, and the army was divided into little

little bodies, acknowledging no other authority than that of the viceroy, which no one was hardy enough to dispute. In this situation were things when the *Dutch* admiral received the last intelligence. Circumstances such as these naturally inspired him with hopes of being able to draw an advantage from them. The appearance of the *Dutch* fleet off the coast, it was not doubted, would give many discontented persons an opportunity of declaring themselves, revenging their injuries, and establishing their power, it would at least, they all agreed, bring over a considerable body of the natives. But after the resolution of quitting *Lima* had been formed, the admiral found it necessary to wait for the *Hope* and *Maurice*, then on a cruise, to prevent their falling into the enemies hands. During this stay, the scurvy raged so extremely in the whole fleet, especially the four ships returned from the cruise under *Jacobson*, that scarce hands sufficient to navigate them were left. Thus, notwithstanding their late great hopes, affairs now grew worse, and tended almost to despair. One day, however, a *Swiss*, who was likewise infected, took it into his head to climb to the very summit of the highest hill in *Lima*. Here he met with great plenty of a species of herbage he had been acquainted with in his own country; of which eating heartily for some days, he soon recovered. This, as soon as known, induced the other seamen to make the experiment, and parties were every day sent out to furnish the fleet with the salutary vegetable. The effects answered their warmest wishes, and every seaman in the fleet was, in the space of a few days, restored to perfect health.

JULY the 18th, two *Spanish* deserters from *Calao*, who having murdered the captain of the *Spanish* horse in a fray about a woman, took sanctuary with the *Dutch*, gave the admiral all the intelligence he could desire concerning the state of that town. Their report was such as served to convince the *Dutch* how imperfect were all the advices received in *Europe*, and how impracticable their attempts would be. The town, they reported, was completely fortified; the walls mounted with eighty pieces of cannon; a strong ship in the harbour; forty companies of foot within the town, sixteen troops of horse, besides several bodies of militia employed to defend the watering-places, in case the *Dutch* should attempt to land. They also reported, that the *Maurice* and *Hope* had taken four ships near the island of *Puna*, had burnt the town of *Guiaquil*, with the royal galleon upon the stocks there.

FROM this time to the 29th, they were engaged in continual skirmishes with the *Spaniards*, who attacked them vig-

roully. They were encouraged to continue their insults by *Skirmishes* observing that the *Dutch*, who were preparing to sail for *Chili*, were extremely saving of their ammunition; but three Spanish or four warm receptions their visits met with made them soon alter their opinion.

AUGUST the 5th, the vice-admiral, agreeable to the patent from Prince *Maurice*, was invested with the authority and dignity of admiral, on board the *Delft*, where he received the oath of fidelity from the fleet, the ship's company that lay nearest going on board first. He was succeeded as vice-admiral by the rear-admiral, and his place filled up again by *Cornelius Jacobson*, who left *Holland* in quality of counsellor to the admiral. In the evening the admiral, attended by the shallops of the whole fleet, sailed towards the ship *Orange*, to receive the oath from the crew, and the other ships that lay near her. This the *Spaniards* observing, attacked the shallops in their passage, but were repulsed by the vigorous resistance of the *Dutch*.

A FEW days afterwards the vice-admiral returned with the *Maurice* and *Hofe* to *Lima*. The account he gave of his proceedings was, that he had found three ships in the road of *Puna*, two of which he burnt, and the third brought along with him; that he run up the river as far as the town of *Guiaquil*, which, contrary to expectation, he found well-fortified and garisoned. Notwithstanding this, he determined to make a descent, which he effected with the loss of thirty men, and then attacked the town. At first his soldiers, oppressed with numbers, began to fall back in disorder; but Captain *Schutte*, their officer, desiring them to reflect, that nothing but victory could preserve them, their countrymen, and the ships, they made so furious an assault, that the *Spaniards*, in their turn, were put in confusion, the town entered and plundered, and above one hundred of the enemy killed on the spot. In the warehouses he found a great deal of rich merchandize; but being unable to carry it off, or to garison the place, he burnt both, and retired to his ships, with seventeen prisoners. These he soon after threw into the sea, having discovered a conspiracy they had formed against him. Putting to sea, he met with contrary winds, which drove him as far as *Arica*; which place he would have attempted, but the wind shifting again rendered it impossible. After which, with great difficulty, he rejoined the fleet. This junction being effected, the whole fleet was under sail on August the 14th, arriving the same evening with their prizes at the *Pisabtores*, under one of which islands they anchored. After watering here, they steered for *Puna*. When

The vice-admiral takes the town of Guiaquil.

He throws the prisoners into the sea.

the

the fleet came within sight of the island of *Santa Clara*, the admiral sent three shallops to acquaint the *Indians* with his approach, to assure them of protection and liberty, and to gain what intelligence they could of the situation of things at *Guiaquil*, which it was determined to revisit.

A second attempt on Guiaquil miscarries.

In the morning of the 25th, the whole fleet came to an anchor in the road of the island of *Puna*, where the shallops had arrived a few hours before ; in which time they made themselves masters of a little bark laden with merchandise. The large ships being here eased of their guns, in order to be careened, the lesser vessels were sent to make a second attempt on *Guiaquil*, where they were repulsed with the loss of 28 men. The miscarriage was owing to the inadvertency of some of the officers, and the rashness of some common soldiers, who, after their late success, imagined the *Spaniards* durst not venture to face them. It was indeed a very unnecessary and imprudent expedition ; the town had been lately set on fire, the warehouses destroyed, and little could be expected if they succeeded ; nothing truly sufficient to compensate the hazard of the attempt. Captain *Schutte*, that brave officer, whose spirited conduct had been the cause of the former success, had received a shot in the shoulder, which, however, did not make him discontinue encouraging his men. It was indeed extraordinary, that an equal force with that which had taken it, when the fortifications were complete, the garrison neither lessened by slaughter, nor dispirited by a defeat, should not now succeed against a place burnt, ruinous, and half the garrison killed. But this was attributed to the unequal abilities of the officers. *Schutte* was not in an inferior station, and Captain *Emerson*, a man in capacity by no means his equal, had the chief command. The soldiers, who ever fight with courage under a brave officer, soon perceived the difference between the commanders ; and, as if they would confirm their opinion by experience, suffered themselves to be shamefully defeated by the remnant of that garrison they had so lately discomfited.

SEPTEMBER the 9th, in a full council, it was determined to lay aside their intended descent on *Chili*, and to bear away for *Acapulca*, as their instructions directed, there to cruise for the *Manila* ship. If afterwards the condition of the fleet would permit, they were to return to *Chili*. In pursuance of this resolution, they set fire to the town of *Puna* ; after which they departed, bending their course for the *Galapagos*.

On the 28th of *September* the fleet arrived before the harbour of *Acapulca*, where the admiral fell upon a stratagem, which

which he hoped would procure him intelligence of the *Manila* ship, and the time she was expected to arrive. He sent a message to the governor, importing that he had made a great number of prizes in the *South Seas*, on board of which were some persons of distinction, now his prisoners, whom he would set at liberty, in consideration of a reasonable ransom, as he proposed to proceed to the *East Indies*. He therefore desired that an officer might be sent on board his fleet, to treat with him; for whose security he was ready to send another as a pledge for his return. To this message the governor answered, that he neither would give or receive hostages; but if the admiral had any such prisoners, and would send them on shore, he should faithfully be paid the ransom. Thus the admiral's scheme was disappointed, and the treaty broke off.

It was ~~then~~ resolved to cruise about the coast for the *Acapulca* ship; and, to prevent her passing unnoticed, the fleet was ordered to extend itself in as long a line, and take in as great a compass of the ocean as possible. But after spending *The fleet* several weeks, the admiral was compelled by the crazy condi- *sails to* tion of the fleet to bear away at length to the *East Indies*, *Indies*, without effecting his purpose.

On the 5th of *March* following the admiral arrived at the *Moluccas*, where, after concerting measures with the governors of the different settlements, he left his fleet to be employed in the service of the *East India* company, and make conquests there; himself taking his passage to *Europe* in a homeward-bound ship, on board of which he died.

In this manner ended the celebrated and much-talked of *Reflections* expedition of the *Nassau* fleet; a fleet so powerful as to raise *on this* the hopes of all men, and so unsuccessful as only to disappoint *voyage* them. Hence it appears that neither unforeseen untoward accidents, nor want of force, but want of conduct, frustrated the great views of the States and Prince *Maurice*. We may conclude likewise from hence, that however able and expeditious the *Hollanders* might be in equipping a squadron, yet that they were certainly inferior to us in the knowledge of maritime affairs. To their stadtholder they owed the spirit and alacrity with which such schemes were undertaken; but to him also they owed the miscarriages consequent on a wrong choice of naval officers. The enterprizes of private merchants were generally successful, because, in these, officers were preferred for their merit, not by interest. Of this the expedition of *Abouten* is a pregnant instance, which, tho' supported by a few proprietors only, was attended with a felicity that perfectly ~~evinces~~ *evinces* the necessity of having merit, the sole guide

guide to preferment in enterprizes of such a nature. Had *Jaques Le Hermite* enjoyed a sound state of health, it is probable that many of the unfortunate occurrences of this voyage would never have happened; but first his long illness paved the way for misconduct, and his death laid it open to every kind of mismanagement. The intention of the voyage was laudable, and the scheme well calculated to distress the *Spaniards*, and promote the trade of the *United Provinces*; but the means were erroneous, and most of the instruments injudiciously chosen for the execution of such a trust. To pursue right ends by wrong measures is really more prejudicial to a state than the absolute neglect of them. The one makes the ends fall into eternal disrepute with the people; the other occasions only a temporary suspension of the endeavours to attain them. Sir *William Monson*, an excellent judge of naval affairs, observes indeed, that the situation of things in the *Spanish West Indies* was greatly altered from what they had been when *Drake*, *Candish*, and *Spilbergen*, undertook their voyages; but then it may be said, that the first step which ought to have been taken was the obtaining undoubted intelligence of all the circumstances of change and variation. Without this no success could reasonably be expected; and so capital an error can never be pleaded as a sufficient excuse for their miscarriage. Admitting, however, that the *Spaniards* were fortified in a different manner from what they had been when the former expeditions were undertaken; yet still their strength was insufficient to oppose and every-where baffle so potent an armament, had it been properly conducted and directed. At *Guiaquil*, half the number under one officer took the place well-fortified, which twice the force under another officer failed of taking, when these fortifications were ruinous. After the death of the admiral, all their projects were unsteady, wild, and ideal. The resolution of going from *Puna* to *Acapulca*, and then returning to *Chili*, was absurd; betraying equally their ignorance of navigation and the first principles of war.

BUT the circumstances of this voyage, which demand our greatest attention, are, the extraordinary care taken of the fleet in the *East Indies*, and that it was not enjoined to return by the *Streights of Magellan*. The first points out the great harmony and sameness of interest between the states and the *India* company, the ships of the former being employed, without any particular permission in the service of the latter. The second is the clearest proof that the states general of the *United Provinces* did not intend that their exclusive charter to the *East India* company should prevent other ships from enter-

ing the *South Seas*, or even to the *East Indies*, upon their lawful occasions, and without prejudice to the *India* company's trade. Had it been otherwise, this fleet would, by their instructions, have been directed to return by the *Streights of Magellan*. At that time it was presumed there was no passing from the south to the north seas by the *Streights of Le Maire*; and this voyage it was that shewed the fallaciousness of that opinion; as indeed daily experience does of many speculative points in navigation.

To conclude; there breathes a spirit of freedom and republican boldness in the narrative of this voyage, which we cannot but admire. Some countries there are where liberty is as much the cry as in *Holland*; yet had any writer censured the conduct of commanders, and laid open the causes of a miscarriage, with the same freedom our journalist has done, his labour would have been construed into an affront to the administration, and resented, if not treated, as a libel. Certain, however, it is, that, in such countries, one miscarriage or false step begets another, going on in progression till either the constitution is altered, or the state undone; mischiefs these which deserve to be harshly treated, to have the public used against them, and to be better guarded against than any inconveniencies flowing from the free animadversions, the acrimony and even the loss of liberty, and the freedom of the press. Errors can never be corrected, where it is penal to discover them; nor is it possible that suspicion should be avoided, where inquiry and scrutiny are discouraged. In the instance before us, it was not only the total loss of the immense sum this expedition cost, but of their hopes also, of that spirit which had been raised of indemnifying themselves from the expences of a consuming continental war by a proper application of their marine in the *Spanish West Indies*, that disappointed the people. The neglect of this incurred such a load of debt, that nothing could have saved the state, but the alteration of the government, the suspension of the stadtholdership, and the frugal and wise administration of the *De Witts*. The republic, without this, must have sunk under corruption, and perhaps tyranny; after her long and glorious struggle for liberty. She must have become the slave of a citizen, who, for a series of years, had resisted the despotism of the most potent and haughty monarch of *Europe*; and she must have lost her power, her grandeur, and freedom at home, after having laid the basis of a great empire in the most distant countries of the earth.

S E C T. XIV.

Containing the birth and education of Dampier; the variety of scenes he passed through before he wholly applied himself to the sea; his engagements with the buccaneers; their resolution to cruise in the South Seas; their arrival at the Gallapagos; Dampier's account of the tortoise; the descent of the buccaneers on the Spanish coast; Dampier's project for establishing a settlement on the isthmus of Darien; the buccaneers take the city Leon and Santa Pécague. Dampier's scheme for settling in the Philippines; an account of the Pilcadores islands; and a conclusion of the voyage round the world.

A wide chasm in the history of the circumnavigators.

Captain Cowley's voyage the same with Dampier's.

AFTER this expedition of the *Nassau* fleet there is a wide chasm in the history of the circumnavigators. Many voyages had been made on account of the *English* and *Dutch* companies to the *East Indies*; but these were performed by the route discovered by the *Portuguese* round the *Cape of Good Hope*. Several expeditions were likewise undertaken to the *West Indies*; but all these terminated on the north side of the *Streights of Magellan*, *Le Maire*, and *Cape Horn*. The first circuit which we find after this of *Le Hermite* is that of Captain Cowley, our countryman, who, from *Surabaya*, sailed round *Cape Horn* up the *Spanish* continent, arrived at the *Gallapagos*, from thence at *Guam*, proceeded to *China*, then to *Borneo*, and at last to *Batavia*, where he quitted his ship, and took passage to *Europe* in a homeward-bound *Dutchman*. As this voyage contains nothing very entertaining or remarkable, we shall pass it over, to give an account of Dampier's voyage round the world; who, as he was one of the best seamen of his time, had a particular talent at rendering his journals agreeable and interesting. We have already mentioned him as one of the discoverers of the Southern Continent; at present we are to speak of him as a circumnavigator, although this voyage furnished him with the first hints and materials for the expedition he afterwards undertook to *New Guinea* and *New Holland*.*

* The whole account of this voyage is extracted from the first volume of Dampier's works; to which we refer the reader.

DAMPIER's character has been variously represented, according to the different notions entertained by men guided rather by their passions and prejudices than by truth. His works appeared under great disadvantages; they were published in detached pieces, without method or order; wrote without the elegance of the scholar; obscure in some places, prolix in others, and every where filled with promises of giving the world more accurate and explicit accounts. This naturally sunk the reputation of the book, and of the author; yet, under all these disadvantages, the voyages of Dampier will always be entertaining and useful to the judicious and thinking reader.

Captain William Dampier was descended of genteel parents in the County of *Somerset*, where he was born A. 1652. During the life of his parents he had such an education as was thought necessary to fit him for a trade; but losing father and mother at a very early age, his guardians finding him of a roving disposition, much inclined to the sea, resolved to comply with his humour. A. 1669, at the age of 17, he was bound to the master of a ship at *Weymouth*, with whom he made a trading voyage to *France*. The following year he went to *Newfoundland*; but, pinched with the severity of the climate, he returned to his friends, much cooled of that ardor he had shown for the sea. Hearing of an outward-bound East India ship from the *Thames*, his former eagerness revived upon him, and he set out for *London*, entered himself on board the *John and Abigail* as a foremastman, and in her made a voyage to *Bantam* in the island of *Java*; by which he acquired great improvement and experience. After his return, he entered himself, A. 1672, on board the *Royal Prince*, commanded by that brave officer Sir Edward Spragge, and was in two engagements that summer against the *Dutch*. He fell sick before the third battle, in which Sir Edward fell; being put on board an hospital-ship, he was no more than a spectator. Recovering after this at his brother's house, Colonel Hulse, a gentleman of a large estate in *Jamaica*, persuaded him to accept of the management of his plantations. With this view he went to *Jamaica* in the spring of the year 1674, where he resided above a year; but dissatisfied with his situation, engaged himself among the longwood-superintenders, at the persuasion of Captain Hodges. He embarked for *Campbeath* in August 1675, and applied himself diligently to his employment for the space of a year; when, after suffering a variety of hardships, he returned with great difficulty to *Jamaica*. He soon after returned to *Campbeath*, better provided for the business, resided some time there, ac-

He enters upon the business of logwood-cutting in the bay of Campeachy.

quainted himself perfectly with the manner of cutting and trading in logwood, which enabled him to form some projects for the advancement of his fortune.

IN *Campeachy* it was that he introduced himself to the acquaintance of the Buccaneers, and acquired the first notion of a life in which he was afterwards engaged, and of which, it is certain, he lived to be very much ashamed. Hence we may account for his passing over in silence many circumstances in his first voyage round the world, which we find mentioned by Captain *Cowley*. The accounts given of those two circumnavigators are in fact but the journals of the same voyage, written by different persons. *Dampier* made his first tour round the globe with *Cowley*; but as his journal is by much the most entertaining, we have given it the preference. *Dampier* arrived in England in 1678, and the year following set out for *Jamaica*, with intention to follow the logwood cutting and trading in the bay of *Campeachy*.

He enters with Captain Cooke, and prepares for his first voyage round the world.

This resolution he changed for that of purchasing a small estate; soon after which he engaged with *Coxon*, *Hawkins*, and *Sharpe*, three Buccaneers, with whom he went upon an expedition to *Porto Bello*. It would engross too much of our time to recite the various transactions through which he passed as a Buccaneer; sufficient it is that the resolution was at length taken of making a voyage into the *South Seas*, which it was not doubted would sufficiently repair their fortunes, shattered and broken with disappointments. Captain *Cooke* was the projector of this enterprize, to which *Dampier* and others readily acceded. In this voyage it was that *Cowley* acted in quality of *masler*, although the true intention of the expedition was concealed from him. A French prize they had made was equipped for this voyage. They mounted her, according to *Cowley*, with eight pieces of cannon; but *Dampier*, with more probability, says with 18; it being unreasonable to suppose that, with eight great guns only, they would undertake an expedition of hazard to the *South Seas*. These two officers differ no less in the number of the hands on board; the first calling it 52, but the latter affirming the crew amounted to 70 able-bodied men. Such was the force with which they sailed from *Ackamack* in *Virginia* on the 23d of August, A. 1683, steering directly for the *Cape de Verd* islands. Here they laid some time, which gave *Dampier* an opportunity of examining the islands with accuracy, and giving a minute and exact description of them. From hence they steered to the *Streights of Magellan*, first touching on the coast of *Guinea*, at the mouth of *Serbonough* river, where there was an English factor, south of *Sierra Leona*. On January the 8th, the

made the three islands of *De Weert*, in $51^{\circ} 25'$ south latitude, where *Rampier* prevailed on the captain to anchor, apprehending danger in passing the streights at that season of the year. The road, however, proving unsafe, and water being scarce, they weighed again, and by the first of *February* got sight of the *Streights of Le Maire*. With a stiff gale at north-north-west, they came within four miles of the entrance into the streights, when they were becalmed, and found a strong side setting out of the passage to the north; but whether it flowed or ebbed, they could, from the irregularity of the tide, form no judgment. They next held their course to the south, in order to sail round to the south of *Cape Horn*, the southernmost point of *Terra del Fuego*. Passing through the *Streights of Le Maire*, they came upon a Spanish sail, which at first they took to be a Spanish merchantman bound from *Bahuvia* to *Lima*, but found it to be Captain *Eaton* from *London*, bound also for the *South Sea* and *Scas*.

HAVING got safely through the streights, they arrived on the 15th of *March* at *Juan Fernandez*, where their first inquiry was after a *Musquito Indian* the buccancers had left there about three years before. When Captain *Watling* deserted him here, the *Indian's* whole stock consisted of a gun, a knife, and some powder and shot. He had frustrated all the endeavours of the *Spaniards* to take him; and such were his activity, his wiles, and his cunning, that they began to look upon him as the apparition of some corpse on the island. When his powder and shot were exhausted, he sawed his gun-barrel into small pieces, which he made into harpoon-hooks, and other instruments, without the assistance of forge, anvil, or tools, besides those he had made out of a hard stone. With the instruments he made he used to strike goats, birds, and fish, upon which he lived plentifully. His hut, about half a mile from the shore, was made of goat-skins, his bed and clothing of the same materials. When the ship came to anchor, another *Musquito* on board, discovering his countryman, plunged out of impatience into the sea, swam ashore, and embraced him with all the marks of tenderness and affection. Both melted away in tears in each other's arms, after which the banished *Musquito* came to salute his old friends, entering again into their service with great cordiality.

DAMPPIER describes *Juan Fernandez* very particularly; Remark on one observation he makes which we find in no other navigation. The goats, he remarks, that feed towards the west end of the island, are much fatter and better eating than

those of the opposite extremity ; yet in the last the grass is finer, and in greater plenty, the vallies equally well watered with sweet and pleasant brooks, and the whole circuit of the island but 12 leagues. Taking the fact for granted, we leave the phenomenon to be explained by the naturalists and minute philosophers. After laying for fourteen days at anchor off this island, they set sail, in the words of *Dampier*, for the *Pacific Ocean*, properly so called, being that part of the *Mare de Zur* extending from south to north, betwixt 30 and 40 degrees south latitude. " Here," says he, " have I sailed for 250 leagues without any dark or rainy clouds, tempests, torridoes, hurricanes, or any other winds except the trade winds. Yet the sea runs high at the new and full moon, and makes landing very unpleasant. I have, however, frequently taken notice of heavy and foggy weather in the morning, so as to hinder the observation of the sun."

CONTINUING their course eastward, or rather north east, to the line, in sight of the continent of *America*, *Dampier* remarked, that the vast tracts of land belonging to *Chili* and *Peru* were exceeding mountainous ; and that from 24 to 10 degrees south latitude it still exceeded the former in height, the mountains within the country overtopping those nearer the coast, and elating themselves into the clouds, far, in his opinion, beyond the celebrated peak of *Teneriff*. From hence he deduces the reason why but few, and that very small, rivers exonerate themselves into the sea, scarce any being navigable, and most of them dried up at certain seasons of the year. We must acknowledge, however, that we do not see the propriety of this deduction. All this while keeping company with Captain *Eaton*, they descried a sail under latitude 9° 40' south, to which *Eaton* gave chase. The soon took her, and found she was loaded with timber, a commodity so ways valuable to them in those parts. On the 10th they anchored at the island *Lobos de la Mar*. Here they found nothing besides penguins in great abundance, or a species of blackbird which burrows at night in holes made in the sand. He describes the penguin and sea-fowl about the size of a duck, with membranous feet, a down instead of feathers, and very short wings. They are common all over the *South Seas*, the coasts of *Newfoundland*, and the *Cape of Good Hope*. Upon examining the prisoners lately made, they found reason to imagine they had been discovered by the *Spaniards*, although they had used their utmost endeavours to keep out of sight from the coasts. Hence it was conjectured that the *Spaniards* would lay an embargo on all the rich ships, to

prevent their falling into their hands. This determined them to hazard an attack upon some place, which might compensate their disappointment of prizes. *Truxillo*, though a populous city, and of difficult access, was thought the most commodious; an attempt upon it was therefore resolved on. A muster was made of the crews, when they were found to amount to 808 sound men. But while things were getting in readiness for a descent, three sail of ships were discovered at sea, to which they gave chase. On coming up with them, they immediately struck, their lading consisting of flour going from *Guanchagno* to *Panama*. In one of them was found a letter from the viceroy of *Lima* to the President at *Panama*, intimating, that, having intelligence of some enemies lately arrived in the *South Seas*, he had sent him a quantity of flour to relieve his wants, and enable the garrison to stand out a siege. The prisoners acquainting them likewise, that a fort was erecting at the mouth of the harbour of *Guanchagno*; a piece of intelligence that made them drop the attempt on *Truxillo*. Their next resolution was, to bear away for the *Gallapagos* islands, of which they got sight May the 31st. *Dampier* observes, that the hydrographical charts have not placed these islands enough to the west; yet have almost all the charts since his time retained the former situation, placing them in 181° longitude, and extending to 176° , according to which the longitude from *England* west is 68° . The *Spaniards*, the first discoverers, lay down the *Gallapagos* extending from the equator to five degrees north; but *Dampier* says they stand under and on both sides the line. He discovered but 15 different islands, some of which were the *Gallapagos* seven or eight leagues in length, and half as much in breadth. Four or five of those situated most to the east were rocky and barren, without trees, shrubs, herbs, or goats, excepting a little by the sea-side. In the *Gallapagos*, *Dampier* found the tree called the *Dildo*, a species of shrub about the size of a man's leg, 10 or 12 feet high, without fruit, leaves, or any other excellence than strong prickles from the top to the bottom. He found some fresh water in ponds, and the cavities of rocks, but no natural springs. Some of these islands he describes to be low, flat, and fertile, producing many trees and shrubs well known in *Europe*. The islands lying to the west are large, and produce a variety of curious trees, particularly the tree called the mammee tree, remarkable for bearing an elegant kind of fig. These islands have also large rivers and brooks of fresh water, the sea breezes by day, and the land breezes by night, without intermission. Hence the air is purified, cooled, and refreshed, so as to make these islands

islands more temperate and wholesome than most places so near the equator. When they approached the shore, they discovered a great number of tortoises sunning themselves at noon-day on the shore; upon these they fed during their stay. *Dampier* observes, that no part of the globe is so well stocked with guanoes and land tortoises as the *Galapagos*. The guanos are fat, taste, and of an extraordinary size. The land tortoises are so plenty, that an hundred men might live upon them a considerable time, weighing from 150 to 200 pounds, fat and delicate as a pullet. His description on this subject, being really curious, we will present it to the eaters of turtle in his own words: "The land-tortoises here measure from two feet, to two feet six inches, over the back; whereas in any other place I never met with them above 30 lb. weight, though I have heard it said, that at *St. Laurence*, or *Madagascar*, there are also very large ones. One is by the *Spaniards* called *Hacketer*, which keeps chiefly in fresh water ponds. Their legs are small, necks long, their feet flat, and they commonly weigh between ten and fifteen pounds. The second sort they call *Tenerife*, much smaller than the former, and of a rounder make; but, for the rest, not unlike them, except that the shell on the back is naturally coloured with a curious carved work. Both sorts afford very good meat, and these last delight in marshy and low places, and are in vast numbers on the *Isle of Pines* near *Cuba*, and along the woods. The tortoises in the *Galapagos* islands are in two sorts, like the first, with long necks and small heads; only they are much bigger. Upon the shoals there grows great plenty of turtle grass, which makes the chanel between the islands abound in that kind of sea tortoise commonly called the green turtle. Of sea tortoises there are four or five different sorts; the trunk tortoise, the loggerhead, the hawk's bill, so called from its long small mouth. The trunk tortoise is bigger, and has a higher and rounder beak than the rest; but its flesh is neither so wholesome nor well tasted, any more than that of the loggerhead, which feeds on the moss of rocks, and borrows its name from its large head. The hawk's bill, besides its mouth, is likewise the least of the three. It is this that bears the so much valued shell of which cabinets, boxes, combs, &c. are made all over *Europe*. Of this shell each has from three to four pounds, though some have less. The flesh is but indifferent, yet somewhat better than that of the loggerhead; though those taken between *San Blas* and *Porto Bello* occasion violent vomitings and purges."

A full account of the tortoise.

" ings in those that eat of them. It is further remarkable,
 " that the flesh of the hawk's bill differs according to their
 " food; for those that feed upon moss among the rocks
 " have a much yellower fat and flesh, and not so well tasted,
 " as those that feed on grass; besides, their shell is not so
 " transparent. These hawk's bill tortoises are in divers
 " parts of the *West Indies*, and have their peculiar islands
 " where they lay their eggs, and seldom intermix with any
 " other kind of tortoises. However, these, as all other
 " sorts, lay their eggs in the sand in the same manner. Their
 " laying time is about *May, June, and July*, a little sooner
 " or later; and they lay three times each season, eighty or
 " ninety eggs at a time, round, of the bigness of a hen's
 " egg, but covered only with a tough film or membrane of
 " a whit colour. In some of the bays on the north side of
 " *Jamaica* the hawk's bill turtles lay their eggs, as likewise
 " on the bay of *Honduras*, and in divers places on the con-
 " tinent of *America*, from *Trinidad* to *Vera Cruz*, up the
 " bay of *New Spain*. After a sea tortoise gets ashore to
 " lay, she is an hour before she returns, because she always
 " chooses her place above high-water mark, where she makes
 " a large hole with her fins in the sand, to lay her eggs in;
 " which done, she covers them up two feet deep in the same
 " sand she had raked out before. Sometimes they will take
 " a view of the place before hand; and be sure to return to
 " the same next day to lay. They take the tortoises upon
 " the shore in the night, when they turn them upon their
 " backs above high-water mark, and fetch them away next
 " day; but a large green tortoise will find work enough for
 " two hearty fellows to turn her upon her back. The
 " hawk's bills are also found in the *East Indies*, and on the
 " *Guinea* coast, but I never met with any in the *South Seas*.
 " The green tortoise derives its name from the greenish
 " colour of the shell, which is better coloured than the
 " hawk's bill, but has a round and small head; and the
 " body is of such a bulk, as to weigh from 200 to 300
 " pounds. Its flesh is accounted the best of any, though
 " there is a considerable difference as well in the bulk as in
 " the flesh. At *Blanco* in the *West Indies* they are larger
 " than any in the *North Seas*, weighing generally 250 or
 " 300 pounds; their fat is yellow, the lean white, and
 " both very good. But those of *Boca Toro*, to the west of
 " *Pearl Bay*, are neither so large, nor have so white or
 " well-tasted flesh: and those found in the bay of *Honduras*
 " and *Yucatan* are less than these, and their fat of a
 " greenish colour. I was told, that at *Port Royal*, in the
 " bay

*the South
Seas to
double.*

*The Eng-
lish take
and burn
Paia.*

*A project
formed
against
Guaguil
miscaries.*

early, and made some prisoners, from whom they received intelligence that the governor of *Piara*, with 100 men, had reinforced the garrison of *Paia*. The *English*, however, attacked a little fort on an eminence, and took it with little opposition, upon which the governor and inhabitants evacuated the town. The *English* soon entered it, but found it emptied of money, goods, and provisions. Here they staid for six days in expectation of having the town ransomed, but perceiving the *Spaniards* had no such intention, they set fire to it, and returned to the fleet. After this exploit they sailed for the island of *Rana*, to execute a project they had formed against *Guaguil*. In their voyage hither they took a bark laden with *Quito* cloth, a coarse woollen manufacture worn all over the kingdom of *Peru*. From the master of this vessel they learnt, that three canoes filled with negroes would come out the next tide. Upon this the *English* embarked all their men on board canoes, leaving only five men in the bark, with orders not to fire at any thing before eight o'clock next morning, by which time they imagined they would have taken the town. On their approach they met and took one of the barks with the negroes on board. By them they were informed, that the other two would not come out till the next tide. This determined them to push forward, and conceal themselves in a creek, in order to watch the intended barks. By some mistake the project failed, and, of the whole they only took the two masters, as they were endeavouring to escape on shore. This miscarriage occasioned great confusion, as from thence it was concluded the town would be alarmed, and their scheme frustrated. Some were for returning to the ships; others, of which number was Captain *Davis*, were for penetrating by land, and instantly attacking the town, before it could be put in a posture of defence. Accordingly with fifty men he began his march; but, after four hours, was forced to abandon the attempt, thick woods and deep marshes preventing his progress. As the tide now answered, it was resolved to row up to the town, and, in case of their being discovered, to retreat with all possible expedition. At first only one light appeared; but, upon turning a point of land, a great number were observed, which some deemed a sure token of their having been discovered, while others were no less obstinate in the opinion that it was no more than certain orgies and ceremonies usual on the eve of a festival as the following day happened to be. Captain *Swanwick*, and those who maintained the first conjecture, were upbraided with error. A descent was therefore resolved on, and a landing effected about

about two miles from the town; but as the whole space to the town was over-run with thick wood, they were forced to wait for day-light. This circumstance, and the desertion of one of their guides, disconcerted the whole measure, upon which they retreated to *Puna*. In their way they seized upon the three above-mentioned barks, on board of which were no less than 1000 stout negroes. They kept 60 of these, and dismissed the rest; a piece of conduct which *Dampier* greatly blames, and exclaims against as an unpardonable oversight. They ought, says he, to be carried to *Santa Maria*, *Dam-* on the isthmus of *Darien*, to work the gold mines on that pier's pro- side. By erecting a fort or two at the entrance of the river *Jaco* for *Maria*, and the assistance of their friends among the natives, *establish-* of the *English* and *French* privateers, who would naturally ing a set- tlement on the isthmus flock in to them, they would be able, he is of opinion, not only to maintain themselves against all the power of *Spain*, of *Darien*. but also to extend their conquests to the coasts and gold mines

6. *Quito*.

AFTER this disappointment, it was unanimously resolved, that they should provide themselves with fresh water and provisions, and then proceed to *Lavelia*, a town in the bay of *Panama*. They descended to the river *St. Jago*, choosing this on account of its vicinity to the island of *Gallo*, abounding with gold, and affording good anchorage. This river they entered on the 27.th of *December* by the lesser branches, first entering with no waves for six leagues when they discovered two hundred thatched with palmeto leaves. Soon after they saw several canoes of *Indians*, their whole families and household goods, paddling against the stream, but with great rapidity. In the huts they found a few plantanes, a hog, and some fowls. Not perceiving that there was any encouragement to proceed, they returned to the mouth of the river, supposing to pursue their way to *Gallo*, where they had appointed to meet the ships. *Gallo* is a small uninhabited island, seated under 3° north, in a spacious bay, three leagues from the river *Tomaco*. It is pretty high, and well stored with lusty trees; affords fresh water, and a good anchorage.

JANUARY the first, after making prize of a small vessel belonging to a *Spanish* knight, they seized upon a packet of letters going from *Panama* to *Limá*, to hasten the plate fleet, the armada from *Spain* being arrived at *Porto Bello*. This gave them intelligence of the motions of these rich ships, and cruise off the pearl islands, by which all ships from *Panama* to *Limá* necessarily pass. With this view they were united on the 7th, and the following day took a ship laden with flour. The 16th they took a prize off

A plot of the Spaniards to destroy the fleet discovered.

the pearl islands, bound from *Lavelia* with maize, salt, beef, and fowls. On the 20th they made another prize laden with hogs, beef, fowls, and salt. During their stay at *Tobagilla*, they narrowly escaped being destroyed by a pretended merchant of *Panama*, who, under colour of carrying on contraband trade with them, had introduced in the night a fire-ship into the midst of the squadron. Some of the *English*, suspecting the affair, hailed her to come to an anchor, which she refusing, they fired at her. The *English*, terrified at their being discovered, set fire to the train, and took to their canoes, which obliged the *English* ships to cut their cables to save themselves. Captain *Swan* likewise perceived an *Indian* upon a float cruising towards him, which he suspecting to be loaded with combustibles, sunk it. The fire-ship was conducted by one *Bond*, an *Englishman*, who had deserted the buccaneers. *Dampier* says, that without his assistance they could not have fitted her out, all those of that nation in the *South Seas* being grossly ignorant of the art of war, especially in naval affairs.

The y-j-in company with a large party of English and French buccaneers.

NEXT morning, while Captains *Swan* and *Dampier* were busied in recovering the anchors they had cut the preceding night, they observed a whole fleet of canoes pass the coast of *Tobagilla*. This proved to be a body of *English* and *French* privateers, who crossed the isthmus of *Darien* from the *North* to the *South Seas*. It was composed of 200 *French* and 80 *English*, the latter of whom were taken on board Captains *Davis* and *Swan*, and the former put to much prize. With this force they failed to the continent, to meet Captain *Townley*, who, they were told, was likewise crossing the isthmus with 180 men; a junction with whom, they doubted not, would enable them to undertake great exploits. They soon met with *Townley* and his crew, in two *Spanish* barks laden with wine and oil he had taken. The whole fleet now amounting to nine sail, they went with confidence to their station, to watch for the plate fleet, of which they had an account by intercepted letters. They were 1000 men strong, had one ship of 36 guns, another of 10, and the rest well provided with small arms. On the 25th they got sight of the *Spanish* fleet, which consisted of 14 *ships*, *brigs*, *perliques*, or boats of 12 oars. The ships mounted from 8 to 48 guns, and had about 3000 men on board. Night coming on before the fleets came near enough to engage, a stratagem of the *Spanish* admiral gained him the weather-gage; before morning, and rendered the engagement still more unequal. When the dark came on, he hung a red cloth at his top-mast, as a signal to anchor. This light he soon after took

They skirmish with the Spanish squadron, but are defeated in their design by the artifice of the enemy.

down.

but in half an hour it appeared again, whence the *English* concluded that he remained in his former station. No sooner had day approached, than they discovered their mistake, the lanthorn being fixed to the top-mast of an empty bark left at anchor to the leeward, while the *Spanish* fleet was discovered on the windward bearing down upon them. Every thing being now in confusion, the *English*, instead of compensating their long toils by rich booty, were happy to get off, and save themselves by a running fight. Thus this great project, which had cost them so much pains in contriving, so many hazards, dangers, and difficulties, in pursuing, vanished in smoke.

AFTER this, they encountered various dangers and disappointments, till at length they made an attack on the city of *Leon*. This city stands 20 miles up the country, in a sandy plain, the way to it from the sea being through a champaign country, covered with long grass: 470 men were landed for this expedition, who marched up to the city, Capt. *Townley* with 80 chosen men leading the van. Advancing two miles before the main body, he drove a party of seventy horse back into the city, which he entered with little resistance: 400 foot and 200 horse were drawn up in the principal street, and made a shew of engaging; but, on *Townley's* approach, they were disconcerted with the courage of such a handful of men, and retreated precipitately, leaving the city in possession of the *English*, having removed every thing of any value. Next day the governor sent a trumpet, offering to ransom it; but the *English* asking 30,000 pieces of eight, he dropped the negotiation, and they set fire to the city, after which they retreated to their ships. The *English* took here a few prisoners, among the rest a *Spanish* gentleman, who was released upon his parole to pay them 150 head of oxen at *Rio Leja*, a promise which he punctually performed. At this latter place Captain *Swan* and Captain *Davis* parted company, the latter intending to return to the coast of *Peru*, the other purposing to proceed farther west. *Dampier*, being curious to see the northern parts of the continent of *Alexia*, joined *Davis's* ship, and accompanied *Swan*.

BEFORE they left *Rio Leja*, their men began to be much affected with fevers, which they attributed to the remains of a contagious distemper that had reigned in the place before their arrival. On the 10th of *September* they weighed anchor, and steered a westerly course till *October* the second, when they endeavoured to make a descent upon the coast, in hopes of obtaining some refreshments; in which they were disappointed by the difficulty of landing. Some days after,

They make several descents on the coast of Mexico for provisions. Captain Townley again attempted a descent near the harbour of Guatulco, but with as little success as on the former occasion. The troops indeed were fairly landed; but, after marching fourteen miles up the country, they could meet with nothing worth the trouble they had taken. The 23^d, they landed again at Port Angels, in the latitude 15 degrees north, where they met with store of beef and fish water, as well as of hogs, maize, and poultry. The 2^d of November, some canoes were sent to call a ship out of the harbour of Acapulca, which they did without opposition. Captain Townley's vessel being extremely leaky, he exchanged her for this, which proved a stout ship and good sailer. On the 11th of December they arrived at Cape Orientes, in 20° 28' north latitude. The ship from the Philippines necessarily making this point in her way homewards, Captain Swan resolved to cruise off here. The ships took their stations in such a manner as they imagined would render it impossible for her to pass unnoticed; but as the Squadron was in want of provisions, 50 men were detached in canoes to examine what the country afforded. They returned the 17th, without any purchase. After this, Captain Townley landed in the beautiful valley of Valderas, where his party was attacked by 150 Spaniards, who were soon put to flight, with the loss of their commander, and 17 Europeans. The reward of this victory was no more than 50 bundles of maize, which Townley carried on board; an acquisition of great importance in the present circumstances of the fleet. After this the fleet came again before the valley of Valderas, where they killed a great number of black cattle, and fully supplied the whole Squadron with beef; but, in the mean while the Manila ship escaped from them; a loss which was attributed to the obstinacy of Townley. Dampier launches out into severe invectives against this officer, which shews how much he was chagrined at the loss of so rich a prize. His enemies had a double design in view, either watching the Manila ship, or examining the coast for rich towns and mines; but his first intention being frustrated, discord arose; in consequence of which Swan and Townley parted, the former holding his course, and the other going back to the east.

The fleet separates.

SWIFT Dampier kept by Swan, resolving to make a complete tour. Seven leagues north and west of the island of Chumetty, a party was landed in 24 degrees, where they were encountered by a party of Spaniards, who made but a short resistance. From some Indian fishermen's tale, the fleet had intelligence that the town which presently was called San Juan; and that five leagues farther were some rich gold mines.

mines. The *English* were, however, so much distressed for provisions, that, neglecting the mines, they went in search of maize; of which they picked up a few bushels. This quantity not being sufficient for their purpose, they failed to wait the fine river of *St. Jago*. Entering it with their canoes, they rowed for some time, and then landed under a field where the natives were gathering maize. One of them they made prisoner, and by him were informed, that a few miles up the country was a town called *Santa Pecaque*, where they would find provisions. Thither the party immediately took their march, and entered it without opposition. They found here abundance of maize, sugar, salt, and salt-fish. Captain *Swan* directed that one half of the party should carry provisions on board, while the other defended the town; but receiving advice that 1000 *Spaniards* were on their march from *St. Jago*, about three leagues distant, to attack him, he ordered all the horse possible to be got together, on which he piled provisions, and marched with them to his canoes. Notwithstanding all their expedition, they were way-laid by the *Spaniards*, a great part of their provisions taken, some of their men killed, and others made prisoners. Amongst the slain was Mr. *Ringrose*, who had published Captain *Sharpe's* journal, and a history of the buccaneers.

They take Santa Pecaque; but are way-laid by the Spaniards.

CAPTAIN *Sharpe's* returning on board with the remainder of his men and booty, it was determined in a general council to sail to *Cape St. Lucas* in *California*, in hopes of a commerce with the *Indians* there, and consequently in the lake of *California*. This lake is a chanel, or part of the sea, between an island and the continent; but little known to the *Spaniards*, or else concealed by them lest the other nations of *Europe* should discover that way to the mines of *Mexico*. They very considerably concerning its situation in their charts; some make it an island, others the continent; but none of them give any account of the tides, the soundings, or the harbour near this lake; whereas their hydrographical maps denote the coasts towards *Yuc*, on the west side of the island, in a *Cape St. Lucas* to 10 degrees north. The vast distance of this country, and the reason we have given, have prevented other nations from penetrating to the mines of *Mexico*. Several attempts have indeed been made for the discovery of a north-west passage; but if we may be permitted to offer our opinion, wrong methods have been taken. Instead of searching for the passage through *Davis's* or *Hugh's* Bay, we should think it promised more success by beginning the journey with a *South Sea*, thence along *Californian*, and to

The lake of California either little known or concealed by the Spaniards.

Proposals for a new method of searching for the north-east and north-west passages. a passage made back into the *West Seas*. The same rule might be observed in searching for a north-east passage; viz. wintering about *Japan*, *Corea*, and the north-east part of *China*, and hence taking advantage of the approaching spring and summer to go along the coast of *Tartary*, whence you may have time enough to reach *Archangel*, or some other port on those coasts.

SAILING from *Cape Corientes* on *March* the 21st, they got sight of *Guam*, one of the *Ladrones*, on *May* the 20th. Having secured fresh provisions here, they sailed for the *Philippines*, where they arrived on the 21st of *June*. Our author is extremely circumstantial in respect to the history of the *Philippines*, of which we shall here say nothing, having reserved that subject for another place. At *Mindanao* the author was present at the circumcision of the king's nephew, the son of *Rajah Daut*, which was performed with extraordinary pomp and magnificence. He acquaints us, that the natives were extremely urgent with the *English* to settle in the island, as a bulwark between them and the *Dutch*, whose cruelty and avarice they dreaded. *Dampier* is at great pains to demonstrate that a more prudent measure could not, in their present circumstances, be followed than establishing such a colony. They were provided with all kinds of artificers, carpenters, bricklayers, shoemakers, tailors, and also with convenient tools, arms, guns, and small-arms, sufficient for a beginning; and they might reasonably expect supplies from *England* in the space of 18 months from their first settling. Captain *Swan* was invited on shore by *Rajah Daut*, who promised to furnish him with all the provisions he wanted; but desired he would in the mean time secure his ship in the river against the approaching storm. This the captain, after some deliberation, agreed to; but the river being narrow, it was with great difficulty she could get a quarter of a league above its entrance. Here she was moored fast, and the inhabitants of the city of *Mindanao* frequently came on board, inviting the *English* to their houses, where they entertained them in a hearty manner with tobacco and betel. As for the captain, he was every day entertained at the *Rajah's* house, and boiled rice, fowls, and buffaloes' flesh, given to such of his men as had no money. Notwithstanding these external marks of friendship, *Swan* began to suspect *Rajah's* integrity and sincerity. This prince had been mean enough to borrow several sums of money of Captain *Swan*, which he could never get from him. This, and many other doubts concerning his design, determined the *English* to quit the island. *January* the 13th was appointed for their departure.

parture; but many of them, unwilling to leave the island, had dispersed themselves up and down the country, by the encouragement of the *Rajah*. A majority, however, were for quitting the island at the appointed time; and the captain not being ready to depart, they deposed him, chusing in his room Captain *Tate*. *Swan*, with about 40 of the men, were left on the island, besides 16 they had buried.

ANCHORING on *February 9^d* in the latitude of $15^{\circ} 9'$ *A prodigious* north, on the west side of the island of *Sebo*, they saw in the *gious size* bay a low woody little island, inhabited only by a kind of *of* *but* of an incredible size, the wings, when extended, being seven or eight feet from pinion to pinion. Every night they took their flight to the great island, returning before dawn to thick haunts in this solitude. On the 23^d they took a *Spanish* bark off the island of *Lucnia*. A canoe came to them from *Manila*, offering to convey their letters to certain merchants in the town, who would be glad to carry on a *condemned* trade with them. By these *Indians* they were informed likewise, that no less than thirty sail were lying in the harbour of *Manila*, *Chinese*, *Spaniards*, and *Portuguese*. The 25th of *March* they came to the island of *Ubi*, forty leagues west of *Pulo Condore*, lying near the south-west point of land that forms the long cape or promontory of *Siam*, called *Cambaha*. On the 25th, returning to *Pulo Condore*, five of the *English* going on board a *Malayan* vessel, ten of them were stabbed by the crew, of which wounds they soon died; however, it was not convenient for the rest to revenge their death. In *June* they arrived on the coast of *China*, anchoring at the island of *St. John*, on the coast of *Canton*, in $22^{\circ} 30'$ north latitude. After encountering a violent storm, they steered to the *Pescadores* in 23° degrees north lat. Here they were civilly received by the *Tartarian* governor, who sent them freshments and other presents; in return for *Piscadore* which Mr. *Read*, now captain of the ship, sent him a silver-hilted sword, a carbine, and a gold chain. The *Piscadores* islands are in general high and rocky, with fertile and pleasant vallies, which, besides fine grains, produce plantains, banana, pine-apples, pompiens, sugar-canes, potatoes, and some cotton. These islands afford fine brooks of fresh water, are well-stored with hogs, fowls wild and tame, with other necessaries of life. The natives are short, thick, round-visaged, with low foreheads and thick eyebrows. Their eyes of an hazel bloom, and small. Their noses are flat and short, their lips and mouths of the ordinary form; their skin white and regular, their hair long, lank, and black,

black, and their complexion of a dark copper colour. They go always bare-headed, and the greater part wholly naked, with only a small bit of rag tied round the waist. Some have jackets of plantain-leaves, but rough as a goat's skin. The women have a short petticoat of coarse calicoe, of their own manufacture, reaching a little below the knee. Both sexes wear ear-rings of a yellow metal like gold, having its weight and malleability, but something paler in the colour. *Dampier* is doubtful whether, for this reason, and that he observed it lose its brightness, it be true gold; concerning which we, however, have no kind of doubt, as every chymist knows it to be possessed of the true requisites of pure gold, viz. its weight and ductility. As for the colour, it is adventitious, and may easily be given to artificial gold; but the other two qualities are what constitute its real value, and never yet could be imitated.

ONE experiment which *Dampier* mentions would seem, however, to contradict our opinion; it is the custom the natives have of putting it into a quick fire till it was red-hot, after they had besmeared it with a red earth or loam. By this means they refine it without melting, all the sulphurous particles flying off.

Remarks on the Pictadores of the natives.

THE houses of the natives are small, scarce five feet high. They stand in little villages upon the sides of a rock, three or four rows one above the other. The rocky precipices seem to be formed by nature into different shelves or storeys running parallel, upon which they build a row of houses, and a second up to them, a third, and so on as far as the nature of the rock favours their design. Each row communicates with ladders set up like flights of stairs. By this they are not only exceedingly sociable, but secure; these ladders being removed, there is no access. Nor are they less expert in building their boats and larger vessels, of which they make great use, fishing being their chief employment and amusement. They never kill hogs or goats, but feed upon the carcasses of such as die by accident or disease; even their fish they eat, after having burnt off the hair. Another extraordinary dish is in great esteem at certain seasons of the year; we mean a dish of locusts, which they take in their nets, and boil or bake in an earthen pan. *Dampier* says that it eats commonly; and perhaps it is prejudicial only to such nations. The stomach of an *Indian* at the thoughts of it. Their common drink is simple and pure water. On extraordinary occasions, they use a sort of liquor boiled out of the sugar cane, mixed with black berries. Thus they

put into jars, suffer it to ferment, refine, and settle; after which it becomes a pleasant and strong wine, resembling in taste and colour our *English* beer. They call it *Basbee*, whence the *English* sailors called one of these islands by this name. *Dampier* says their language bears no affinity to the *Chinese*, *Malayan*, or any other language he had ever heard.

• THEIR only weapon is a kind of lance, headed with iron. A sort of armour they use of a buffaloe's hide, without sleeves, close about their shoulders, reaching below the knee, and there about three feet wide; the whole stiff, hard, and impenetrable as an oak plank. *Dampier* could observe no kind of religion among them. They seemed to have neither idols, worship of any kind, laws, or government, except a certain family precedence and respect which children paid to their parents, and young people to old men. However, he imagines that they have some laws established by ancient custom; for he saw a young man buried alive for theft. The wife stands in great awe and obedience to her husband, inso-
much that our author suspects he has the power of life and death over her and her children. The boys are bred up to fishing, and the girls to working under their mothers in the plantations, which are smaller or larger in proportion to the family; no riches being requisite here, and nothing more required than to supply the wants and calls of nature. They are peaceable, hospitable, and civil people both to strangers and to each other. During the stay of the *English* there, not the smallest difference arose either among themselves or with the sailors in the course of commerce, although there were not wanting occasions, had they been of a quarrellous humour.

• AFTER laying in a stock of fresh provisions, and making a violent the necessary observations, they weighed anchor with intention to pass to *Alamula*, there to cruise for the *Manila* gal-
leons; but a violent storm disconcerted their measures, terri-
fied the men from continuing in those seas, and determined the captain to bear away for *Cape Comorin*. Captain Tate's intention to go round the east side of the *Philippines*, keeping south of the *Malacca* islands, to pass to the *Indian* ocean, prevailed. By the 29th of *December* they discovered two islands
the west of *Timor*, from which they stood off south to-
ward *New Holland*. Here *Dampier* affirms, in the most positive manner, that no part of *New Holland* lies by forty leagues to the north as is laid down in all preceding hydro-
graphical charts. His reasons are, that a shoal placed by those charts under $23^{\circ} 5'$ south-west from the east end of the
island

island of *Timor*, did not appear to them till they had sailed fifty or sixty leagues further; and that they found the tides on the coast of *New Holland* keeping their constant course, the flood running north-by-east, and the ebb south-by-east. On *January* the 4th they fell in with the coast of *New Holland* at $16^{\circ} 5'$ south latitude. His observations here are such as we have taken notice of in his voyage expressly made for discoveries in the *South Seas*. May the 5th they arrived at *Nicobar*, where *Dampier* quitted the ship, and took passage in a large canoe to *Sumatra*, whence he embarked in an *English Indiaman* to *Togaia*, from thence to *Madras*, afterwards to *Benculi*, and at last to *England*, where he arrived in *July* 1691.

The end of
Dampier's
voyage.

THUS ended the voyage of the *Buccancers* round the world; the reputation of which recommended our author to the favour of the most ingenious and public-spirited persons of the age. As the *Earl of Pembroke* was the most powerful in his patronage, so were his professions the warmest and most sincere. His countenance chiefly it was that enabled *Dampier* to undertake the expedition we have already mentioned to *New Guiney* and *New Holland*. Although he had no command in the present circuit, yet the accuracy of his journals, and the genius he discovered for observation, gave him the chief reputation of it, and pointed him out as a person qualified for making discoveries in the *South Seas*.

S E C T. IX.

Containing a concise view of the voyage round the world performed by Captain Woodes Rogers. Next an introduction to Mr. Anson's expedition round Cape Horn; the distresses he suffered in his passage; the loss of the Wager ship, and misfortunes of Captain Cheap; the taking of Paita. The dreadful situation of the Centurion before her arrival at the Ladrões; the happiness the seamen enjoyed at Tinian; Mr. Anson's departure for China; his transactions there; his cruise for the Acapulco ship; the taking of the galleon; his second arrival in China; his visit to the viceroy of Canton; and lastly his arrival in England, with reflections on the voyage. To this account is annexed a short view of Admiral Pizarro's squadron sent from Old Spain to intercept the commodore; with the numberless distresses he encountered in his attempt to double Cape Horn.

IN the year 1708, an expedition was set on foot by the merchants of Bristol, which terminated in a voyage round the world. Captain Woodes Rogers, an active, resolute, and vigilant officer, was appointed commander in chief of two stout privateers, well-manned and provided for a long voyage and desperate attempts. Woodes bore away for the Cape Verde islands, where, by his courage, he suppressed a dangerous mutiny on board, sails for the South Seas, takes a prize, performs several gallant exploits on the coast of Mexico and Peru, arrives upon the coast of California, where he entered upon a commerce with the natives; takes a Manila ship richly laden, after a warm engagement; he engages three other Manila ships, but, after a long struggle for victory, is forced to abandon the enterprize; he continues his voyage to Batavia, and thence proceeds for England, where he arrived in October 1711. This expedition was supported with abundance of spirit, and the plan so well laid that it could not fail of success. Captain Rogers's wound that he received in the first engagement was an impediment to his succeeding in the next, but the loss of so rich a prize as the Manila squadron ought wholly to be attributed to the great superiority of the Spaniards. There is a variety of curious occurrences in this voyage, that render it well-deserving of the reader's perusal; but our limits will admit of no more than a brief

An account of Woodes Rogers's voyage into the South Seas

brief recital of the contents. After this the voyages of *Clipherton* and *Shelvocke* were undertaken in the year 1719; but as we have already given a short account of these, we shall proceed to that of *George Anson*, Esq, in the *Centurion*, as commodore of a Squadron of *British* ships (A).

The voy-
age of
Geo. ge
Anson.
Esq; with
a small
squadron,
into the
South
Seas;
with the
importance
of settling
a permanent
settlement.

FROM the time that *Spain* possessed herself of the *West Indies* and the Southern Continent of *America*, it has been deemed a maxim of state, that the best way to reduce her power, and humble her pride, is by attacking her in the *South Seas*. This maxim was cultivated with great diligence and equal success, under the glorious reign of *Queen Elizabeth*. Even in that of her indolent successor, when a quarrel with *Spain* broke out in 1624, the first thing thought of by our patriots was an expedition either to the *West* or to the *South Seas*. The project was called the *West India Association*, supported and approved by men the most eminent for birth, opulence, and ability, of any in the nation. This scheme, however, shared the fate of most other public-spirited, bold, and honest projects of that reign. It was entered upon with vehemence, pursued with languor, and suffered to vanish into nothing, through indolence and corruption. The next rupture with *Spain*, which was under the protectorate of *Cr. well*, produced the same designs, but with effects as different as were the dispositions of *James* and *Oliver*. By this latter Father *Cage* was encouraged to publish his account of the *West Indies*; a circumstance which that active and enterprising usurper converted into immediate advantage; for, upon *Gage's* account, the project upon *Hispánichu* was formed, the consequence of which was the conquest of *Jamaica*; an island the most valuable perhaps, of all the *British* colonies. After the restoration, notwithstanding *Great Britain* was on terms of friendship with *Spain*, *Charles* sent Sir *John Barboza*, in

A. J. 1719
the first
of the
year.

(A) In the *Histoire des Navigations aux Indes Australes*, we have, previous to this of *Commodore Anson's*, now Lord *Anson*, an account of voyages performed by *Gentil de Beaubien*, A. 1710, by *Antoine Contessa* in 1731, by *Lezar Bauer* in 1739; and, subsequent to Lord *Anson's* in the year 1747, a voyage through the *Streights of Le* performed by *Thom*.

ever, of any considerable importance appears in these expeditions, we shall proceed to that of Mr *Anson*, and gratify the reader with a description of this curious voyage, as the nature of our design and the interests of this work will permit. For the rest we will refer him to the general account detailed of it from the papers of Mr *Harris*, by the ingenious Mr *Reland*.

the year 1669, by the *Streights of Magellan*, into the *South Seas*. To acknowledge the truth, our privateers, *Sharpe, Davis, Swan*, and others, were continually infesting *South America*; so that our seamen were no strangers at that time to any of the passages into the *South Seas*. It was then no unusual practice with the merchants of *London* and *Bristol* to fit out ships for these parts; but whether for the purposes of trade, or for the less fair but easier profits of privateering, is, at this distance of time, a point we cannot clearly determine. Whatever their purposes might have been, certain it is that frequent expeditions were made into the *South Seas*, and no complaints heard of the danger, fatigue, and hardships, of such a voyage. This sufficiently evinces the necessity of keeping every branch of navigation open, if we would always preserve ourselves in a condition to secure and extend our trade, and maintain the reputation of *Great Britain* as a maritime power. After the revolution, several proposals were made, and received with approbation, for establishing a company in the *South Seas*. It is even beyond doubt that King *William* gave instructions to Admiral *Bembow* to inquire how far any of these projects were practicable. On the breaking out of the general war in the reign of Queen *Anne*, all the world expected that the first thing the maritime powers would have tried, would be the effects a squadron would have in the *South Sea*, either for the service of *Charles*, the prejudice of the Duke of *Anjou*, or the general advantage of the confederates. The *British* nation, in particular, was earnest that the war might be carried on in this way; and, to give them hopes, the legislature so far approved the sentiments of the people, that a bill was introduced into parliament and passed by the house of lords, for the better carrying on the war by sea and land in the *West Indies*. It was, by ministerial craft, lost in the house of commons, and all designs of that nature laid aside, for reasons with which the public has never yet been made acquainted. The only expedition during the whole war was that of the *Duke* and *Duchess* ships, under Captain *Raper*, just mentioned. Clamour, on a charge of inability, were raised upon this head, and a sudden resolution was taken to secure all the advantages the nation could expect from the *West India* trade. It was resolved in creating a company with the name of title, but without advancing the wishes of the people in their favourite scheme, by the manner of their establishment. The nation soon discovered that the company was an empty name; that other measures were wanted to bring this trade to any degree of height; and till more effectual measures should be taken, the merchants once more be-

gan to send privateers, which produced the voyages of *Shelvocke* and *Clipperton*. Hence it is apparent what the sense of the nation has been for a series of years, in regard to attacking the *Spaniards* in their colonies and plantations. One additional reason for sending a squadron into the *South Seas* concurred in the last war with the others we have mentioned; the nation had been long deprived of the liberty of sending ships, even in profound peace to the *South Seas*, which was not the case before the establishment of the company. It was therefore not surprising, that as soon as the last rupture with *Spain* happened, the general voice of the nation should dictate such an expedition, as might revive the navigation in the *South Seas*, and likewise affect the enemy in a tender part. Hence was it that so universal a joy spread itself over the nation at the time this enterprize was first undertaken, and a fleet for that purpose equipped. During its stay, at *Portsmouth*, there was a most general expectation of its performing things of the highest consequence to *Great Britain*, and reducing the enemy to reason.

The great expectations of the British nation from this expedition of Commodore Anson.

AT *London* every one spoke of it as a design that must necessarily be attended with consequences highly advantageous, if properly conducted. Their hopes of success were raised to the highest pitch, when it was known that Captain *Anson* was named to the command. He had, upon all occasions, shewn himself an officer equally vigilant in his duty, and moderate in the exercise of power; correcting the enormities of his inferiors by example rather than harsh reproof; by which he had acquired, in the course of his services, the esteem of the officers, and the affections of the seamen; qualities rarely blended in the same person, but justly ascribed to him.

ALTHOUGH his majesty's instructions to the Commodore were dated *January* the 31st, 1740, yet he did not receive them from the Duke of *Newcastle*, the principal secretary of state, before the 28th of *June*. Afterwards a variety of accidents continued to hinder his departure. On his arrival at *Spithead*, he found the squadron wanted 300 seamen of the full complement; a deficiency that was not supplied till the latter end of *July*, and even then but imperfectly. Instead of 300 able sailors, his fleet was augmented by no more than 170 raw men, of which 98 were recruits. To increase his augmentation, 500 invalids, collected from *Chelsea* college, were substituted in the room of *Blakeney's* regiment of foot, and three independent companies of 100 men each, which he had been given to expect. Indeed as these out-pensioners are reputed to amount to 2000 in number, there was a possibility of be-

ing

ing able to cull out 500 men capable of discharging their duty. But, alas! they had been before draughted; and, instead of rough hardy veterans, an aged, feeble, and decrepid detachment was sent to make the circuit of the globe. The commodore was chagrined at the disappointment, and the old soldiers disgusted at being thus hurried away from the repose their services merited, to perish by disease in a long voyage before they could arrive at the scene of action. Many of them were above 70, most of them exceeding 60 years of age, and all of them much fitter to spend the remainder of their lives in the enjoyment of peace and tranquillity than amidst the perils of storms and the frowns of war. The consequence was that above a third deserted, and their place was supplied by 210 marines draughted from different regiments, being a raw undisciplined corps. Thus the Commodore's land-force was composed of young men, who knew not the use of arms, or of veterans who had long lost the ability of using them. The Squadron, however, being put in the best condition that such circumstances would admit of, he made the necessary dispositions for sailing.

THE Squadron consisted of the following ships of war, and others:

		Guns.	Men.	
<i>Centurion</i>	Commodore George Anson,	60	-	400
<i>Gloucester</i>	Captain Norris,	50	-	300
<i>Severn</i>	Leggs,	50	-	300
<i>Pearl</i>	Mitchel,	40	-	250
<i>Wager</i>	Kidd,	28	-	140
<i>Trial sloop</i>	Murray,	16-8	-	100-80
Tenders.		Tons.		
<i>Ann and Pink</i>				400
<i>Industry</i>				200

were to attend the Squadron till the provisions on board were consumed as to make room for that on board the tenders, after which they were to be discharged.

WITH this Squadron of six men of war, and body of land forces commanded by lieutenant-colonel Cracherode, the commodore sailed from Sydney, to St. Helen's on the 10th of August, where for want of positive orders, he was detained till the 18th of September, when, joining another

(B) Some accounts affirm that the *Centurion* had 512 men, the *Gloucester* 350, the *Severn* the same number; in short all of them a greater proportion of men than Mr. Walter's account admits of. See Harris's Voyages, vol. i p. 338.

Arrives at
the Ma-
deiras.

squadron under Sir *Chaloner Ogle*, he got under sail by ten that evening. It was then observed, that no ships destined for the *South Seas* had ever begun their voyage at that season of the year; yet perhaps in this remark was less truth than was generally imagined; for Sir *John Narborough*, one of our best seamen, did not weigh from *England* before the 26th of the same month. Commodore *Anson* tided it, and cleared the channel in four days, arriving at the *Madeiras* on the 28th of *October*; a tedious passage, which made the seamen more clamorous against the dilatory proceedings that prevented their sailing several weeks sooner. After continuing about a week at the *Madeiras*, in wooding, watering, and providing the fleet with necessaries, the commodore gave orders for weighing. Previous, however, to this, a small alteration was made in the command, owing to the ill state of health of Captain *Norris*, who obtained leave to return home. Captain *Kidd*, of the *Wager*, was appointed to the *Pearl*; *Mitchel*, of the *Pearl*, removed to the *Gloucester*; *Murray*, of the *Trial* sloop, succeeded to the *Wager*, and his ship was given to Lieutenant *Cheap*. Just before his departure from the *Madeiras*, the commodore received advice from two *English* privateers, that 10 sail of ships supposed to be *Spanish*, were cruising off to the westward. He sent one of the privateers in quest of them, but she returned next day without any intelligence, upon which the squadron weighed to proceed on their course. The island of *St. Catherine's*, on the coast of *Brasil*, was appointed for the rendezvous of the whole squadron, in case of separation. On the 13th of *December* they crossed the tropic of *Capricorn*, and on the 19th had sight of the island of *St. Catherine's*, after having lost a great number of men by the intemperance of the climate. Many besides were confined to their hammocks, in calentures, past all hopes of recovery, and some in a very languid condition with dysenteries, fluxes, and tetanus, the common attendants on the recovery from a calenture. It was with great joy they arrived at a place where they expected refreshments. They moored the ships, wooded and watered, cleaned the vessels, examined the rigging, and, above all, took every precaution for the recovery and ease of the sick, for whom a tent was pitched on shore.

Sickness in
the fleet,
which
greatly re-
duces the
crows.

THE season of the year growing every day less favorable for their passage round *Cape Horn*, the commodore was desirous of leaving the island, but was detained in securing the masts of the sloop till the 19th of *January*, when he again proceeded to sea. After all the care taken properly to rectify the *Trial* sloop, she was still in a crazy condition. On the

the 24th, the head of her mainmast being carried away, and her foremast sprung, she was taken into tow by the *Gloucester*. On *February* the 8th the crews were put to short allowance, having two quarts of water a day. On the 13th they found themselves off *Cape Blanco*, which at a distance appears like a long table. Three days after they fell in with *The Pearl* a sail, to which the *Gloucester* gave chase. It proved to be *brings him* the *Pearl*, separated from the squadron by a hard gale some *intelligence* days before. She had been chased by five large *Spanish* men of war, from which she escaped by favour of the night *of Pizarro's*. This was Pizarro's squadron, who had received so minute intelligence of every thing belonging to the *British* squadron, that, by exactly imitating the red broad pennant of the commodore at the main-topmast-head, he had nearly drawn in the *Pearl* to her destruction. On the 18th the *British* squadron anchored in the bay of *St. Julian*, on the coast of *Patagonia*, situated in the latitude of 49 degrees 11 minutes south latitude, and in the longitude of 80 degrees west from *London*. The captain of the *Pearl* having died during her separation from the fleet, gave room for another promotion. Captain *Some pro-* Murray succeeded to the *Pearl*, and his command was filled *visions in* up by Captain *Cleaves*, who had for his successor Mr. *Saunders* the *squadron*. There was a report through the fleet, that Captain *Kalichman*, on his death-bed, have declared, that this voyage, entered upon with such high expectations, would in the end produce poverty, vermin, famine, and every other misery that could complete the measure of their destruction. But however current this rumour passed, it is probable that the prophecy, so unbecoming a man of sense and a seaman, had no foundation in truth. An *English* officer knows his duty too well to serve his country only for the increase of his fortune, or to breathe discontent and despondency amongst his sailors. This story, therefore, was probably forged by certain persons, as an excuse to colour their own ill conduct. Without doubt it was attended with unlucky effects, and the dejection it inspired contributed not a little to produce the mischiefs it predicted.

THE squadron remained a week in port *St. Julian*, over-*Mr. Anson* hauling their rigging, receiving their proportion of stores out *much some* of the tenders and *Trial* sloop, and taking in salt. As no *stay in the* *port of St.* *Julian's* could be found on the coast, the men were restricted to one pint a day, and three pints for the sick. The 27th the squadron weighed; but the *Gloucester*, not being able to purchase her anchors, cut away, leaving her best bow anchor and the third of a cable behind. *March* the 31st the commodore had sight of *Cape Virgin Mary*, at the entrance of the

The commodore acquaints a council of the officers with his instructions, in consequence of which certain resolutions are taken.

the *Streights of Magellan*, bearing south-west by south. Immediately before their sailing, a council of war was held on board the *Centurion* by the sea officers and Colonel *Crabtree*, when the commodore acquainted them, that it was an article in his instructions, to endeavour to secure some port in the *South Seas*, where the ships might be careened and refitted; he therefore proposed, that their first attempt should be on the town of *Baldivia*, the chief frontier of the district of *Chili*. To this proposition the council unanimously acceded; and, in consequence of this resolution, new instructions were given to the captains, directing them, in case of separation, to cruise off the island of *Neufra Seniors de Socorro* for ten days; whence, if not joined by the commodore, they were to proceed and cruise off the harbour of *Baldivia*. If, in 14 days more, they were not joined by the rest of the squadron, they were then to proceed to the island of *Juan Fernandez*, and to regulate their further proceedings by their former orders. But as the separation of the fleet might be attended with the worst consequences, each captain was enjoined not to keep his ship at a greater distance than ten miles from the commodore. On the 6th they first saw *Terra del Fuego*, and the day following got sight of the *Three Brothers*, at the very mouth of the *Streights of St. Maire*. At length, after a continual series of hardships, and the greatest calamities that sickness, want, and tempests, could bring along with them, the commodore arrived in the *South Seas*. It would greatly exceed our bounds to relate every minute circumstance; sufficient it is, that fancy cannot picture to itself dangers more perilous, and distresses more pressing and severe, than those the squadron suffered. Above 200 men were dead, most of the crews confined to their hammocks; those who were able to keep the deck were too feeble to be of use in working the ship; and the few healthy men that remained were pinched by hunger and thirst, and fatigued to death with continual watching, and the business of their respective ships.

Mr. Anson arrives in the South Seas, after an unhappy passage round Ca. Horn.

The Gloucester and Wager are separated from the squadron.

APRIL the 10th they parted with the *Gloucester* and *Wager*, the latter of which they never again saw; an unaccountable accident, considering they had not better weather than any time since their passing the *Streights*, and were but a moderate distance from *Juan Fernandez*. The *Centurion* and *Gloucester* were, of all the squadron, in perhaps the most pitiable condition; with hands scarce sufficient left to work the ships, the living were pestered with rats, and the most disagreeable animals. Their sick men had even their toes eaten off by that nauseous vermin, and their bodies miserably

ably mangled by those rapacious enemies. On the 9th of *June* the commodore descried land, which proved to be the *at Juan* island of *Juan Fernandez*, a piece of intelligence received by *Fernandez*. the seamen with incredible transport. The *Centurion* was in an inconceivable state of debility, their water exhausted, and the officers without distinction obliged to assist in navigating the ship. But the emotions of the seamen are not to be described when they approached near enough the shore to behold the prospect of a pure limpid stream of fresh water that poured down in a crystal cascade from a rock an hundred feet high into the sea. The 11th they entered the harbour, being the same day joined by the *Trial*, which had lost 34 of her men since their separation, and sustained hardships little inferior to those suffered by the *Centurion*. This island, which stands 110 leagues from the coast of *Chili*, is perhaps the only commodious place where *British* cruisers can refresh and recover their men after a passage from the *North Seas*, and where they may remain for some time without alarming the *Spanish* coasts. This rendered the situation of the commodore the happier, especially as he was to wait so long for the junction of the rest of the fleet.

How ~~very~~ ^{ever} eager their desire might be to free the sick from their ~~lathsome~~ ^{lathsome} confinement, and their own impatience to get on shore, they had not hands sufficient to prepare the tents for their reception before the 16th. On that and the two following days they were busied in landing them, the whole amounting to 179 persons, 12 of whom died in the boats, occasioned by the too violent pressure of the air upon their enfeebled and spiritless bodies. As this was a work of great fatigue to the few healthy men, the commodore and other officers lent their aid without distinction of station or quality. They now expected an immediate recovery to their infirm companions, from the happiness of the climate, and the refreshments the islands afforded; but, to their great mortification, it was 20 days after their landing before the mortality ceased, or even abated. For the first 12 days they buried six or seven in a day, and those who promised a longer life recovered by slow and almost insensible degrees. On the 27th they had sight of the *Gloucester*; and conjecturing from their own situation, what hers must be, sent a lieutenant with a few hands in the yawl to inquire into her condition. Captain Mitchell thought proper to detain the hands to assist in working his ship, not above 80 of his whole crew being able to keep the deck. He continued for a whole week off and on, within four leagues of the island, sometimes endeavouring to bring the ship in tow to the harbour, at other

The distressed condition of the Gloucester.

times changing this ineffectual measure for some other. At last, on the 10th of July, in spite of all his efforts, he was driven quite out of sight, when the people on shore began to despair of ever again seeing the companions of their misfortunes. On the 16th she was again within sight of the island, fired two guns, and made a signal of distress, having then but one punchon of water left. This want the commodore immediately supplied by his boats, sending likewise wine, and other refreshments. The 19th she was a second time blown off to the lesser island of *Juan Fernandez*, about 20 leagues south-south-west of the greater. Here the *Gloucester* attempted to send her boat on shore for water, having sight of several rivulets, but to no purpose. On the 23d they made the larger island once more, and that day came to an anchor; upon which the commodore dispatched some hands, to assist them in mooring.

Four ships
of the
squadron
still miss-
ing.

As the men on shore were now tolerably recovered, they diligently fell to cleaning their ships, filling water, cutting wood, and preparing for the prosecution of their voyage. Four ships of the squadron were yet missing, which inconceivably afflicted the commodore, who represented them to his imagination in circumstances the most deplorable. Captain Mitchell had discovered an island called *Isle Fuero*, lying about 22 leagues to the westward of *Juan Fernandez*, it was thought possible that either the other ships might have mistaken this for the place of rendezvous, or at least have it out of their power to proceed further. The commodore ordered the *Trial* sloop to proceed thither, to see whether the event would justify their conjecture; but she returned without being able to bring the smallest intelligence. In the mean time the commodore ordered coppers for baking bread for the sick to be erected on shore; but it happened that the greater part of the flour was on board the victualler the *Anna* pink, which obliged him to shorten the allowance of the seamen.

The Cen-
turian
takes a
prize, and
is joined by
one of the
sunders.

SEPTEMBER the 7th a sail appeared in the offing; upon which the commodore, slipping his cables, gave her chase. The next day they lost sight of her; but soon discovered another sail, which they took, returning with her to *Juan Fernandez*. The prize was called the *Cimilla*, and had on board, among other things, 140,000 pieces of eight. Soon after this they were joined by the *Anna* pink; but on her arrival she was found unfit for further service, unloaded, her rigging taken out, and condemned. After this the fleet weighed, in order to cruise upon the *Spanish* shore, having sent the *Trial* sloop before, to cruise in a certain latitude, till

till joined by the commodore. After the *Anna* pink there remained missing of the fleet the *Severn*, *Pearl*, and *Wager*, the other victualler having delivered her provisions, and been discharged before their arrival in the *South Seas*. These ships all underwent very signal disasters. The *Severn* and *Pearl* parted company with the commodore off *Cape Noir*, put back into the *Brazils*; while Captain *Cheap*, in the *Wager*, seemed to have all the complicated misfortunes suffered by the rest of the Squadron united and discharged upon his head. He had on board a few field-pieces mounted for land service, some coborns, several kinds of artillery stores, pincers, tools, and other materials, intended for the operations on shore. This made the commodore and Captain *Cheap* extremely desirous, that, as the enterprize at *Baldivia* was projected, every thing might be in readiness for the execution, if the Squadron should rendezvous off that coast (B). As the *Wager*, with this view, was making the best of her way to the first rendezvous, whence she proposed steering for *Baldivia*, she made the land on the 14th of *May*, and at half an hour past four in the afternoon struck upon a rock at about the latitude of 47 degrees south. The crazy condition of the ship, being little better than a wreck, prevented her from keeping off to sea, and entangled her more and more with the land, which occasioned the present misfortune. She was grounded between two sharp rocks, presently bulged at about a cannon shot from shore, and was intirely lost, but not before the crew had time to escape to land in the boats, with a considerable quantity of provisions. They were now on a desolate coast, with every circumstance of horror presented to their imaginations; a deplorable state, rendered still more terrible by the ungovernable impetuosity, anarchy, and mutinous inclinations, which prevailed among the crew. From this disposition followed those bitter revilings, those fatal dissensions, and malevolent humours,

An account of the loss of the Wager, and the misfortunes of Capt. Cheap.

(B) We have extracted from *Harris* the account published by the gunner and carpenter; an account which ought to be read with attention, and merits regard, as it stands uncontradicted by any future publication, except that the captain made in his own justification, where both were parties concerned. Certain indeed it is, that the captain's arrival in *England* set a

different face upon matters; but as part of his defence was founded upon the denial of circumstances well attested; viz. the rendezvous at *Juan Fernandez*, it is still a dubious point how far his conduct stands acquitted. Without entering upon the merits of the argument, we shall briefly relate the adventure.

which nearly terminated in their total destruction. Captain *Cheep*, anxious for their general safety, and without any bias or partiality, resolved, if possible, to fit up the boats in such a manner as to beat the sea, and to proceed to the northward. As he had with him above 100 men, and firearms, he doubted not, if he should meet a *Spanish* ship, to be able to take her, and accommodate his crew better. The neighbourhood of *Chili*, it was probable, would furnish him with many opportunities of making the experiment; and this course he determined to follow: at least, whether he succeeded in this project, or not, he stood a chance for falling in with the commodore. But, however prudent this scheme was laid, it met with obstruction from the greater part of the crew. As they were fatigued with the distresses and dangers they had already encountered; and tired with the delusive hopes of returning to their native country, they disrelished the pursuit of an enterprise already attended with so many disastrous incidents. Their common resolution, therefore, was, to lengthen the long-boat, and with that, and the rest of the boats, to steer to the southward; to pass through the *Streights of Magellan*, and to range along the eastern coast of *South America*, till they should arrive at *Brazil*, whence they expected to find a passage for *England*. Although this project appeared unspeakably more dangerous and tedious than the other, yet did they persist in it with inflexible obstinacy. *Cheep* remonstrated first in gentle and persuasive terms against a resolution so ideal, and a proceeding so opposite to the first intention of the expedition. He afterwards opposed it with his authority, and with so steady an opposition as to incur their dislike and resentment; inasmuch that they insulted him with the most provoking scurrility and abuse. At last the long-boat was nearly completed, and every thing in readiness for pursuing their design; but, finding that the captain was likely to influence so strong a party as might frustrate their chosen project, they seized upon a favourable pretext to secure him from any such attempt. This was the death of a midshipman, fatally and rashly committed by the captain, on a suspicion of mutiny: an action we will not pretend to excuse, altho' it may admit of palliation on account of his ticklish and precarious circumstances. On this pretence he was confined, and threatened with being carried a prisoner to *England* (C), to be tried for the

(C) A spirit of mutiny had appeared on board before either the project for returning to *England* was laid, or the midshipman

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the murder. However, when they were just ready to put to sea, they released him, leaving the few that chose to share his fortune no other means of escaping from famine, and the desolate island, besides the yawl and barge. Thirty died on the island, about 60 went off in the long boat converted into a schooner, and nineteen were left with the captain. Among these were Mr. *Hamilton*, lieutenant of marines, the honourable Mr. *Byron*, Mr. *Campbell*, midshipman, and Mr. *Elliot*, surgeon. That Captain *Cheep* behaved with great spirit and firmness during this whole transaction, is a point not to be questioned; but it is a little extraordinary, that the same insolence of temper should appear in the midst of adversity as characterised the man in prosperity. Captain *Cheep* seems to be justly accused of governing despotically on board, without consulting his officers, or taking pains to acquire the affections of his people. His authority he constantly made the measure of their obedience, and this manner of acting he affected when shipwrecked on a desert island. Instead of encouraging the people to live in harmony and friendship, he shut himself up in his tent, and thence issued out his commands with great loftiness, and a supercilious, if not ridiculous dignity; this at least is the charge brought against him by the gunner, which remains uncontroverted. He used gentle measures, it is true, to endeavour to dissuade them from the project of returning to the *Streights of Magellan*; but it was after he had perceived, in other instances, that his authority was disregarded.

To return: Captain *Cheep* and his associates, after the departure of the long-boat, proposed passing to the northward in the yawl and barge, but they were prevented from putting to sea till the 14th of *December*. They then began their voyage; and were, after many difficulties and struggles, in which they lost five or six of their company, forced to return to their former station, after having spent near two months at sea. It was the middle of *February* when they arrived the second time at the desert island, to which they gave the name of *Wager Island*, quite spiritless, desolate, and

man killed. First, a boatswain gave a quarter-deck gun to bear on the captain's tent, the ball of which grazed over it without any damage. Soon after, eleven of them formed a design to blow up the captain, surgeon, and a lieutenant of marines, in their tent. They were

discovered, and the train they had laid for their villainous purpose was an undeniable evidence of their intention; but whether the midshipman, Mr. *Henry Coxen*, who was shot, had been a party, was never clearly proved.

almost famished with hunger. Not long after their return, two *Indian* canoes happily came to the island, having on board a native of *Chiloe*, who spoke broken *Spanish*. With him they bargained, that, if he could prevail on the *Indians* to carry them to *Chiloe*, they should have the barge, with all that belonged to her, in reward for their services. While the captain, officers, and surgeon, were on shore, the six of their surviving companions set off with the *Chiloean*, leaving them to the most melancholy reflections, without provisions, arms, or ammunition, either to support them against hunger, or to defend their lives against any attempts which might be made by such *Indians* as should perchance stop on the island. But, while they were revolving the various circumstances of their calamity, they perceived at a distance the other canoe belonging to one of the *Indians* they had before seen. Convinced of the safety of his companion, he ventured on shore, took them on board; and, after a tedious passage, carried them to *Chiloe*, where they were entertained with the most humane compassion by the *Spaniards*. They had buried Mr. Elliot in the way, and now remained only the captain, lieutenant Hamilton, Mr. Byron, and Mr. Campbell. From *Chiloe* they were sent to *Val Paraiso*, and thence to *St. Yago* the capital of *Chili*, being every-where generously treated by those enemies against whom they had been sent. Here they continued for a year; after which, a cartel being settled, they returned to *Europe* on board a *French* ship.

NOR did the long-boat undergo misfortunes at all inferior to those the captain and officers had sustained. The miseries they suffered in passing through the streights are such as cannot be described; the reader may suggest to his imagination the sufferings of men labouring under all the rigours of fatigue, sickness, hunger, delirium, in which state they generally died laughing, their number being reduced to little more than a third, in which deplorable manner a few of the survivors arrived in *Rio Grande*, the rest being left by unavoidable accident on that part of *South America* stiled *Terra de Pampas*. Such is the account given by the gunner Mr. Bulkeley, who, with his companions, had a passage to *Portugal*, and thence to *England*, where he arrived A. 1743, after having received instances of the greatest kindness, humanity, and tenderness, from the *Portuguese*.

Mr. Anson To return to the commodore: He proceeded after the leaves Trial with the *Centurion* and *Gladstone*, who, after all the ease and refreshment procured at *Juan Fernandez*, were but in a weakly condition. The former had lost one half, and the other near two thirds, of her crew, since their departure from

from *England*. When the commodore weighed from the island of *Juan Fernandez*, the *Centurion* had but 214 men alive, and the *Gloucester* no more than 81; but the victualler being condemned as unfit for service, her hands, amounting to 16 men, were distributed among the other ships. Thus the whole force of two ships of the line did not exceed 311 men, many of them of little use on account of their age, and the remnants of their late disorders; a number greatly below the complement of the *centurion* alone, and consequently very insufficient to navigate two large ships in a hazardous and difficult long voyage, with all their vigour, experience, and courage. This unfortunate reduction was the more alarming, as they dreaded falling in with *Pizarro's* squadron, and had some imperfect intelligence of a force sitting out at *Callao* against them. However, in this condition it was resolved to sail down the coast, and touch in the neighbourhood of *Panama*, in hopes of being able over land to open a communication with the squadron under Admiral *Vernon*. The commodore was, indeed, enjoined by his instructions to transmit, by any occasion he could, over land to *Porto Bello*, or *Darien*, an account of what he had done, or intended to do; and, lest any such intelligence should fall into the hands of the enemy, he had a cypher given him to correspond with whatever *British* admiral might be in the *North Seas*, or the commander in chief of the forces in *America*. He was likewise acquainted, by his instructions, of the destination of the troops sent to the *West Indies* under Lord *Cathcart*; and was ordered, that, if those forces should go to *Porto Bello* or *Darien*, with intention to proceed to *Panama* or *Santa Maria*, to make the best dispositions to assist them, supply them with cannon, or any other necessaries he could spare, without too much weakening the squadron; and, if they should want soldiers, to reinforce them with those on board his ships, with consent of the proper officer. Imagining, therefore, that *Porto Bello* might be in the hands of the *English*, the commodore hoped, on his arrival at the isthmus, to procure an intercourse with the garrison, or some mercenary *Spaniard*, who might prefer his own private interest to that of his country, and gain to honour or honesty. He even flattered himself, that by this means, and settling with the commander in the *North Seas*, a prudent plan of operations, to take *Panama*, and thereby obtain the possession of the isthmus of *Darien*, and the treasures of *Peru*. Nor can it be denied, that, had the forces in the *West Indies* had the wished-for success, these views were the most rational that could have been concerted.

The design
to open a
communi-
cation
with Ad-
miral Ver-
non cross
the isthmus
of *Darien*.

He receives advice of the situation of Païta, and resolves to attack it.

October the 20th, 1741, the commodore, with his two prizes (for the *Trial* sloop had taken a ship of considerable value), were off the islands of *Lobos*. Two days after he saw a sail, to which he immediately gave chase, and took her; but the prize was of little value to persons in their situation, being loaded only with iron and plank. As he had a design upon the little town of *Païta*, so often taken by the *English* privateers, but now well recovered, and in a flourishing condition, he obtained all the possible intelligence he could from the prisoners, whom he entertained with the utmost civility.

In consequence of the information received from them, the resolution was adhered to. On *November* the 9th, he arrived before the place, and immediately prepared for attacking it. Before his arrival here, his crew was augmented by the hands of the *Trial* sloop, which had the misfortune to spring her mainmast; which accident, together with the crazy condition of the ship, induced the commodore to sink her. As soon as he came before the port, proper dispositions were made for attacking the place, from which they were not distant above five leagues. Unluckily, however, a vessel to which the *Gloucester* gave chase, got into *Païta*, and acquainted the governor of the approach of the *English* fleet; upon which all hands were employed in removing the treasure to *Païra*, a town fourteen leagues within land. Notwithstanding the commodore received advice of this, he resolved to proceed in his design, and with all possible dispatch, in order to intercept a ship, on board of which the treasure of some merchants was shipped, who imagined it unsafe in the customhouse. Besides the treasure he expected, there was the greatest reason to believe that the ship might be supplied with abundance of fresh provisions; a circumstance alone that would render the attempt eligible. Another co-operating cause was the desire of setting the prisoners at liberty for an equivalent, as they were numerous, and made a greater consumption of the ships stores than those found on board the prizes were capable of supplying. Accordingly Mr. Brett, second lieutenant of the *Centurion*, had the command of a body of sixty men, embarked in three boats, one of 18 oars, each of the rest of eight oars; one of the *Spanish* captains being his guide, Brett kept under shore for the beginning of the evening; entering the port about ten at night, he landed safely with all his men, without being perceived either by the ships or the fort. Thence he marched directly to a little fort, which, had any conduct been shewn, he might have taken by surprize. This indeed was not owing to Brett,

Brett, who did all in the power of a good officer to keep them within their duty; instead of which they shot at random, as any person, *Spaniard* or *Indian*, happened to move near them. By this the alarm was given, and several stragglers ran up to the fort, crying, *The English dogs are here!* Upon this the lieutenant hastened his march, and was conducted by the *Spanish* captain to the entrance of a narrow street, where he was securely screened against the fire of the *Spanish* fort. Hence he marched to the parade, a large square at the further end of this street, the fort being on the one side of the square, and the governor's house on the other. The shouts and cries of this animated detachment, joined with the noise of their drums, and favoured by the gloom of night, which never fails to increase the confusion occasioned by such a surprise, had augmented their numbers, in the opinion of the enemy, to at least 300 men. The inhabitants were so intimidated, that they immediately sought the means of flight, without a thought of resisting or opposing the danger. As *Brett* entered the parade, he received the fire of the merchants, and a few others, who ranged themselves before the customhouse; but this he returned so briskly, that they were put in confusion, and dispersed. He then divided his men into two bodies, ordering the one to surround the governor's house, whilst at the head of the other he marched up to the fort, with intention to force it. But, on his approach, he found it abandoned, the garison having made their escape over the walls. By this time the governor's house was surrounded and taken, after he had escaped half-naked, leaving his wife, a lady of seventeen years of age, to whom he had been married a few days only, a prey to the *English*. She was, however, the good-fortune to be carried off in her shift by two bold centinels, just as the sailors took possession of the house. The greatest part of the inhabitants, surprised in their beds, fled in the wildest consternation and *Paita* hurry; so that the few remaining in the town were no ways formidable, and were easily dispersed. Thus the town of *Paita* was taken in less than half an hour from their first landing, with no other loss than one man killed, and two wounded; though the honourable *Mr. Van Kepple* had a narrow escape from a ball that shaved his cap off close to his temples. *Brett*, after this happy success, placed a guard at the fort, another at the governor's house, and appointed centinels at all the avenues, to prevent a surprize, and to secure the effects against embezzlement. He then seized on the customhouse, where the treasure was repositied, confining the inhabitants he took in a church under strong guards. All his

his endeavours could not, however, prevent the sailors from entering the houses in search of plunder, and covering their dirty jackets and trowsers with the embroidered silk garments of the *Spaniards*. Those who came last, not finding men's cloaths sufficient, dressed themselves in women's apparel, and made a most ridiculous motley appearance, when the drum beat for drawing up on the parade.

DURING the attack on the town, the commodore lay by with his ships till one o'clock in the morning; after which, supposing the detachment landed, he proceeded under an easy sail to enter the bay. At day-light he had a view of the town, and perceived the *English* colours flying on the fort; upon which he plied into the bay, and, at eleven, the *Trial's* boat came on board him, laden with dollars and rich merchandize, as well as church-plate. The commanding officer then made him acquainted with the transactions of the preceding night; with which he was extremely pleased, only regretting the escape of the governor. He had particularly enjoined *Brett* to secure him, hoping by this to procure a valuable ransom for the town. Anchoring in the afternoon at about a mile from the town, he had a more immediate intercourse with the party on shore. Hitherto they had proceeded without molestation in removing the treasure; but the *Spaniards* assembling from all parts of the country, having among them 200 horse well armed and mounted, began to make their appearance on a hill behind the town, where they paraded with much ostentation, founding their military music, and practising every art to intimidate the *English* to abandon the town. Their menaces, however, had no effect; for *Brett*, as long as day-light continued, went calmly on in sending off the treasure and live-stock, of which there was by no means the supply that was expected. At night the commodore sent a reinforcement on shore, and the *Spaniards* continuing quiet, the work of the former day was renewed as soon as light. They were now convinced of what importance securing the governor's person would have been; for, finding himself at the head of a little army, he refused all the terms offered by the commodore about the ransom of the town. He was in expectation of forcing it, as his troops were greatly augmented, and much superior in strength to the whole *English* squadron. This made him arrogantly despise the repeated overtures to him, and the menaces that he did not settle a ransom the *English* would set fire to the place. However, the vigilance of Captain *Brett* disconcerted all his schemes, and deterred him from making any attempts to dislodge the seamen. The treasure being all embarked, the boats

The Spaniards assemble a body of men to recover Paita.

boats were employed on the third morning in carrying off the most valuable effects; after which the commodore released all his prisoners, to the number of eighty, giving orders to Captain Brett to set fire to the town, and make the best of his way to the ships. His instructions were punctually executed; for Brett, finding large quantities of combustibles in the town, had them distributed in different parts; so that the place being at once fired in several quarters, the destruction might be more violent and sudden, and the Spaniards, after his departure, less able to extinguish it. After nailing up the cannon, he set fire to the train, and marched to the beach, where his boats waited ready to put off. The Spaniards, perceiving his retreat, detached sixty horse to intercept him; which might easily have been done, had their courage been equal to their advantages and number. The enemy marched down the hill with apparent resolution; but no sooner had Brett ordered his men to halt and face about, than the Spaniards stopped their career, hesitated what they were to do, and at last permitted the English to embark, without firing a shot. The spreading flames had soon seized upon every part of the town, owing to a fresh gale that blew, to the slightness of the materials with which the houses were built, and to the proper disposition of the combustibles, till the whole was destroyed in one general conflagration. Besides a great quantity of rich effects, some live-stock, and other provisions, the booty in specie amounted to 130,000 pieces of eight, exclusive of two chests of jewels and household plate, and one of church plate. This plunder was equally divided among the whole squadron, as well those on board as those upon the attack, the commodore thinking this the most equitable and encouraging distribution. As to the Spaniards, their greatest loss arose from the burning the town, by which an immense value of rich merchandize, broad-cloths, silks, cambricks, velvets, &c. were consumed. By a representation transmitted to the court of Madrid, the whole loss was estimated at a million and a half of dollars. Besides the booty taken in the town, the commodore made a valuable acquisition in the harbour, where he found a fine ship, the *Solidad*, and five other vessels, fitted out with intention to defend the coast. The *Solidad*, being a fine sailer, he added to his squadron, giving the command to Captain Hughes; the rest he destroyed and burnt.

His exploit being ended to his satisfaction, he weighed from Paita on the 13th, ordering the squadron to extend the line as far as possible, in hopes of falling in with the *Gloucester*. With her they came up the next morning, and found she

The governor refuses to ransom Paita; in consequence of which it is burnt by order of the commodore.

The booty taken in Paita.

The Gloucester takes a prize.

had taken a small bark, supposed at first to be laden with cotton only; but, upon a strict search, they found several jars stuffed at the top with rags, filled with gold, the whole amounting to 120,000 pieces of eight; a prize as welcome as it was unexpected. On the 26th of October, she fell in with another prize, which he likewise took, laden chiefly with *Piscaya* wine, but having also on board plate to a considerable amount. They likewise affirmed, that, in passing by *Paita*, they saw a smoke; but the commodore suspecting this to be a fiction contrived by the men to intitle them to a share of the plunder, he ordered the officers journals to be brought on board, and sealed up, directing them for the future to keep their journals in other books. As on inspecting the papers found on board the *Carmela* prize, the commodore was apprised of the unfortunate attempt on *Carthagena*, he laid aside his design against *Panama*, there being no prospect of a reinforcement cross the isthmus, and his own Squadron unequal to the enterprize. He therefore resolved to proceed to *California*, or the adjacent coast of *Mexico*, to cruise for the *Manila* galleon, which he knew was at sea, bound to the coast of *Acapulco*, where she could not arrive before the middle of *January*. Before this time, he doubted not of being on a proper station to intercept this valuable ship; he therefore imparted his design to the crews, which was received with general approbation; every man indulging his imagination in the most unlimited prospects of the wealth that must accrue to himself from such a capture. As there was a necessity, however, for a fresh supply of water, he proceeded to the island of *Quibo*, where all the Squadron, except two prizes, which he scuttled and sunk in his voyage, arrived on the 6th of *December*. The *Gloucester* had likewise parted company; but they afterwards fell in with her on the 12th, as they steered for the coast of *Mexico*. She had sprung her topmast, which disabled her from keeping to windward, and the commodore issued fresh instructions to the captains of the men of war, and commanders of the prizes, directing them to use all possible expedition in getting north of the harbour of *Acapulco*, where they were to endeavour to fall in with the land between the latitude of 18 and 19 degrees. Thence they were to beat up the coast, at the distance of eight or ten leagues from shore, till they fell in with *Cape Corrientes*, off which they were to cruise till the 14th of *January*. Afterwards they were to shape their course for the middle island of the *Tres Marias*; and if then they did not join the commodore, they were, after wooding and watering, to proceed for *Macao* on the coast of *China*. A ne-
arriving

The commodore proceeds to Quibo.

arriving soon at their station; but, by contrary winds, and a *Herzegovina* series of disappointments, they were prevented from obtaining this desirable end till the 25th of *January*. Their arrival was too late to yield them any prospect of meeting with the galleon. This caused great uneasiness, especially as they remained in a state of suspense till the 19th of *February*. The *Centurion's* barge had been dispatched to discover the harbour of *Acapulco*; from whence she returned with some negroes the seamen had surpris'd. From those intelligence was received, that the galleon was arrived in port on the 9th of *January*; a circumstance that would have thrown the whole fleet into the greatest despondency, had not their hopes revived on hearing that, upon unloading and taking in fresh provisions and stores, she was to return; and that her departure was fixed by proclamation on the third of *March*. This last advice was received by the seamen with the utmost joy, as it was more eligible to seize her in her return than it would have been before her arrival. She was now freighted with treasure, before she was laden with merchandize; the greater part whereof could be of no use to them in their present circumstances. As they were now certain she must fall into their hands, all the crews were animated with the highest spirits and fluctuation of joy on so probable an event, which afterwards happily corresponded with their wishes, and repaid the fatigues and dangers they had undergone.

THE commodore's squadron now consisted of the *Centurion*, the *Gloucester*, the *Trial's* prize, the *Camilla* and *Car-* strength of
min, all three taken from the *Spaniards*, and the whole fleet the *squadron*.
manned with no more than 340 hands, boys included. Every necessary preparation for intercepting the galleon was made; signals and positions to be observed were regulated, the whole squadron lying in a sweep of 24 leagues, the cutters being within those for closer observation, and the whole fleet impatient for a sight of this prize, which had so elated their hopes. At last the third of *March* arrived, and no appearance of the galleon. On the 15th the commodore began to suspect that he had been discovered, and consequently the ship detained in port. He therefore formed a project for possessing himself of the town of *Acapulco*, because he had no doubt but the treasure was lodged there till the ship was ready to put to sea. The place, he was sensible, was too well defended to afford any prospect of succeeding by open force. Besides the garrison and the crew of the galleon, the negroes had informed him that a thousand men well-armed had marched thither as guards to the treasure, when it was brought from the city of *Mexico*. Besides, had his force been

The commodore forms a plan for surprising Acapulco, which he lays aside on further intelligence.

been equal to the attempt, yet a declared attack would frustrate the end of it, and give the enemy time to remove the treasure up the country, and beyond the reach of his power. The surprisal of the town was therefore the only means that could answer his purpose; and this was the plan he determined to act by. He proposed sailing in the evening, time enough to arrive at the port in the night; and as there was no danger on the coast, standing boldly for the mouth of the harbour, into which he might possibly enter before the Spaniards were apprised of his designs. As soon as he had entered the harbour, 200 men were immediately to be landed to attack the fort which defended the entrance, while he with his ships were employed in battering the town with their cannon. Such was the plan of operations, of which the commodore formed a general idea in his own mind; but when he came to inquire into particular circumstances, difficulties arose, which, being found insuperable, occasioned the attempt to be laid aside. On examining the prisoners concerning the winds which prevail near the shore, the commodore learnt, and their testimony was afterwards confirmed by the experience of the officers of the cutters, that near the land there was a perfect calm for the greater part of the night; and that towards morning, when a gale sprung up, it was constantly off land; so that sailing from their present station in the evening, and arriving at *Acapulco* before morning, was a thing impracticable. But as the whole project was formed upon an opinion unsupported by intelligence, that he had actually been discovered, the commodore determined to continue the cruise upon his present station, imagining it possible that the galleon might still put to sea, and that she had hitherto been detained by other accidents than those he had suggested to himself. As the cutters had instructions to remain before *Acapulco* till the 13th of *March*, the squadron was ordered to keep the same position till that day; after which they were to make the best of their way for *China*. This prolongation was a very prudent measure, and the only remaining chance for seizing a treasure for which they had so long waited in irksome suspense. On the 24th the cutters returned, without any intelligence of the galleon; upon which a signal was made by the *Centurion* to speak with the commanders. Upon inquiry into the stock of water on board, it was found to be very slender; by which they were obliged to quit their station, and procure a fresh supply. For this purpose the port of *Chequetan*, being the nearest, was thought the fittest; to which it was resolved to make all the dispatch possible. But that they might not intirely abandon all hopes of

of the galleon, the cutter to the *Centurion* was ordered, under Captain *Hughes* and six of the best seamen, to cruise off *Acapulco* for 24 days. It was imagined that as soon as it was known the *English* squadron was at *Chequetan*, the galleon might venture to slip out. In such an event the cutter was to return with immediate notice to the commodore. In pursuance of these resolutions they plied to the westward, and, by the 5th of *April*, were fortuitously at *Chequetan*, that it was thought expedient to send out boats to discover the watering place. They soon returned with advice of a place proper for the purpose, about six miles west of the rocks of *Sequantancio*; for which the whole squadron stood on the seventh. That evening the *Centurion* and *Gloucester* came to an anchor, though the other ships, having fallen to leeward, did not arrive till two days after. Thus the squadron remaining at sea four months from the time they had left *Quibo*, arrived very seasonably at *Chequetan*, having only six days water on board. This port, situated about 30 leagues to the westward of *Acapulco*, lay at a convenient distance for favouring his designs on the galleon, and was secure against the incursions of the *Spaniards*, there being but one narrow path from the country to it. This he blocked up by a sufficient guard; so that his men wooded and watered with the utmost safety. As the country along the coast, extending to *Acapulco*, had the appearance of being populous, Mr. *Anson* was in hopes of being able to procure some fresh provisions, and other refreshments, of which the squadron was in great want. To facilitate this view, he detached a party of ninety men, well-armed, on shore. Fifty of these were employed in securing the watering-place. The rest were ordered to march into the country to discover some village, with which they were to set on foot a correspondence, if possible. They were directed to proceed with the utmost caution and circumspection, making as little ostentation of hostility as might be. He was sensible that no wealth was to be expected in these parts; and as to necessaries, they would be more readily supplied by an honest open traffick, than by violence and force of arms. But all his endeavours to gain this end proved ineffectual. The party, after penetrating ten miles into the country, returned wearied and jaded, without being able to discover one village.

THE seamen found great difficulty in filling their water, owing to the smallness of the stream. This necessarily prolonged the time employed in this business. For their greater security, the commodore ordered trees to be cut down, and a barricado formed across the path leading from the harbour through

He goes to the port of Chequetan to water.

The transactions during his stay there.

through the woods into the country, as it was apparent from this pathway's being beaten, that it was not unfrequented. As soon as this defence was formed, the principal intention of which was to guard against any sudden attack, and prevent the sailors from straggling singly from their posts, proper centinels were placed upon it, and the strictest orders given them to suffer no person whatever to pass it. Notwithstanding this precaution, some of the men rambled into the woods, and one *Leger* in particular, a *Frenchman*, was kidnapped by the *Spaniards*. The *Spaniards* afterwards assembled in a considerable body, forming a circular line round the watering-place; but never ventured to attack the seamen. Soon after the captivity of *Leger*, Lieutenant *Brett* was sent with two boats, and a detachment of 16 men, to examine the coast eastward, and particularly to observe the watering-place at *Pataptan*. As he was preparing to land, he perceived, on the opposite side of the bay, three squadrons of horse parading it in a hostile manner upon the beach. Upon this he put off, and stood over the bay against the *Spaniards*, who at first made some motions as if they would oppose his landing; but, on seeing him determined, changed their resolution, and retreated without firing a gun.

THE commodore, having thus unsuccessfully attempted to engage the inhabitants in an amicable traffick, contented himself with what his men could procure in the neighbourhood of the port, where they caught fish and tortoises in great plenty. Birds they likewise had in abundance, particularly pheasants; some of them uncommonly large, but dry and tasteless food: and the fruits and vegetable refreshments were neither plentiful nor excellent in their kinds. During his stay here, he unloaded two of the prizes of their most valuable effects, and then destroyed them. Soon after the *Trial's* prize was also condemned, which was indeed in good repair, but as the number of hands on board the whole squadron did not amount to the complement of a fourth-rate ship of war, it was found impossible to divide them in three ships, without rendering them all incapable either of navigating or fighting with safety. The *Gloucester* was reinforced with the best part of her crew, and the *Centurion* with the remainder. After this the Commodore and *Gloucester* weighed anchor, and, on reaching the offing, a canoe was left fixed to a grapple in the middle of the harbour, with a bottle in it well-corked, containing a letter for Captain *Hughes* of the cutter. As the time limited for his return was considerably elapsed, he was directed to go immediately to his former station before *Aca-pulco*, where he would find the commodore, who would cruise

cruise for him there for some days; after which he would return to the southward to rejoin the rest of the Squadron. This last paragraph was added to deceive the *Spaniards*, if the letter, as happened, should fall into their hands. As now there was a vast tract of ocean to be crossed, without a single port to touch at, Mr. Anson was desirous of running off the coast as soon as possible. He had no further views in the *He sails* American seas, and he expected to have met with no disap- from Che- pointments from steering to the westward the moment he quetan. had quitted the harbour of *Chequetan*. His greatest uneasiness arose from the long stay of Captain *Hughes*, as he suspected the cutter had been discovered, and taken by the *Spaniards*; however, as this was no more than mere conjecture, he stood to the eastward, along the coast, in search of her. On the 2d of May he advanced within three leagues of the harbour of *Acapulco*; and then, seeing nothing of her, she was given over for lost. It was still the general opinion, that she had been seized; the commodore therefore sent a letter to the governor, acquainting him, that he would release all the prisoners on board, in exchange for the cutter and her crew. The letter was dispatched by a *Spanish* officer, with a launch, and a crew of six other prisoners, who gave their parole of honour for their return. The wind being unfavourable, the ships were happily driven a great way from shore till the 5th, when they discovered the cutter. They had kept the sea for above six weeks, having been forced by a strong adverse current to the eastward, in spite of all their endeavours to the contrary. The crew had suffered incredible hardships, being so feeble, when taken up by the ship, as to be unable to stand (A). As the commodore now wanted no answer from the governor, he resolved to run off the coast without all expedition; but, not to deprive his prisoners of the liberty they were made to expect, he embarked them, being 57 in number, on board two launches belonging to the prizes. He then, in company with the *Gloucester*, made sail to the south-west, proposing to get a good offing

The deplorable situation of the cutters, left to cruise off the harbour of Acapulco.

(A) The crew were driven to the last extremity for want of water, being forced for the space of twelve days to drink turtles blood; and to quench their thirst. They never again expected to fall in with the commodore, and had given themselves over for lost, knowing they must in a day or two perish

for hunger, or fall into the hands of the enemy, an alternative no less dreadful to them than death itself; so injurious notions had they entertained of the pride and cruelty of the *Spaniards*; notions refuted by facts, to which they however were strangers.

from the land, where he hoped in a few days to fall in with the regular trade winds.

The commodore abandons his design upon the galleon, and resolves to steer for Canton.

FORMER navigators had always esteemed these winds more steady and brisk in this sea than in any other part of the globe, it being deemed no extraordinary passage to run in two months from *Mexico* to the easternmost of the *Asiatic* islands. It was not without reason, therefore, that the commodore flattered himself with a short voyage, his ships being as capable of sailing as any that had ever made that course before him. On the 6th of *May* he for the last time lost sight of the coast of *Mexico*, with a full assurance that in a few weeks he should reach *Canton* in *China*, where he hoped not only to meet with *Englishmen*, but to enjoy the pleasures of a well-frequented port, inhabited by a polished people, and abounding with the conveniencies and luxuries of a civilized life; blessings, to which, near twenty months, he had been a stranger. He stood far to the southward, in order to fall in with the trade wind, that being a point of the utmost consequence; but all his efforts, after repeated experiments, were for a long time unsuccessful, it being seven weeks from their departure from the coast of *Mexico*, before he came within its influence. But, besides this delay, there were other aggravating circumstances which rendered the situation of this unhappy crew as terrible as it had been in any of their former calamities. Both ships were extremely foul, crazy, and leaky, to a degree of fatigue to the poor men, whose number and strength were unequal to eternal pumping. Besides this, the foretopmast of the *Gloucester* rolled to the board, and the cap broke in two. The foretopmast sprung in several places by the weight of the fall, breaking the foreyard in the slings, upon which she made a signal of distress, and was taken in tow by the *Centurion*. Before this accident the commodore had got into the trade wind, which continued, without fluctuation, to favour him from the latter end of *June* almost to the end of *July*. By the 26th of this month, it was concluded he had run above 2000 leagues, so that by calculation he could not be above 300 leagues from the *Ladrões*. A westerly wind now sprung up, which continued for four days; a dispiriting incident, that greatly increased their chagrin from the late accident: but, however mortifying these circumstances were, they were only a prelude to greater misfortunes. The *Gloucester* was nearly committed before a most violent storm arose from the west, which forced them to lie-to. At the very beginning of this tempest the *Centurion* sprung a leak, and received so much water, that all the hands, officers and others, indiscriminately, were employed,

ployed constantly at the pumps. Nor was the condition of the *Gloucester* a whit more desirable, having her foretopmast again by the board, and seven feet water in the hold. This obliged her to make signals of distress, which the violence of the storm rendered the commodore unable to answer. As soon, however, as it was subsided, he sent his boat on board to inquire of Captain *Mitchell* into the circumstances of his distress. The boat returned with a representation of her several defects, signed by the captain, and all his officers. From hence it appeared, that she had sprung a leak, which, according to the report of the carpenters, it was impossible to repair at sea. The crew was greatly reduced, and of the survivors, who, officers included, were but 77 men, 18 boys, and two prisoners, only 16 men and 11 boys were capable of keeping the deck, many of these too being infirm. On the perusal of this melancholy remonstrance, the commodore ordered Captain *Mitchell* to put his men, and all the stores he could get while the ship could swim, on board the *Centurion*, with all possible dispatch. The removal of the stores and provisions gave full employment for two days; and she rolled so much, that it was with the utmost difficulty the prize-money could be got into the boats. Such prize goods as were on board, amounting to several thousand pounds in value, were given up as lost in the ship; nor could any more provisions be got out than five casks of flour, three of them damaged by the salt-water. The sick were conveyed with all possible tenderness into the boats, yet three or four of them expired before they could reach the *Centurion*. In the evening of the 16th of August every thing was got ready for destroying the *Gloucester*, and at eight the captain laid the train, but it was six the following morning before she blew up. The scurvy was now so malignant on board the *Centurion*, that scarce a day passed but eight or ten of the crew were carried off by it, and those who till now had enjoyed a perfect health, began to feel the sad effects of this dreadful disease. On the 17th the *Centurion* sprung a leak, although it continued calm ever since the late storm. The carpenters at last discovered, that it was in the forehold on each side the stern, under the breast-hook; but, though the leak was discovered, the artists agreed, that it was impossible to stop it without working at it on the outside, which was a matter not to be attempted till they arrived in port. All that was possible to be done within board was tried; and so far succeeded, as greatly to reduce the leak. The *Centurion* was now in very great distress, her rigging worn and rotten, her men crazy and lazy, she grew sickly, and diminished to

The Gloucester condemned and burnt.

The deplorable condition of the Centurion.

one third of her complement ; water so scarce, that the men were reduced to half a pint a day, and nothing to give them relief but their resignation, and the generosity and courage of the commodore, who animated them both by his discourse and practice, having given each man a pint of *Madeira* a day out of his own stores, to mix with their water.

HE was now endeavouring to gain some of the *Ladrones*, in which he met with numberless disappointments from the adverse currents. This occasioned great dejection of spirits among the crew, who began to despair of ever again seeing land ; however, a brisk wind springing up on the 23d of *August* soon cheered them with the discovery of two of the islands they sought for ; a discovery attended with ineffable

Mr. Anson joy to all on board. *Anatacan* was the nearest of these arrives at islands, distant from them about fifteen leagues. With this one of the they were extremely impatient to get in, hoping they should Marian meet with anchorage, and the refreshments at least of wheat and vegetables ; but the wind was so variable, that they could islands.

not reach within four miles of it till noon the following day, when boats were sent off to examine it. The return of the boats spread a general melancholy on board, not reporting that there was no possibility of anchoring anteriorly. The commodore, therefore, bore away, and lost sight of this upon the 26th, the whole crew dreading that it was the last point on which they should ever fix their eyes. However, the following morning three other islands were descried to the southward, at the distance of ten or twelve leagues from them.

These were the islands of *Sayfan*, *Tinian*, and *Aguigan*. Their hopes began again to cheer up, and their former gloom to brighten into joy. Steering their course to *Tinian*, the middle island, they discovered a prospect far different from the southward, between *Tinian* and *Aguigan*. Thence it was conjectured the islands were inhabited ; and, knowing that the *Spaniards* kept a garrison at *Guam*, the necessary measures for their own defence were taken. That intelligence might the more easily be obtained, the commodore showed *Spanish* colours, and hoisted a red flag at the foretopmasthead. By this stratagem he hoped to give the *Centurion* the appearance of the *Manila* galleon, and to decoy some of the inhabitants on board. The scheme answered his expectation ; for, in the afternoon, the ship being near enough to see the cutter on shore to find a proper anchorage, a pinnace, with the *Spaniards* and four *Indians*, put off to meet her. They were easily made prisoners by the cutter, and conveyed on board by the pinnace, while the cutter proceeded to examine the soundings. The *Spaniards* being interrogated concerning the produce and circumstances

circumstances of *Tinian*, his account surpassed their most sanguine hopes. He related, that though it was uninhabited, it abounded in all the conveniencies to be found in the best cultivated countries; assuring them, in particular, that it afforded plenty of good water; that cattle, hogs, and poultry, ran wild in such numbers as were incredible, all of them excellent in their kind; that the woods afforded oranges of all sorts, limes, lemons, coco-nuts, besides delicious fruits peculiar to the island: that, from the quantity and excellence of the foods produced here, the *Spaniards* from *Guam* used it as a store to supply their garrison; and that he himself was a serjeant of that garrison, who, with 22 *Indians*, had been sent to *Tinian* to jerk beef for *Guam*, which he was to load on board a small bark of 15 tons lying at anchor close by the shore. Nothing could be more satisfactory and joyful than this account of the *Spanish* serjeant. They now found themselves at a delightful island, where all their wants could be supplied in the most abundant manner, their sick recovered, and their enfeebled crew be once more refreshed, and enabled to put to sea. The pinnace was immediately directed to seize the bark, and prevent the escape of any employes, lest intelligence of their arrival might be had by the road; and then, about eight in the evening, the *Centurion* let go her anchor in twenty fathom. The bark proved an acceptable prize, being laden with pork, beef, fowls, and fruit. Immediately preparations were made for landing the sick, and every hand employed in unshipping materials for tents and other conveniencies for them. At this juncture all the men capable of duty, the commodore could muster, including those absent with the boats, and some negroes and *Indian* prisoners, amounted to no more than seventy-one persons, most of these weak and feeble, unfit for any of the harder exercises of the ship, except on very extraordinary emergencies. Such was the reduction in the crews of the *Centurion*, *Gloucester*, and *Trial*, which, on leaving *England*, exceeded 1000 men, soldiers and sailors.

AFTER the *Centurion* had been moored in *Tinian* road, a party well armed was sent on shore to secure the landing-place. They found a number of huts which the *Indians*, employed in jerking beef, had abandoned on their approach, betaking themselves to the woods for protection. These huts were used for hospitals for the sick, who were immediately removed, to the number of 224 persons, wrapped up in their hammocks, eight of them dying in the boats before they reached the shore. The greater part were so fatigued and distressed, that they were carried from the boats

to the huts on the shoulders of their companions, at which humane employment the commodore and all his officers assisted without distinction. The healthfulness of the situation, and the abundance of wholesome and delicate provisions of cattle, fowl, and vegetables, most exquisite in their several kinds, soon recovered the sick. Notwithstanding their extreme debility, they soon felt the salutary influence of the land. On the two first days they buried 21 men; but not above 10 more during the remainder of their stay, which was about two months. The diseased in general were able to walk without assistance round their tents in the space of a week, and such as had been less reduced were restored to their pristine health and vigour; nay, even the most healthy of the crew found an additional strength and stability of body from the freedom of air and exercise.

No sooner were the sick removed than the carpenters were set to work upon the leak, which, after all their endeavours, they could not remedy till an opportunity offered of heaving down the ship. This could not possibly be done in *Tinian*, nor indeed was there one convenient port for the purpose in that part of the world. All that could be done was to reduce the leak, and patch it up in the best manner prior allowances would permit. By the 12th of *September*, this undertaking was so well recovered as to be fit for duty. The sick were therefore sent on board, and others landed in their room, to taste of the pleasures of this happy isle. The commodore, who was ill of the scurvy, had a tent pitched for him on shore, where he went with a view of establishing his health, being convinced by experience, that no other method but living on land, exercise, and fresh air and provisions, was a radical cure for this malignancy disease. As the new moons were approaching, when they apprehended violent gales, every precaution for the security of the ship was taken: provisions and water were every day carrying on board, the ship washed and scrubbed, and every thing by the 19th was prepared for their departure, which an unlooked-for and almost fatal accident retarded. The new moon entered on the 18th of *September*, when the *Centurion* being safe that and the three following days, the officers began to imagine themselves fully provided against all hazard by the measures they had taken. All three days they had hard gales; but on the 22d the wind blew with a squall from the east, that they soon despaired of getting out the storm. At this time the commodore, some of the officers, and 113 men, were on shore, so that in this dreadful extremity they could muster no more than 108 persons on board, negroes

The Centurion drove to sea from her moorings at Tinian, while the commodore was on shore.

and *Indians* included. All communication with the shore was cut off, there being no possibility of a boat's withstanding so violent a tempest. Thus the *Centurion* was obliged to ride about till her oars parted. The sea broke with a terrifying noise round her, and, as the night came on, the violence of the storm increased. The ship was greatly damaged, and the crew thrown into the sea. In reflection from a consideration of the unhappy circumstances of themselves, and companions on the island, if they should be driven out to sea. They despaired of being able to navigate her back to *Tinian*, should she even survive the hurricane, which they thought by no means probable. In this distress *Licutenant Saumarez*, who commanded on board, ordered guns to be fired, and lights to be shewn, as signals to the commodore of his condition. At last, about one o'clock, the night exceeding dark, a strong gulf, attended with lightning and rain, drove the ship to sea, leaving the commodore, and others on shore, under the most dreadful apprehensions of spending the remainder of their days on this uninhabited island; whilst the crew on board, utterly unprepared to combat with the rage of seas filled with arms, expected each moment to be their last. The employed adieu for ever to their country, their friends, the road-stones, and all their domestic endearments: the latter in every other reflection absorbed in that of their immediate danger. The former might be thought to receive some consolation from the plenty, beauty, and convenience, of this little *Indian* paradise; but the supposed loss of liberty threw a gloom over the whole scene which they lately admired with rapture, and every object appeared with a different aspect. Besides, they could not doubt but the governor of *Guam* must soon receive intelligence of their circumstances, in which case they could expect nothing more favourable than being made prisoners for life, and lose their freedom, without one circumstance of situation to alleviate the loss. From the known policy, and the imagined cruelty, of the *Spaniards*, it was to be supposed that the governor would make their want of commissions, which were on board the *Centurion*, a pretext for treating them as pirates, and hence for depriving them of their lives with ignominy. With these melancholy thoughts the commodore, tho' apparently he ever preserved a calm composure and firmness, passed many bitter moments. He was fully persuaded, that either the ship would perish in the storm, or be unable to return; and that now all his views of distressing the enemy, and of still signaling his expedition by some important exploit, were at an end. To convey now some comfort to his company, the commodore,

The despondency of the crew left with Mr. Aston in Tinian.

commodore, after consulting with the most intelligent persons about him, proposed to hale the *Spanish* bark on shore, to saw her asunder, and to lengthen her 12 feet, by which means she would be enlarged to 40 tons by then, and able to carry the whole crew to *China*. Here he persuaded the crew, that they might probably meet with the *Centurion*; a hope that made them enter upon the project with the utmost alacrity. But their situation was in some respects still more distressful than that of the *Wager's* crew, had not the imprudence of the latter heightened their misery. The *Centurion's* people had not the benefit of a wreck, from whence sea stores and materials might be drawn at pleasure; all was gone with the ship, and, in her, the best seamen and ablest hands.

As soon as the commodore had once banished despair, he entered into a regular deduction of whatever would be requisite for the accomplishment of his design. He assigned to every man his proper department, and took upon himself not only the business of a general supervisor, but of a workman too, supporting all the fatigue of even the meanest offices. His example was equivalent to the action of a considerable number of hands; for, seeing their superior always busy, no man else had an inclination to be idle. This universal industry was attended with the happiest consequences; at the same time that it kept them employed in the main pursuit, it diverted their thoughts, preserved their spirits in a regular motion, inured them to action, and confirmed their health. This too was greatly forwarded by the behaviour of Mr. *Anson*, who was always serene, always easy, delivering his orders cheerfully, pursuing his plans steadily, so as to be in a condition either of supplying the ship with what was wanting to complete her stores in case she returned, or to finish in a few days the scheme in hand.

EIGHTEEN days were now elapsed since the *Centurion* had been driven out to sea, in which time the commodore's labours and projects were coming to a crisis. On the 12th of *October*, in the morning, Lieutenant *Gordon*, of the marines, having accidentally walked up a hill, discovered the ship at sea, and, running down hastily to the commodore, falloed in an ecstasy, "The ship! The ship!" Mr. *Anson*, on hearing such pleasing and unexpected news, threw down his ax with which he was then at work, and, by a sudden stroke through for the first time the equable and unvaried courage and steadiness he had hitherto preserved. As to the rest of the crew, they ran down to the sea-side in a kind of frenzy, not to be described, or even conjectured by such as

were not partakers of it. Here they feasted their eyes with a sight they had so ardently longed after, and which for some days past they had despaired of ever obtaining. By five in the evening they could plainly distinguish the ship in the distance to be the *Centurion*; upon which the commodore sent off a boat with eighteen men to reinforce her, and comfort the crew with fresh water, fruit, and provisions. On the following morning she happily got to an anchor in the road, where Mr. Anson immediately went on board, and was received with the most sincere and hearty acclamations of the crew. Although in encountering the difficulties and hazards *The distressed circumstances of the Centurion.* to which the *Centurion* had been for 18 days exposed, she had lost but one man, yet were the whole crew excessively fatigued with the laborious employment of working a large ship without intermission since the rise of this disastrous incident; for the day after leaving *Tinian* the wind continued to blow a perfect hurricane, so that a fore-shroud and stay of the bobstay broke. A number of other accidents, only intelligible to seamen, succeeded this. On the 28th the leak, which had been imperfectly patched up, broke open; the ship was filled with water, and both pumps kept in continual employment, till, on the 10th of *October*, she got into the road of *Tinian*.

The commodore now resolved to continue no longer on this island than was absolutely necessary to complete his stock of water, which was immediately set about with the utmost diligence. However, on the 14th the ship was by a sudden gust of wind driven out to sea a second time, forty of the tow-men, employed in killing cattle in the woods, being left behind. But as the weather was favourable, and the ship now better manned than before, they in about five days returned to the ship, and relieved those that had been left behind from their fears of being again deserted by their ship. Indefatigable pains were now taken in securing the *Centurion* against a farther accident, and getting on board the stores. By the twentieth of *October* she had fifty tons of water, which was judged sufficient for a passage to *Macao*. Having procured a great quantity of oranges, limes, lemons, coconuts, and other fruit of the island, the commodore set fire to the *Spanish* fort and proc, and got under sail, steering directly for *Macao*; nor without some regret at leaving this beautiful and enchanting island. As the wind proved very favourable, the *Centurion* ran near fifty leagues a day; but, a high hollow sea pursuing her, the leak was increased, and great damage ensued to the rigging, which was now intirely rot. However, as the crew were happily in full health and

Mr. Anson
arrives at
Macao.

His resolu-
tion not to
pay the cus-
toms ex-
acted from
merchant
ships.

and strength, they were able to support the fatigue consequent on such circumstances with cheerfulness. All went through their several parts without murmuring or complaint. On the 4th of *November* they were off the south-east end of the island of *Formosa*, which they could just discover, being 476 leagues to the westward of *Tinian*, and 33 leagues to the eastward of *Canton* in *China*. On the 5th they made the coast of *China*, but did not arrive at *Macao* before the 12th, when they happily anchored in the road of that city. The day before their arrival the ship ran aground through the ignorance of the *Chinese* pilots, on board, who were unacquainted with the soundings, and the depth of water the ship required. We shall pass over the description of this city and island in the mouth of the river *Ta*, as the reader will find it in another part of this work. As soon as the commodore was arrived in an amicable port, after a tedious and unfortunate voyage of near two years duration, the whole crew resumed their wonted spirits, joy was spread over every countenance, and mirth and jollity now prevailed where but lately despair and sorrow reigned. Here they found a civilized people, a place abounding in all the conveniences and luxuries of life; and what added all contributed to their satisfaction was, that they were in a well-frequented sea-port, where they imagined their rigging might be repaired, their ship refitted, and rendered capable of prosecuting her voyage to *Europe*. The river *Ta* is the only *Chinese* port universally frequented by *Europeans*, and on many accounts a more commodious harbour than *Macao*; but the peculiar customs of the *Chinese*, solely adapted to commercial affairs, made the commodore apprehensive lest he should embroil the *East India* company in disputes with the natives if he insisted upon being treated on a different footing than the merchantmen. This made him determine rather to go to *Macao* than proceed up the river *Ta*. It is certain that he could have nothing to fear besides laying the *British* trade under some inconvenience, as the *Centurion* might have entered the river, and even the port of *Canton*, in defiance of the naval power of the whole *Chinese* empire. It was well known that the *Chinese* exacted a duty from all ships entering the river *Ta*, in proportion to their tonnage. As they were strangers to the privileges due to kings ships, who are exempted in all foreign harbours from every kind of port charge, Mr. Anson thought it would derogate from the dignity of the *British* flag, to submit to this duty in *China*. On his coming, therefore, to an anchor before *Macao*, he dispatched an officer with his compliments to the *Portuguese* governor, requesting,

requesting his advice in what manner it would be proper to act, to avoid giving offence. In the evening the governor sent two officers to the commodore, to acquaint him, that if the *Centuria* entered the river, it was his opinion the duty would be expected; and therefore, if the commodore approved of it, he would send him a pilot who should conduct him into another safe harbour called *Typa*, about two leagues from *Macas*, and every way commodious for refitting the ship: here, he said, in all probability, the duty would not be demanded. Mr. *Anson* acceded to this proposal, and weighed anchor under the auspices of the *Portuguese* pilot, steering for the harbour of *Typa*. On his arrival here he paid a visit to the *Portuguese* governor, soliciting him to grant a supply of provisions, and such naval stores as were wanted for refitting the ship. He was assured in a friendly manner by the governor, that he would clandestinely afford him all the assistance in his power; but frankly acknowledged, that, to serve him effectually, an order from the viceroy was necessary, since the *Portuguese* authority was but subordinate, and subject to controul. Upon this declaration Mr. *Anson* repaired immediately to *Canton*, to visit the viceroy in person. Here he found four *English* Indiamen, and seven other *European* ships. Upon consulting the *English* supercargoes and officers concerning the manner of procuring the order he wanted, they recommended to him their own method of transacting all matters relating to the government, which was, by the mediation of the chief *Chinese* merchants. Upon application to them, they seemed willing to negotiate the business, and confident of success; but, after keeping the commodore in suspense for near a month with ingenious and well feigned excuses, they at last avowed their perfidy, and acknowledged that they neither had nor could apply to the viceroy. Mr. *Anson*, now assured that nothing could be effected by the interposition of the merchants, returned on board his ship, which he found in a condition totally unfit for the sea, before she was thoroughly refitted. Determining, therefore, at all events, to have this brought about, he wrote a letter to the viceroy, acquainting him, that he was the king of *Great Britain's* admiral, with the circumstances which had brought him into *China*, the condition of his ship, and his want of provisions. He desired immediate orders for refitting his ship, and for stores and provisions, that he might be enabled to pursue his voyage homeward. Two days after, three mandarins, attended by a considerable retinue of servants and officers, on board 18 half galleys, richly ornamented, and accompanied with music, came

Here receives civilities from the Portuguese governor.

He goes to Canton, to solicit the viceroy for stores and provisions.

*The chief
mandarin
comes on
board.*

came on board the *Centurion* by order of the viceroy, to examine into the condition of the ship. After inquiry, the chief mandarin, perceiving that the commodore had given a faithful account of his situation, told him, that he should that night proceed for *Canton*, where, on his arrival, a council of mandarins would be assembled, who, he thought not, would speedily and effectually supply all wants. The commodore then acquainted him, that the custom-house officers at *Macao* had forbid any provisions to be carried on board him, by which means the crew were deprived of those refreshments, of the utmost consequence to the establishment, and even preservation, of their health, after a long and sickly voyage. This the chief mandarin undertook to remedy by his own authority (B), desiring at the same time a list to be given him of the quantity of provision necessary for the daily consumption of the ship. Under this he wrote a permit, delivering it to one of his attendants, and directing him to see that quantity sent early every morning on board; which order was punctually observed.

*An account
of the treasure
of the
Gloucester.*

On the 5th of *December* the following account was taken of the treasure removed from the *Gloucester*, before she was destroyed; viz. a box of gold; a box with 200 dollars; a box with 3000 dollars; another box with an equal number of dollars, several jewels, and a bag of bits; a box with 1225 dollars, forty-nine pounds of loose plate; and finally, a box with 17 pounds averdupoise of loose plate. Such was the equivalent the nation received for the loss of a fine gun ship, and near 300 men. After the mandarin's departure, the commodore with great impatience expected the resolution of the council, and the proper autho-

(B) It was not till the viceroy had received Mr. Anson's letter that the *Chinese* had formed just notions of the commodore's quality and commission. They had never seen an European man of war, and were consequently ignorant of the privileges granted to kings ships. He was taken by the common people for a pirate, treated with a cold indifference, on his arrival at *Canton*, by the better sort of people, while the lower class dreaded, and viewed him with fear, and even horror,

calling him thief and robber, both in *Chinese* and broken *Portuguese*. The day after his departure from *Canton*, a *Chibampian*, or guard-boat, anchored close by the *Centurion*, to observe her motions. Had not the *English* merchants belonging to her supplied her with provisions, his crew might have starved in the midst of plenty; and the *Chinese* jealousy and all dishonest and illicit practices in trade would have seduced them into a fatal barbarity.

rities for refitting his ship. The intrigues and address of *The French at Canton* for a long time delayed any determination, occasioned warm debates, and at length had nearly foiled all the interest of the commodore, the chief mandarin, and equity itself, as well as the laws of hospitality. The *French* had always declared their merchantmen to be ships of war, and their officers were apprehensive lest any distinction paid to the *English* commodore should diminish the importance they assumed, render them less considerable in the eyes of the *Chinese*, and establish a prepossession at *Canton* in favour of ships of war, by which they, as trading vessels, would lose their dignity. As they had a *French* jesuit, who perfectly understood and spoke the language of the country, residing on the spot, a man well acquainted with the venality of the people, with the persons of the magistrates, of great address, and unfathomable cunning, they were at pains for traversing the assistance desired by the commodore. At length justice prevailed; the *French* were baffled, and an order issued by the viceroy for refitting the *Centurion*, and supplying the crew with all they wanted; though perhaps the force of the ship was an argument of no small weight with his excellency. For it was observed, that the mandarins had surveyed every part of the vessel with extraordinary attention, and proportionable astonishment, at the size and number of the guns. Besides, they had been indirectly acquainted by the commodore with what facility he could do himself justice by force of arms, should it be denied by the law of nations. They were soon made sensible that the *Centurion* alone was far superior to the whole maritime power of the vast *Chinese* empire; and that he could sink, burn, and destroy all their shipping, without the smallest hazard or risque to himself. After this order was issued, the chief mandarin, either from curiosity or design, paid another visit to the *Centurion*. He examined and surveyed her with greater attention and admiration than before, expressed extraordinary satisfaction at the skill of the *English* workmen, the progress that nation had made in the art of war, and at the prodigious naval power of the king of Great Britain. Being gratified in the fullest curiosity, he was elegantly entertained by the commodore, and saluted at his departure with eleven guns.

On the 9th of January came the order for heaving down *The Commodore obtains an order for refitting his ship*. The hands immediately began to unmoor, weighed anchor, and warped out to the northward for that purpose. The commodore contracted for 100 workmen, smiths and carpenters, all *Chinese*, to assist in careening the ship, and two junks to hold the stores, and other goods taken

He employs a great number of Chinese artificers.

taken out of the *Centurion*. He likewise caused a tent to be erected on an adjacent island, and placed a guard there for the security of the effects that were put on shore. As the workmen refused to be employed by the day, it was agreed the carpenters should have 600*l.* for their share, and a proportionable reward to the smiths and other craftsmen. This being regulated, and the *Centurion* hoisted down, the state of her bottom was examined, and all imaginable care taken to have the leak effectually repaired. An hundred *Chinese* caulkers were set to work on her decks and sides, who went through their employment with an address that greatly surprised the *English*, considering their ignorance in ship-building. As Mr. *Anson* had given the greatest encouragement for expediting the repairs, every thing went on with such alacrity, that by the end of *March* the ship was made perfectly tight and strong; by the 6th of *April* she was rigged, and the same day they began to unmoor. The commodore, instead of being discouraged by his former disasters, was now resolved again to risque the casualties of the *Pacific Ocean*, for intercepting the *Manila* galleon. The greatest mortification which he received from the delays of the council, was, lest thereby he should so long be retarded as to let so rich a treasure escape him. From the 12th of *November* to the 6th of *January* was consumed in procuring the viceroy's order; and now the utmost diligence could not render the *Centurion* in a condition to put to sea before the third of *March*, when, to the great joy of the commodore and crew, she again appeared completely equipped. Mr. *Anson* was not without apprehension of being attacked by the *Spaniards* in this defenceless situation; nor were his fears altogether groundless, as he afterwards learnt by a *Portuguese* ship, that the governor of *Manila*, having received advice of the commodore's intention to carcen in *Typha*, had summoned a council, in which it was resolved to attempt burning the *Centurion* in the harbour; an enterprise that, if properly conducted, might have greatly distressed the commodore, and frustrated all his future designs. He was further told, that a sea captain had actually engaged for 40,000 dollars to accomplish the design, and bring the resolution of the council to execution, however dangerous it might appear. The governor's avarice proved the security of Mr. *Anson*; for, perceiving there was no money in the royal treasury, he insisted on the merchants advancing the sum, and their vessels to comply with the demand disconcerted the whole project.

He receives advice of a design formed by the Spaniards to burn the *Centurion*.

BEFORE the commodore had fully completed his stores, the *Chinese* expressed great uneasiness, and a strong desire

that he would leave their coast, being either ignorant, or pretending that they did not know, this was a point he was as eagerly set upon as they could be. On the 3d of *April* two mandarin boats came on board to press his departure; a request that had often been repeated before, although they had no reason to suspect the commodore of affected delays. In answer to this last message, Mr. *Anson* told the mandarins in a determined tone, that he desired they would give him no farther trouble on this head, for he would go when he thought proper: "A noble instance," says our author, "of the resolution of this truly *British* commander, who thus honourably supported the dignity of his king and country, and challenged a respect for the *British* flag in an empire till then too arbitrary to pay the least deference to any *European*." This resolute reply of the commodore was attended with some inconveniencies to the crew, for *The vice-roy* from that time it was strictly prohibited that no provisions *roy revokes the order.* should be carried on board. The greatest care was taken to enforce those injunctions, so that from that time nothing could be purchased at any price, and all the supplies the ship could receive were secretly conveyed by means of the *English* super-argoes. By their assistance the stores were at last completed, and the crew somewhat augmented by a number of *Japanese* and *Dutch* taken on board; upon which the commodore determined to proceed on his voyage, and cruise for the *Manila* galleon.

S E C T. XI.

Containing an account of the Manila trade; Mr. Anson's departure from Typa; his cruise in search of the Manila ship; his engagement with her, and return to Canton; his transactions in that port; his voyage to Java, thence to the Cape of Good Hope, and his arrival in England in June, A. 1744; with reflections on the voyage.

AS the possession of the *Manila* ship, so celebrated for its immense wealth, was now the principal object of Mr. *Anson's* future designs; and since the trade carried on by the galleons between the City of *Manila* and the port of *Acapulco* is the most valuable of any in the universe, it may not be disagreeable to the reader, that we here give an abstract of that trade, notwithstanding we have treated of it more largely in another part of this work.

WHEN

An account of
the Manila trade.

WHEN Charles V. was emperor of Germany, Don Ferdinand Maglianes, or Magellan, a disguised Portuguese, had been sent by that politic prince with a Squadron to make discoveries to the westward of America. Magellan sailed from the port of Seville in Old Spain, in August 1519, and soon had the good-fortune to discover that passage into the South Seas, which has since been called after his name, and laid the foundation of that immense commerce and wealth the Spaniards draw from the Southern Continent of America. Having happily accomplished the first part of his scheme, after some continuance on the coast of Peru, he set sail again to the westward, with a view of falling in with the Spice islands. In this long run across the Pacific Ocean, he first discovered the Marian or Ladrones islands, about 2,280 leagues west of Acapulco. Pursuing his course, he at length reached the Philippine islands, situated in the most eastern part of all Asia. The happy situation of these islands induced the Spaniards carefully to establish and maintain a correspondence between them and their colonies on the coast of Peru. They soon dispossessed the Indians, and became themselves proprietors of the most valuable of the Philippines. The chief residence was fixed in the city of Manila, in the large island of Luconia, which speedily became the mart of all Indian commodities, as spices, silks, calicoes, china, and gold-work, bought up by the inhabitants, and annually exported to the southern coast of America. Formerly they were carried to Callao in Lima; but at present the trade is confined wholly to Acapulco. This commerce between Manila and Acapulco is usually carried on by one, or at most by two, annual ships, which sail from the Philippines in July, and arrive at the continent in December, January, or February, following. Having there unloaded, they return commonly in March, and arrive at Manila in June, July, or August; so that the voyage is seldom completed in less than one whole year. The Manila galleons are stout ships, seldom less than 1200 tons burthen, mounted with fifty guns, and manned with 400 sailors, frequently 600, passengers included. As these ships are commissioned and paid by the king, one of the captains is usually killed the General, and he carries the royal standard of Spain at the main-top-gallant-mast-head. The trade is not laid open to all the inhabitants of Manila; but is limited by very particular restrictions, analogous to those of the register-ships from Great Britain to the West Indies. They are confined to a certain value, which the annual cargo ought not to exceed, though it commonly does. The sum specified is 600,000 dollars; but few of these ships

are worth less than double that sum; and the return from *Acapulco* is generally computed at 3,000,000 of dollars.

THE feeble condition of the *Spanish* provinces bordering on the *South Seas* was the most favourable conjuncture *Great Britain* could have seized for reducing that crown to the necessity of suing for peace; but the misfortunes sustained by Mr. *Anson's* squadron rendered his force unequal to any considerable enterprise. He therefore confined his views wholly to the intercepting the *Manila* galleon, well knowing what damages the *Spaniards* would receive from such a capture, and how just a reward this good-fortune would be of all the toils and dangers his crew had undergone. To execute this purpose, every thing being in readiness, the *Centurion* weighed from *Tyba* on the 6th of *April*, and warped to the southward. By the 15th the commodore got into the road of *Macao*, and, on the 19th, he made sail, and stood to sea, after giving out that he was bound for *Butavia*, and thence to *England*. It is true the westerly monsoon was then set in, at which time the passage to *Butavia* was deemed impracticable; yet the confidence he had expressed in the strength of his ship, and the experience of his hands, persuaded not only the *Chinese*, but his own crew likewise, that this was really his intention. So strongly was this report believed, that several packets of letters for *Butavia* were sent on board the *Centurion* by the inhabitants of *Canton* and *Macao* (A). The commodore thought

(A) So firmly were the *Chinese* persuaded of the truth of the report the commodore had propagated, in order to keep secret his real design, that his friend the chief mandarin used all methods to dissuade him from the enterprise, by explaining to him the nature and danger of the monsoons. As our readers may not perhaps have a clear idea of this term, we shall endeavour to explain it to him. *Monsoon* is an *Indian* word, which, in its strict meaning, signifies no more than a strong wind. It is applied to the stated trade, viz. no other, wise than because they blow remarkably steady and violent. They are distinguished into the

East and West Monsoons, the former setting to the north of the equator in *September*, and blowing till *April*, attended usually with fine, fair, and pleasant weather; and the latter continuing from *April* to *September*, accompanied for the most part with heavy rains and dreadful tempests. Thus the months of *April* and *September* are the shifting months; and, previous to the fixed monsoons, there is a various and unsteady wind that blows for some days. Yet, upon the whole, the general alteration of these winds is no less steady than the seasons of the year in our hemisphere. Upon them depends the whole navigation to *India*; all who trade

thought it probable that this year there would be two *Manila* ships, since his cruise before *Acapulco* might possibly have pre-

trade thither embracing these changes either for their going or returning. Hence they came by the name of *Trade Winds*. At the change of these *Trade Winds*, there are constantly high storms, which they particularly call *Monsoons*, or still more particularly *Typhoons*, a *Chinese* term, perhaps of *Greek* origin, except it be more probable that the *Greeks* borrowed the noun τυφῶν, or the verb τυφω, from the *Chinese*. But without entering upon this equally dry and useless disquisition, sufficient it is that those *Typhoons*, *Typhoons*, or violent gusts of winds and storms, happen near the full or change of the moon, preceded usually by fair weather, gentle breezes, and a serene and clear sky. They veer about from the true trade-wind, and usually shift almost quite round the compass. Immediately before the storm a black cloud appears in that quarter from whence it may be expected, always suspended near the horizon; the upper edge of a bright flame-colour, which increases in beauty and lustre, till at last it fades away to a whitish glaring cloud. It is a very awful and terrifying spectacle, continuing frequently for twelve hours before the storm. As soon as the cloud begins to move, immediately the wind follows it, and blows with incredible fury at north-east for about the space of twelve hours, accompanied with horrible and astonishing claps of thunder, large flying sheets of lightning, and a deluge of rain. does this storm abate gradually of its violence; it subsides all at once, and, in less than an hour after, a perfect calm takes place. Then the wind rises at the opposite point, and blows at south west, with rain, hail, and storms of thunder and lightning, for about the same time as it did before.

Varenius, a geographer in some esteem, has given us a large description of this tempest, which deserves the reader's perusal. "A *Typhoon*," says he, "is a strong swift wind, blowing from all points, wandering about all quarters, generally coming from above, and considerably higher than the horizon. It is frequent in the oriental seas, especially those of *Siam*, *China*, and *Japan*, and between *Molucca* and *Japan*. It breaks out violently almost from the western point, and, turning with a rapid force round the horizon, performs the revolution in 24 hours, till, increasing in strength, it raises the sea, as with its strong gyrations to a prodigious height, every tenth wave higher than the rest, and striking against each other with such impetuosity as deprives the seamen of all hopes of life. On account of these storms, sailing from *India* to *Japan*, is extremely dangerous; in some such that if one ship in three goes there, it is reckoned extraordinary; which might have been true at the time when *Varenius* wrote,

prevented one of them from putting to sea the preceding year. He thought now of fixing his station off *Cape Espiritu Santo*, on the island of *Samal*, which is the first land the galleons always make on their return to the *Philippines*. The month of *June* is commonly the time of their arrival there; he doubted not therefore of getting soon enough to his station to meet with them. The inferiority of his strength by no means discouraged him, as he had the utmost confidence in the courage and skill of his men, who amounted to no more than 227 hands; a force greatly disproportioned even to one galleon. As there was a continual intercourse between *Manila* and *Macao*, it was intirely necessary to the success of his project, that his designs should be kept with the most profound secrecy, while he continued at *Macao*; but, being now at sea, *The commander* he resolved to communicate his intention to the crew. *leaves* moving, for this purpose, all the men upon the quarter-deck, he acquainted them with his intention of cruising for the *Macao*. *Manila* ships, of whose wealth they were not ignorant. *His speech* He told them he should chuse a station where he could not fail of meeting with them; that, notwithstanding their strength, *to his crew.* he doubted not in the vigour of his men, and the exertion of their usual spirit, would surmount every difficulty, and bring into their hands a prize that would sufficiently reward all their toils, and make them easy and happy for the remainder of their lives. He said, that many ridiculous stories had been propagated concerning the strength of the sides of these ships, which, it was said, were impenetrable to cannon-shot; but these were fictions contrived to palliate the cowardice of those who had formerly engaged the galleons. He hoped that none of his men were weak enough to credit such tales; for his own part, he assured them, he would fight so close that they would find his bullets, instead of being stopped by one side, would penetrate through both. This speech was received with universal joy, the sailors expressing

as the seasons, and this navigation, we are not then well ascertained. "The *Syphon*," says he, "rages most in summer. And more than can be conceived by those who have not seen it; so that it is no wonder that the ribs of the strongest ship, should be loosed; you would think the heavens and earth were falling into their original chaos, overturning houses, rooting up trees, and conveying large ships a quarter of a mile from the sea." The cause of it is, without doubt, that the wind pushing to a certain point is obstructed, and reflected back on itself. Hence this whirling, this gyration of the sea, and vortices, it occasions.

their applause and satisfaction by three strenuous cheers, declaring at the same time their resolution to succeed or perish in the attempt, whenever the opportunity offered. As they firmly relied on the assurances of the commodore, that they should certainly meet with the galleons, so they were too sanguine to harbour the smallest doubts of mastering them. In fact, they considered themselves as already in possession of those invaluable prizes.

He arrives at his station, where they impatiently expect the galleon.

Mr. Anson, departing from Macao, stood for some days to the westward, and, by the 3d of May, fell in with the southernmost part of the island of *Formosa*, lying east-by-south at the distance of ten leagues, and affording a delightful prospect. Hence he steered to the southward, and two days after was in the latitude of the *Bashee* islands, in $21^{\circ} 4'$ north. After leaving *Botet Tobago Xima*, he steered between S. and S. W. for *Cabo Espritu Santo*, and, on the 20th of May at noon, first discovered that *Cape*, bearing S. S. W. at about the distance of eleven leagues. The commodore knowing that there were sentinels placed on this *Cape* to make signals to the *Manila* ship, when she fell in with land, ordered the helm to lee, the ship to tack, and the top-gallant sails to be taken in, to prevent his being discovered. This being the station where he resolved to cruise for the galleons, he kept the *Cape* between south and west, endeavouring to confine himself within the latitude of $12^{\circ} 50'$, and $13^{\circ} 5'$. The month of June now approaching, the crew of the *Centurion* passed each hour with the utmost impatience and expectation of the happy crisis that was to balance the account of all their former calamities. Nor was the commander's anxiety a bit inferior to theirs, tho' his prudence suppressed those emotions the other officers could not avoid discovering. Every necessary preparation was made for the reception of the galleon; the long-boat was hoisted out, and lashed awag-side the *Centurion*, that the ship might be ready for engaging, if they should happen to fall in with the enemy at night. There now being but little employment for the crew, to preserve their health, keep up their spirits, and amuse their hands, the commodore ordered them every day to be exercised in working the great guns, and in the use of the small arms; a practice he had maintained more or less, in all convenient seasons, during the course of the voyage. An excellent method, which deserves the imitation of all our sea-officers, the advantage of it being fully proved by the effects it had upon the men, and the labour of it recompensed by the success of this engagement with the galleon. All this while Mr. Anson was solicitous to keep at such a distance from the *Cape* as to avoid

discovering himself; lying commonly from ten to 15 leagues distance, though, by means of the current, he was once within seven leagues of land. It was afterwards, however, known, that, in spite of all his care, he was frequently seen, and intelligence of him sent to *Manila*, where it was at first disbelieved, till repeated advices alarmed the merchants, who applied to the governor. Upon this, his excellency undertook, at the expence of the merchants, to equip a force, consisting of two ships of thirty-two guns, one of twenty guns, and two sloops of ten guns each, to attack the *Centurion* on her station. Some of the vessels actually weighed with this intention; but the capital ship not being ready, and the monsoon being against them, the merchants and governor quarreled; by which the enterprize was defeated.

THE month of June being pretty far advanced, the English seamen on board the *Centurion* began to lose all patience, and to fear that the galleon had been detained as the former year, or escaped them unobserved. However, the 20th, precisely a month after gaining his station, the commodore was relieved from his disagreeable suspense, one of the men having at sun-rise discovered a sail from the mast-head. The news was immediately spread through the ship, and a joy equal to what might be expected after victory took place in every breast. They had no doubt but this was one of the galleons, and they every moment expected to see the other. The first part of their suggestion was soon confirmed by the near approach of the ship. As to the galleon which their cruise had detained the preceding year in the port of *Acapulco*, instead of remaining in company with the other galleon, as was expected, she sailed alone from *Acapulco* much earlier than the usual time, and got into the port of *Manila* long before the *Centurion* had reached her station at *Cape Espiritu Santo*.

THE galleon now in sight was called the *Nuestra Señora del Cabo Largo*, commanded by General Don *Jerónimo de Montero*, mounted 42 guns, 17 of which were brass, but was pierced for 64, and manned with 550 stout seamen and marines. She had besides 28 swivel guns and pateraroes in her garwall, quarters, and tops; each of which carried a four-pound shot. She was well-furnished with small arms, and secured against boarding by close quarters and a strong network of two inch rope laced over her waist, and defended by half-pikes. Under the conduct of Don *Jerónimo de Montero*, reputed the most expert and valiant officer in the *Manila* service, she was in force, in bulk, and every particular but the weight of metal, superior to the *Centurion*. Mr. *Anson* was first discovered by the galleon, who might possibly have escaped,

escaped, had she attempted it. But such was the account the *Spaniards* had received at *Guam* of the condition of the *Centurion*, that they despised her weakness, and proposed nothing less than carrying her a prize to *Manila*. As soon as she approached near enough to distinguish with certainty it was the *Centurion*, *Montero*, elated by the confidence of his superiority, told his officers that he did not doubt of having the honour of entertaining the *British* commodore that day at his table. Such were the hopes of the *Spaniard*; but *British* courage, supported by fortune, determined otherwise.

Mr. Anson instantly bore down on the galleon with all the sail he could carry; and, by half an hour after seven, she became visible from the deck of the *Centurion*. Now the galleon fired a gun, took in her top-sails, and continued to bear down on the commodore, who hardly believed what afterwards appeared to be the case, that she knew his ship to be the *Centurion*, and as such determined to fight her. When the commodore first spied her through his glass, the first glimpse appeared like two ships; upon which he said with the utmost composure, "No! Ials, we will fight them both." As she approached nearer, he discovered his mistake, and seemed disappointed. About noon he was little more than a league distant from the galleon, and could fetch her wake; so that there was no danger of her escaping. Soon after the galleon haled up her fore-sail, and brought too under top-sails, with her head to the northward, hoisting *Spanish* colours, a red flag, and the royal standard of *Spain*, at the main-top-mast-head. Mr. Anson had in the meanwhile prepared all things for engaging on board the *Centurion*; he had taken every possible measure for the full exertion of his small strength, and for avoiding the confusion too frequent in actions at sea. He picked thirty of the choicest, and best marksmen, whom he distributed in his tops; a precaution which fully answered his expectation, by the signal services they performed. As his hands were too few to quarter a sufficient number to each gun, in the usual manner, he therefore appointed on his lower tier only two men to each great gun, who were to be wholly employed in loading it, while the rest of his crew were divided into different gangs of ten or twelve men each, continually moving round the decks to fire such guns as were loaded. By this wise management and skilful finesse, he was able to keep up a constant fire without intermission, instead of a whole broadside with intervals between them; a conduct that greatly disconcerted the *Spaniards*, and secured him very important advantages. It is customary with the *Spanish* seamen to fall

Mr. Anson
engages
and takes
the Manila
galleon,
with an
account of
the fight.

drawn

down upon the decks when they see a broadside preparing, and to continue in that posture till it is given; after which they rise, presuming the danger to be over for some time, work their guns, and fire with great vigour till another broadside is expected; a precaution rendered wholly useless by the commodore's new plan of engaging. All things being thus in readiness, and the two ships drawing nearer, there happened several squalls of wind and rain, which often obscured the galleon, and made the commodore apprehensive that she might find some means of escape; but, whenever the weather cleared up, he observed her resolutely lying-to. About one o'clock, being within gunshot of the enemy, he hoisted his broad-pendant and colours; and perceiving that they had neglected clearing their ship till then, as they were observed busy in throwing cattle and other lumber over-board, the commodore ordered the chace-guns to be fired upon them, in order to disturb their present employment; though his general directions had been to hold their fire till they came within pistol-shot. The galleon returned the discharge with two of her stern-chace; and now the ships running along-side yard-arm and yard-arm, began the fight with all the fury imaginable. The commodore took place on the quarter-deck, with his sword drawn, and giving his orders with a surprising calmness and composure, while the honourable Mr. *Van Kopp*, son to the late Lord *Albemarle*, and now *Commodore Kopp*, gave his directions between decks. As soon as the *Centurion* came within the proposed distance of the galleon, she began a constant, quick, and even fire, which for awhile was answered by *Montero* with abundance of skill and courage. Mr. *Anson* took great pains to keep a-lead astern of the enemy, to prevent their coming before the wind, and gaining the port of *Jalapay*, from which she was about seven leagues distant. He now made use of a feint, by lashing his sprit-sail fore-and-aft; that being the usual sign to board; a stroke of military art that surprised the *Spaniards*; he had his full complement of men. What confirmed them in this opinion, was his shewing his whole force, consisting of 227 men, all on one side, which he had an opportunity of doing by their fighting so close. The enemy were greatly amazed and intimidated to find his condition so different from what it had been represented at *Guam*; however, *Montero* continued the action undisturbed. For the first half-hour, the *Centurion* over-reached the galleon, and lay on her bow. In this situation, the great width of his ports, Mr. *Anson* could traverse almost all his guns upon the enemy, whilst only a few of theirs

could be brought to bear. Soon after they came to a close engagement, the mats of the galleon, with which her netting had been stuffed, took fire, and burnt with violence, blazing up as high as the mizen-top. This accident was occasioned by the wads of the *Centurion*, and threw the *Spaniards* into the utmost consternation; nor was the commodore without apprehension that the galleon might be burnt, and his men not only deprived of the treasure, but the *Centurion* might be endangered by her driving on board. At length, however, the *Spaniards* suppressed the fire, by cutting away the netting, and tumbling the whole mats all in flames into the sea. During this interval, the *Centurion* kept her advantageous position, firing with great order and vigour with her cannon, while the men in her tops made prodigious havock of the enemy exposed on the deck to their fire, killing every officer, but one, that appeared, and wounding in particular the *Spanish* general himself. After the action had continued in this manner for half an hour, the *Centurion* lost the superiority arising from her station; for now she was close alongside the galleon, without bearing on her bow as before. In this condition the *Spaniards* continued to fire near an hour longer, but with great inferiority, as their decks were constantly swept by the *Centurion's* grape-shot. The number of their slain was now so considerable, that they began to fall into disorder, and abandon the guns; and the more, as *Montero*, who was the soul of the action, was no longer able to exert himself. This confusion was distinctly seen from the *Centurion*; for the ships were so near, that some of the *Spanish* officers were seen running about with great diligence to prevent the men quitting their quarters. Of this Mr. *Anson* made his advantage, charging now with more vigour than ever. At first he was sparing of his ammunition, having but a small quantity on board; but now resolving to push the advantage, and prevent the enemies recovering their spirits, his shot was poured into the galleon in such a manner as rendered ineffectual all the endeavours of her officers to keep the hands to the guns. The galleon having, as a last effort, fired five or six guns with more judgment than any of the former, at length yielded up the contest; and the figures being burnt off the ensign-staff, she struck the royal standard at her main-top-gallant-mast-head. This, however, was not done till the ship was rendered incapable of continuing the fight; and a *Spanish* officer, who stood near the colours, refused to strike them till he perceived the impossibility of longer defending themselves.

Thus,

THUS, after a warm action of about an hour and three-quarters, the *Centurion's* crew got possession of a treasure, which they thought an ample equivalent for all the unfortunate incidents they had run through. The acquisition was still the more valuable, as it was obtained with the loss only of two men killed, Lieutenant *Brett* and fifteen men wounded, fifteen shot in the hull of the *Centurion*, her fore-mast, main-mast, and bowsprit, wounded, and some damage, but less than might be expected, done to her rigging. Whereas the enemy received fifteen shot in her hull, many of which were between wind and water; her masts were grievously wounded, and her rigging totally destroyed; so that the commodore, as soon as she struck, was forced to send ropes and blocks on board to refit her. She had 67 men killed in the action, and 84 wounded, three of which expired the same night they were taken; and the survivors, except such as were left for navigating her, were removed on board the *Centurion*. Mr. *Anson* expended fifty hundred weight of round shot, four rounds of grape, four of double-headed shot, and twenty-four barrels of powder. The *Spaniards* loaded their swivels with seventy musquet-balls, often with rusty nails, flints, and stings. They likewise fired a great number of chain-shot, some double-headed with barbed points; a cruelty seldom practised among civilized nations. To prevent their being intimidated by the number of the slain, *Montero*, during the whole action, had twenty men employed in throwing the dead over-board, and cleaning the decks, that the rivers of blood might not strike terror in those who performed the duties of the ship. From which circumstances it may be perceived how hotly the galleon was plied by the *Centurion*.

WHEN the *Spanish* lowered her royal standard, the commodore ordered his cutter to be hoisted out, the rest of the boats being rendered unserviceable in the action, and sent on board Lieutenant *Saumarez* to take possession of her. The cutter soon returned with the governor of *Guam*, the *Spanish* pilot, and some of the chief officers and passengers. As for the general, his wounds being dangerous, it was thought advisable not to remove him, Mr. *Anson* ordering him to be attended with all imaginable care on board his own ship. Four days were employed in removing the treasure on board the *Centurion*; it consisting of 1,313,843 pieces of eight, 35,684 ounces of silver, several bags of cochineal, and some other commodities, the whole amounting to 313,000 *l.* being. Mr. *Anson* appointed his first lieutenant, Mr. *Saunders*, to command the prize, giving him fifty *English*, with

some *Spaniards*, to navigate her; after which he resolved to make the best of his way with both ships for *China*. The greatest caution was used to secure the prisoners in such a manner as to render himself safe, and yet preserve that tenderness which noble minds ever shew to the unfortunate and vanquished. Their number, however, gave the commodore great disturbance, it being no easy matter, with the few hands he had, to preserve that medium between safety and humanity. The prisoners were near double the number of his men; and some of them, when they were brought on board, observing how weakly the *Centurion* was manned, and the large proportion which the boys bore to the able hands, could not help expressing themselves with great indignation at being thus defeated by an handful of children; at the same time that they did justice to the conduct of the commodore, to whose prudence they ascribed their disgrace. They soon had no less reason to applaud his humanity, than before they had done his courage and skill; for the sick in particular, and indeed the whole prisoners, were treated with such tenderness, that, after the 25th, not a single man died.

The commodore arrives with his prize in the river of Canton.

STANDING with his prize for the river *Canton*, he got sight of the *Cape Delangano*, and on the next day made the *Bahia* islands. On the 28th he discovered *Sapata*, and three days afterwards taking on board two *Chinese* pilots, both ships came to an anchor off the city of *Macao*. On the 15th of *July*, both ships were conducted through the narrow passage of *Bocca Tigris*; the commodore, on the following day, sending his lieutenant to *Canton* with a letter for the viceroy. In this he acquainted him, that he had taken shelter against the approaching hurricanes; but, as soon as the monsoon shifted, he would sail for *England*; that he proposed repairing to *Canton*, to visit his excellency, as soon as the circumstances of affairs would admit of his absence; and that, in the mean time, a supply of provisions and stores would oblige his *Britannic* majesty, whose servant he was. The lieutenant was civilly received, and a promise given him that the commodore should have an answer to his message the next day. Next morning the lieutenant returned in his barge, bringing with him a supply of fresh provisions, but no message for proceeding up the river, as was desired and expected. He acquainted the commodore, that a mandarin of rank would speedily be sent from the viceroy, to inform him of the resolution taken in reference to his letter. Upon this notice great preparations were made on board for the reception of this *Chinese* officer, who arrived on the 20th, attended by twelve *Chiampan*s. He desired that the commodore would pass over

A Chinese mandarin comes on board.

the ceremony of saluting him, because his guns being large the noise would disturb him extremely. He assured him that the viceroy would be glad of a visit from him and the captain of the other ship. He then presented him with an order for a daily supply of fresh provisions; but intimated, at the same time, that the usual duties would be expected from him, as in *China* no distinction between men of war and merchantmen was ever made. To this Mr. *Anson* replied with thanks for the viceroy's obliging invitation and order; but said that the king of *England's* ships were never treated upon a footing with merchant-ships in any port; and that he was absolutely restrained by his instructions from paying any acknowledgement for anchoring in the harbour of any prince whatever. The mandarin behaved with great politeness, and shewed the utmost satisfaction at the reception he had met with; promising, at his departure, to expedite the licence for proceeding up the river; for want of which they had not yet been able to pass the bar.

IN the meanwhile the commodore permitted several of the *Spanish* officers to repair on their parole to *Canton*. No sooner had the prisoners arrived there than they were sent for by the regency, who examined them minutely by what means they came into the hands of an enemy so inferior in power. On this occasion the prisoners were honest enough to declare, that as the kings of *England* and *Spain* were at war, they intended to take the *Centurion*; but that the event had been contrary to their hopes. When they were questioned concerning the usage they met with in their confinement, they frankly acknowledged that it was much better than they believed the *English* would have received from them, had the issue of the engagement been reversed. Such a confession from an enemy had great weight with the *Chinese*, and proportionably raised the reputation of the commodore. Till then they had only revered his military force, at the same time that they considered him as a lawless freebooter, uncommissioned by his king and country for the revenge of public injuries. But by their opinion was wholly altered, and they esteemed him a prodigy of valour, virtue, and humanity; to which prize the vast treasure of his prize might not a little contribute, the acquisition of wealth being a matter greatly adapted to the esteem and reverence of the *Chinese*, as well as of *European* nations.

Four days after the mandarin came on board, two *French* ships entered the road; upon which the commodore put the *Centurion* and her prize in a posture to receive them, in case they might act as enemies. However, upon seeing his pin-

A great
number of
European
ships ar-
rive at
Canton.

nance on board, the captains assured the *English* officer that no war had been declared between the crowns of *France* and *Great Britain*. Next day the *Harrington East Indiaman* entered the road, and, in passing the commodore, saluted him with twenty-one guns, which was returned by nineteen. On the 24th, three *Dutch* ships came in, and honoured Mr. *Anson* with the compliment usually paid to the king's ships; and, on the 27th, the licence for proceeding up the river arrived, with pilots to conduct the ship up to the second bar, within thirty miles of the city of *Canton*. Three mandarins had been sent upon this message, and also to excuse the viceroy from receiving the commodore's visit, during the then extreme heat of the weather, because assembling the mandarins and soldiers necessary to that ceremony would occasion great inconvenience and fatigue. In *September*, the

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mandarins said, his excellency would be happy to be honoured with a visit from the commodore and the *English* captain of the prize. As Mr. *Anson* was informed that an express had been sent to *Pekin*, with an account of the arrival of the *Centurion* and her prize, he had no doubt but the chief motive for postponing this visit was to give time to receive instructions, the regency not caring to do it by their own authority in this unusual affair. After the mandarins had delivered their message, they began to mention the business of the customs to be paid by his ships; but the commodore immediately told them, that he could never submit to any demand of that nature. The mandarins being cut short on the subject of the duties, said they had another matter to mention, the only one with which they would trouble him; this was a request to the commodore to release the prisoners he had taken on board the galleon, as the viceroy apprehended that the emperor might be displeased, if he should be informed that the subjects of a neighbouring ally, and carrying on an extensive commerce with his dominions, were under confinement in a *Chinese* port. This

Mr. Anson
releases the
Spanish
prisoners.

was a request no way disagreeable to the commodore, although he raised scruples, in order to enhance the obligation. He was no less desirous than either the *Chinese* or *Spaniards* of being disburthened of such an incumbrance. On his first coming to *Macao*, he had released a great number upon their parole, and yet 400 remained with him. He therefore suffered himself to be prevailed on, at length agreeing to put them on shore, if his excellency would appoint boats for that purpose. This important affair being adjusted, the mandarins departed, pleased with their influence over the *British* commodore, and the address with which they brought

this affair about. On the 28th of July two junks were sent from *Canton*, to carry the prisoners to *Macao*; the *Centurion* furnishing them with provisions for eight days to serve them during their passage down the river. On the 29th the commodore made the signal to weigh, and each ship advanced up the river as far as the second bar, anchoring before the custom-house. Soon after this, the commodore received advice that a ship belonging to the *English East India* company was arrived on the coast of *China*, in a very distressed condition, from a storm she had met with at sea, he immediately sent the pinnace, with an officer and thirty men, stores, ropes, anchors, and fire-arms, to her assistance. The reasons for sending the latter were, to secure her against any attempts from the *Spaniards* at *Macao*, who, chagrined with their loss, might embrace this opportunity of revenging themselves. Although Mr. *Anson's* fears upon this occasion were without foundation, yet were they the suggestions of prudence and attention to the interest of his country. A conduct that gained him the esteem of every man in the service of the *East India* company, and indeed of all the *Europeans* at *Canton*, who could not help admiring the fidelity with which he discharged his commission, and the signal protection he afforded to commerce. Of this he gave testimonies as often as the opportunity offered; and he soon had occasion to exert all his prudence, address, and presence of mind, in a nice and delicate conjuncture that occurred.

ALTHOUGH the commodore, in consequence of the vice-Mr. Anson's order, found no difficulty in purchasing provisions for the consumption of the ships, yet it was impossible he could proceed to *England* without laying in both a large quantity of provisions and naval stores, for his performing the voyage, as well as for the immediate occasions and repairs of his ships. The procuring this supply he foresaw from the scruples about the customs, and the intrigues of the *French*, which he had experienced when he lay in the *Tupa*, would be attended with some trouble. In fact it proved so, the *Dutch* having never taken the least step to comply with their agreement. Towards the end of *September*, perceiving that the viceroy had not, according to promise, invited him to an interview, he determined to proceed to *Canton*, and notify to the governor that he waited for his appointing a day for the audience. He was determined not to comply with any demands that were made for the duties, not chusing to establish so dishonourable a precedent, and took all possible precautions to prevent the *Chinese* from insinuating upon it. He ordered, to secure the ships, and the great treasure on board, against

He goes to
Canton.

against any designs that might be formed, he appointed Lieutenant *Brett* to command in his absence, and particularly directed him, if he should be detained at *Canton* for the duties in dispute, to set fire to the galleon, and fall down the river with the *Centurion*, and to remain at the entrance of the *Bocca Tigris* till further orders from him. These precautions taken, he acquainted all the supercargoes of the *English*, *Danish*, and *Swedish* ships, of his intention; and that he would be glad of their attendance at his audience of the viceroy. They accordingly came on board the 13th of *October*, at nine in the morning, and the same afternoon the Commodore, Lieutenant *Saumarez*, Lieutenant *Van Kheple*, the captains and supercargoes of the *East India* ships, put off in the barge, rowed by eighteen chosen men in new jackets of scarlet, and blue silk waistcoats, the whole trimmed with silver buttons, besides badgers on their jackets and capes. The barge was immediately joined by the boats of all the *India* ships in the river, the crew of the *Centurion* giving three cheers as they went off, and saluting the commodore with 19 guns. As he passed by *Wamps*, he was complimented by all the *European* ships, except the *French*; and in the evening he arrived at *Canton*. On his landing, his officers and attendants marched in a slow and solemn procession towards the viceroy's palace, the commodore himself being carried in a chair. The retinue was marshalled in the greatest order, and the whole ceremony conducted with more decorum, and even magnificence, than could be expected in his circumstances. As the *Chinese*, like all the other eastern nations, are extravagantly fond of show and pomp, this procession had a very proper effect, it being regarded with profound silence and respect. On approaching the palace, he was met by some mandarins, who acquainted him, that his excellency would appoint a day for the interview, and now desired him to conduct him to the lodgings provided for him. Here he was visited by the principal *Chinese* merchants, by whose artifices, and the chimerical fears that had seized the *English* supercargoes, the day of audience was postponed; however, this time the commodore employed in making further inquiries into the manner in which he was to contract for provisions and stores. When he had finished his contracts, and all to shipping the stores was completed, he resolved to demand an interview, as he was persuaded that, without this ceremony, the grant of an order to take them on board would meet with numberless obstructions. With this intention he sent one of his officers, on the 24th of *November*, to the

a letter to the viceroy. When the officer delivered this letter, the mandarin received him with great civility, taking down the contents of it in *Chinese*; and promising that the viceroy should be immediately made acquainted with it; but that it was not necessary for the officer to wait for an answer, because a message would be sent to the commodore himself.

ABOUT two days after a fire broke out in the suburbs of *A terrible fire in Canton*, which consumed an hundred shops, and eleven ^{streets full of warehouses, threatening destruction to the whole city.} *streets full of warehouses, threatening destruction to the whole city.* In this general confusion the viceroy came ^{thither, and sent to the commodore, requesting his advice and assistance, with assurances that he might take any measures} *thither, and sent to the commodore, requesting his advice and assistance, with assurances that he might take any measures* he thought most conducive to the public safety. Upon this notice Mr. *Anson*, attended with about forty *English*, part of his own crew, and of the *English East India* ships, flew to that part of the city that was in flames, where the seamen, in sight of the viceroy, and all the inhabitants of *Canton*, exerted themselves in so extraordinary a manner as if that country was altogether without example. Rather animated than deterred by the flames and falling buildings among which they worked, they behaved with a boldness and activity peculiar to *British* sailors, extinguishing by their efforts a fire that otherwise must have soon laid the whole city in ashes. Many thousand *Chinese* stood astonished, terrified, and unactive spectators, admiring the intrepidity which they had not the courage to imitate. The conduct of the *English* became the general topic of conversation, every one striving who should the most loudly extol their unparalleled vigour and spirit. Next morning a number of the principal inhabitants waited on the commodore, to acknowledge the high obligations they lay under to him; frankly owning, that he had preserved their city from a conflagration, as they could of themselves never have extinguished the fire. Immediately after a message from the viceroy arrived, appointing the 30th of *November* for an audience; which sudden resolution, in a matter so long in agitation, was intirely owing to the extraordinary services performed by the *English*, of which the viceroy retained the deepest sense of obligation. All the necessary preparations were made by the commodore again the day appointed for the audience; and Mr. *Finch*, an *English* gentleman belonging to the *English* company, who spoke *Chinese* fluently, was engaged for his interpreter. Nor could a better have been chosen, Mr. *Finch* repeating with great boldness and exactness whatever was delivered him in *Chinese*, a part which no *Chinese* linguist either would or exactness and spirit. When the day arrived,

a man-

a mandarin waited on the commodore, to acquaint him, that the viceroy was prepared; upon which, with his retinue, he immediately set out, in much the same order as in the former procession.

As soon as he entered the outer gate of the city, he found a guard of 200 soldiers ready to receive him, who attended him to the great parade before the imperial palace, where the viceroy resided. Here a body of ten thousand men was drawn up under arms, making a fine appearance, but rather splendid than warlike. They were all new clothed for the ceremony, their arms bright, and every thing adapted to strike the *Europeans* with high ideas of the vast power and opulence of the *Chinese* empire. The commodore, with his retinue, having passed through the centre of the troops, who opened to the right and left, were led to the great hall of audience, where the viceroy was seated under a rich canopy, in the imperial chair of state, incircled by his council of mandarins. A vacant seat was placed for the commodore, in which he was seated on his arrival, ranked the third in order from the viceroy, the chiefs of the law and treasury, who in *China* have the precedence of all military officers, being placed above him. As soon as he was seated, he addressed himself to his excellency by his interpreter, reciting the various methods he had formerly taken to procure the present honour; and adding, that he attributed the delays he had met with to the insincerity of those persons he had employed: that at length he had no other means left than sending, as he had done, his own officer with a letter to the gate. Here the viceroy interrupted the interpreter, bidding him assure the commodore, that the first knowledge he had of his being at *Canton* was from that letter: an assurance, however, in which there was less truth than politeness. Upon this, the commodore proceeded to acquaint his excellency, that the subjects of the king of *Great Britain*, his master, had complained to him, the commodore, of the vexatious impositions of the merchants and inferior custom-house officers, to which they were often obliged to submit, on account of the difficulty of access to the mandarin who alone could grant them redress: that it was his duty, as the servant of the king of *Great Britain*, to lay before him the grievances of the *British* subjects, which he hoped he would take into consideration, giving orders that they should be removed, and all cause of future complaint be obviated. Here the commodore paused, waiting some time for an answer; but, nothing being replied, he asked Mr. *Finch* if he was certain the viceroy understood what he said.

but the *Centurion* was actually well enough stored
 with provisions, but the *Centurion* could never wait to make
 any dispatching this and some other business regarding the
 ship *Hastingfield*, with which the *East India* supercargoes had
 intrusted him, he entered upon the affairs of his own squad-
 ron, telling the viceroy, that the proper season for returning
 to *Europe* was already set in, and that he wanted an order
 for shipping his provisions and stores, which were all ready :
 that as soon as this was granted, and he had got his ne-
 cessaries on board, he proposed leaving the river *Canton*, and
 making the best of his way to *England*. To this the viceroy
 immediately replied, that the licence should be issued with-
 out delay, and proper assistance afforded him in shipping his
 stores, and repairing the ship. Perceiving that the commo-
 dore's business was ended, his excellency continued the con-
 versation for some time upon indifferent matters, acknow-
 leging in polite terms how greatly the *Chinese* were obliged
 to him for the courage and conduct exerted by his men in the
 late dreadful fire. Then observing that the *Centurion* had
 been a long time on their coast, he concluded his discourse
 by wishing the commodore a prosperous voyage. Mr.
Anson, after thanking him for his civility and assistance,
 took his leave, highly satisfied with his reception, and his
 success in establishing an authentic precedent, by which all
British ships of war should for the future be exempted from
 all demands of customs in any *Chinese* ports. Upon his
 leaving the hall of audience, he was conducted into another
 apartment, where was provided a magnificent entertainment.
 Finding, however, that the viceroy was not to be present, he
 accordingly leaving the retinue to do honour to this polite-
 ness of his excellency. The entertainment consisted, after
 the manner of the country, of a multitude of small dishes
 filled with a variety of minced meats; after which, at a
 short interval, there followed a rich desert of dried fruits
 and sweetmeats; the whole concluding with tea of a most de-
 licate flavour. On the commodore's leaving the city he was
 saluted with three guns, which are as many as they ever dis-
 charge upon any occasion, excepting an imperial salute.
 The viceroy punctually executed his promise, sending the
 order for shipping the stores, and, with it, some presents to
 the commodore; four days after which the commodore em-
 barked at *Canton*, for the *Centurion*. With such diligence
 did he pursue the preparations for putting to sea, that he
 was ready to sail on the 7th of *December*. That day the
Centurion and her prize unmoored, and stood down the
 river. They passed *Bocca Tigris* on the 10th, and two days
 after

Departs
from Ma-
cao.

after anchored before *Macao*. The 13th both ships anchored in the road of that place in five fathom water, where the prize was cleared of her powder, dry provisions and water, after which she was sold to the *Portuguese* for no more than 6000 dollars, they taking advantage of the necessity the commodore was under of parting with her. Mr. *Anson* had been sufficiently informed by the *English* at *Canton*, to judge that the war with *Spain* had not been yet terminated, and that probably the *French* might join the *Spaniards* before he could reach *Europe*. Knowing likewise that no advice could be received in *Europe* of the prize he had taken, and the treasure he had on board, before the return of the merchantmen from *Canton*, or at least intelligence from *Manila* to *Spain*, which, on account of the monsoons, could not be much sooner, he determined to make all possible dispatch. This, among other reasons, induced him so cheaply to part with her, not caring to raise her price at the hazard of losing the whole. Having delivered the galleon to the *Portuguese* merchant, on the 15th of *December*, he the same day got under sail. On the 16th in the afternoon he was out of sight of *Macao*, having brisk gales with rain aftern. The ship was found to be so leaky, that in two hours the waters rose seven inches in her pumps; which it was judged was owing to their not having caulked the gun ports. On the 22d, being entered the sea between *Malacca* and the island of *Borneo*, they sounded, and found 53 fathom water. Two days after they got sight of the islands on the *Malacca* coast, persevering in their course through them with great danger, by reason of the narrow channel, and the multiplicity of shoals on all sides. On the 29th, in the evening, the southernmost island of the *Seven Brothers*, on the coast of *Sumatra*, bore east-south-east, at the distance of six leagues. The same day the commodore passed the streights between *Sumatra* and *Banca*, which last is an island of considerable extent, under the latitude of three degrees south; and so commodiously situated for trade, that the *Dutch* have often regretted they had not fixed their head settlement there rather than at *Batavia*. Here they might have planted the whole island, and kept it in their own hands, which they cannot possibly think of in the large island of *Java*. On the 2d of *January* they anchored off the high land of *Bantam*, at the distance of about forty miles from *Batavia*. Two days afterwards he anchored in fifty-five fathom water, on the coast of *Princes Island*, and the same evening gave homeward-bound *Dutch* ships anchored by him. Here they perceived a flock of

an earthquake, which lasted about a minute, while they were taking in wood and water. On the 18th foul and blowy weather came on, by which the mainsail of the *Centurion* was split, and blown down from the yard; from thence to the 22d continued squally, extremely dark, cloudy, and rainy. The 24th the *Centurion* had her mainsail and foresail split. On the 5th of *March* the continent of *Africa* appeared bearing from north-east to north-north-west. On the 10th, having little wind, and fair weather, they saw the headland of the *Cape of Good Hope*, distant about ten leagues. Next day the *Centurion* anchored in *Table Bay*, at the distance of a mile from shore, where the commodore found the *Salisbury* and *Warwick English East Indiamen*, each of which saluted him with eleven guns. Here he determined to repair his rigging, wood and water, for which purpose he warped into the harbour. At night the *Centurion's* best cable broke, with the halser that was bent to the stream anchor, so that she rode all night by the sheet cable; but this loss was next morning repaired by the purchase of an anchor weighing 3860 pounds, and a cable nineteen inches round. After cleaning, scrubbing, wooding, watering, and repairing the rigging, the *Centurion* was ready to prosecute her voyage by the 1st of *April*. On the 3d he left the bay, and was saluted by the *Dutch* commodore with nine guns, which the *Centurion* returned by seven (A). After this, without any remarkable accident, the commodore arrived safe at *St. Helen's* on the 14th of *June*, to the great joy of the nation in general, and of the crew in particular, who could not fail of being happy at the sight of their native shore, after an absence of four years, in which they experienced such

Commodore Anson arrives in England.

• (A) As we have so frequently made these salutes, it may not be improper that we describe in a few words the regulation of this ceremony. The commodore's instructions direct, that if merchant ships, whether foreigners, or belonging to his majesty's subjects, salute the admiral of a fleet, they shall be answered with six guns; when they salute any other flag-ship, they shall be answered with four guns; and, if they salute men of war, they shall answer with two guns less. If several

merchant ships salute in company, no return is to be made before they have all finished, and then by such a number of guns as shall be thought proper; but if the merchant ships should answer, no second return is to be made. In all salutes the guns of the upper deck are to be fired, and the lower tier to be used upon no occasion of compliment whatever. These were in particular the commodore's instructions, and are the general rules observed by the navy.

vicissitudes of good and ill fortune, as are scarcely to be paralleled in history. Nor was the commodore past all dangers before he anchored at *St. Helen's*; for it must be remembered, that he came through the channel just upon the eve of a *French* war, when every thing was in confusion, and the whole maritime force of that nation at sea, and even cruising on the *British* coasts.

Mr. *Anson* immediately acquainted his grace the Duke of *Newcastle*, his majesty's principal secretary of state, with his arrival, and of the most material transactions of his circuit round the globe. His letter, which was immediately published in the *Gazette*, diffused as hearty and general a satisfaction through the nation, as can well be imagined; and, farther to indulge the pleasure of the people, the treasure taken in the *Acapulco* ship was conveyed in thirty-two waggon, in the most public manner, to the *Tower of London*, in the same order as the silver formerly taken by Admiral *Blake* had been when he burnt the *Spanish* galleons. The commodore was surrounded by the populace on his landing, with every joyful mark of distinction; he was graciously received by the monarch, the dignity of whose crown he had supported with such perseverance in the east, and had soon the honour of being promoted to the flag, and afterwards to the most illustrious and respectable rank in the kingdom, that of a peer of *Great Britain*. Thus terminated this memorable expedition, to the immortal honour of Commodore *Anson*, whose whole conduct distinguished him the experienced seaman, the accomplished officer, and the firm patriot; the protector of the *British* commerce, the assertor of her dignity, in the person of a brave, prudent, and uniformly consistent commander.

Reflections on the voyage. ALTHOUGH, upon the whole, this expedition was not attended with all the success that might reasonably be expected; yet must all the blame be for ever removed from the commodore, and wholly attributed to the imprudent and vexatious delays which so long prevented his sailing. On his arrival in the *Southern Ocean*, the *Spanish* ports were wretchedly provided with arms, stores, and ammunition; and the garrisons fallen into so total a neglect of military discipline, that had Mr. *Anson* happily accomplished his passage round *Cape Horn*, he would, without all dispute, have been able to have dispossessed the *Spaniards* of their strongest holds both in *Mexico* and *Peru*. There were only six towns on the whole southern coast, from which any resistance could be apprehended: these were the cities of *Panama* and *Chilao de Lima*. As to the first, the fortifications were so ruinous,

and the garrison in such want of powder, that it appeared by an intercepted letter of the governor's, how little hopes he had of defending it in case of an attack. Nor was the condition of *Callao*, the key of the whole kingdom of *Peru*, much better. Thus the scheme appears to have been wisely laid, and, as far as lay in the power of the commodore, happily executed: that the ultimate intention was not answered, was intirely owing to the improper means used in manning the fleet, and the unsteadiness of the councils at home. Nothing could be more favourable than the present conjuncture for striking such a blow as must have reduced *Spain* to the necessity of craving peace upon any terms. The *Indians* on almost every frontier were disaffected, and watched with impatience, the happy moment that should deliver them from the proud usurpation of their masters, and enable them to take a signal revenge for the barbarities they and their ancestors had groaned under for more than two centuries. To this day the *Indians* traditionally preserve the remembrance of the cruelties committed in *Mexico* and *Peru* by public feasts and annual solemnities. They still by those mournful ceremonies revive the memory of the tragical incidents that caused the massacre of their beloved *Incas* and *Atabalipas*, that proved the extinction of their monarchy, the destruction of their religion, the subversion of their liberties, and the slaughter of their progenitors. Such as have been present at those festivals always observed, that all representations and recitals of those horrid scenes were received with emotions so vehement, and a rage so enthusiastic, as evidently demonstrated how deep a sense they retained of those injuries, and how acceptable to them would be the means of revenge. They were now the more disposed to vent their resentment, as the *Spaniards* had, in some late disputes, immoderately boasted of the expected force from *Old Spain* under *Pizarro*, who would now complete the great work begun by his ancestors of subjugating them to the most abject slavery. The *Pizarros* being the first conquerors of these coasts, the *Indians* held the name in the utmost detestation, and, as often as it was mentioned, poured out execrations against it, as if all their misfortunes had been perpetrated by that family. The menaces of the *Spaniards* now alarmed and persuaded them, that their utter extirpation was intended. Such was the spirit of disaffection that diffused itself among them, that the *Spanish* governors exerted all their endeavours, by acts of kindness, to reconcile the most dangerous tribes, and to prevent their taking up arms. The president of *Chili*, in particular, made ample concessions to the *Ar-*

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rancos and other *Chilians*, by which, and the considerable presents he made, he persuaded them into a prolongation of the truce between both nations. However, these negotiations were not concluded when Mr. *Anson* entered the *South Seas*; and, if they had, it is probable that inveterate and deep resentments would have broke through those late and political obligations, had he been in a condition to have seconded any insurrection. The taking, and probably the investing, of *Buldi* only, would have stirred up the *Arraucos*, *Pulches*, and *Penguinches*; in a word, all the nations for twenty-five or thirty leagues to the northward of this port. Hence we may fairly conclude what extraordinary benefits would have resulted to the public, had the season for the expedition been as well regulated as the project was laid, and would have been executed by an officer of Mr. *Anson's* acknowledged abilities. *Spain* must, in short, either have left *Great Britain* in possession of the treasures of *Peru*, or she must have stooped her haughty neck to be trod on by a maritime power which she affected to despise, and received her provinces back again as an equivalent for such restrictions to her future ambition, as *Great Britain*, in her moderation, should have dictated.

It is worthy our observation, that this expedition, however unsuccessful in the main design, sufficiently obviates all objections to the possibility of attacking the *Spaniards* to advantage in the *South Seas*. It has been said, that the *Spaniards* are too wise to leave ports of such consequence neglected; that they were all well fortified, garrisoned, and provided, and that every such enterprise must terminate in sacrificing the lives of such as are employed in the expedition. How just these suggestions were, may be gathered from the short view we have given above, by which it appears, that the *Spaniards* were actually as indolent, unguarded and weak, as we could wish them; and perhaps the fate of Mr. *Anson's* undertaking has made them more unguarded than ever. Should a future project of the same kind ever be formed, and the favourable conjuncture is perhaps at no great distance, either to the public or at a private expence, there seems to be a moral certainty of its success. As to the difficulties encountered in this voyage, they are not to be deemed discouraging circumstances, since they must intirely be ascribed to misconduct. Several voyages have been happily performed through the *Streights of Magellan*, and *Le Maire* into the *South Seas* before Mr. *Anson's*; and since the time the journal of Captain *Leben*, a *Frenchman*, is published, is sufficient that nothing hazardous or uncommonly arduous

attends this navigation. The reasons which formerly urged this navigation, still, and will ever subsist in their full force, while *Britain* continues to regard her maritime power. From hence the *Spaniards* derive that wealth which makes, if not them, at least their natural allies, so formidable to *Europe*. Upon the whole, as our men have been destroyed, and our shipping worn out, in barren services, from which never a single advantage resulted to the public, we cannot with reason complain of an expedition that has actually brought a large sum of money into the kingdom, and pointed out a method, by which, on future occasions, we may draw much larger. Another squadron may more easily meet with the galleons, and there wants only care, diligence, and experienced commanders, to reimburse the public for a great part of the expences of a *Spanish* war. But it would trespass upon our design of writing a history, to enter upon a long chain of political reasoning.

As an appendix to the preceding voyage, it may not be disagreeable to the reader that we give a short account of *Pizarro's* squadron, fitted out for no other purpose than to frustrate the designs of the *British* commodore. Whilst *Mr. Anson* had been combating all the rigours and severities of storms, want, and disease, from the island of *St. Catherine's* round *Cape Horn*, through the *South Seas*, to the west of *Acapulco*; the *Spanish* squadron, in pursuing him, suffered a still more unfortunate, and, if possible, a more calamitous fate, than that of any *British* ship. *Pizarro*, on his arrival in the river of *Plate* on the 5th of *January* 1740, anchored in the bay of *Maldonado*, at the mouth of that river, and thence sent immediately to *Buenos Ayres* for a supply of provisions. During his stay here, he received advice, by the treachery of the *Portuguese* governor of *St. Catherine's*, of the arrival of *Mr. Anson* at that island on the 21st of *December*, and of his preparations to put to sea again with all possible expedition. *Pizarro*, notwithstanding his superior force, had his reasons, perhaps his instructions, for avoiding the *British* squadron, every-where short of the *South Sea*. However, he put to sea in a great hurry, without his supplies, on the 22d of *January*, in hopes of getting round *Cape Horn*, before the enemy, leaving the *Patatke*, a forty gunship, behind him, as unfit for service. But all his vigilance and haste proved ineffectual; for the commodore got the start of him by four days from *St. Catherine's*; yet were the squadrons in some part of the passage so near, that the *Pearl* was in sight of the *Asia*, one of *Pizarro's* squadron. The *Spanish*, having run the length of *Cape Horn* towards

the end of *February*, stood to the westward, in order to double the cape; but on the 28th at night, while they were shifting to the windward, three capital ships, the *Guiposcoa*, *Hermiona*, and *Esperanza*, were separated from the admiral. On the 7th of *March*, the day on which Mr. *Aufon* passed the *Streights of Le Maire*, the whole *Spanish* Squadron was driven to the eastward, and dispersed by a furious storm at north-west. They were afterwards, by their long detention in so turbulent a sea, reduced to unspeakable distress by fatigue and famine, which were attended by a deplorable mortality from disease, particularly the scurvy. When *Pizarro* left *Spain*, he was furnished with no more than four months short-provision. By the storm they encountered off *Cape Horn* the continuance of the Squadron at sea was prolonged above a month beyond their expectation, from which it is inconceivable what difficulties they suffered, hunger and sickness daily sweeping off the ablest of their men. Their calamity was even so great, that a dead rat was sold on board for four dollars. This dreadful situation produced a conspiracy among the land forces and marines in the *Asia*, they proposing to massacre the officers and crew, the only method they could devise to preserve themselves against the ravages of famine. By this means they hoped to appropriate to themselves all the provisions of the ship; and looked upon such an action with the less horror, as it resulted from pure necessity, and the first law of nature, self-preservation; but the conspirators were discovered, and their fatal project frustrated. After this, the Squadron, which was entirely separated, sustained a variety of other misfortunes, each ship endeavouring, but ineffectually, to double the cape. At last they were forced to abandon the attempt, and bear away for the river of *Plate*. *Pizarro*, in the *Asia*, arrived about the middle of *May* at *Monte Vedio*, after the loss of more than half his crew. The *St. Estevan* had lost 180 men when she anchored in the bay of *Ba. ragun*. The *Esperanza*, a fifty gun ship, had, out of 450, only 50 men alive; while the *Guiposcoa* was driven ashore and sunk on the coast of *Brasil*, having, out of 700 men, lost above 300. The *Hermiona* foundered at sea; and her whole crew, consisting of 550 men, perished all to a man. The regiment of troops distributed among the several ships, was reduced to 60 men, so that the whole loss of the *Spaniards* exceeded 2000 men, and two capital ships. The *Asia*, *Esperanza*, and *St. Estevan*, being in great want of masts and other rigging when they arrived at *Buenos Ayres*, and the country unable to supply them, *Pizarro* obtained a remittance of an hundred thousand

and dollars from the governor, and a considerable quantity of pitch and cordage from the *Portuguese* at *Rio de Janeiro*; but could procure neither masts nor yards. As soon as the ships were refitted, he was still intent upon pursuing the *British* commodore, whose sufferings, he doubted not, had been equal to his own. He had removed the masts of the *Esperanza*, and refitted the *Escuran* with the spare masts and yards on board; so that still he had two ships of the line in tolerable condition. In the month of *October* he was preparing to put to sea with these two ships, and attempt a second time the passage of *Cape Horn*, when the *Escuran*, in falling down the river, ran upon a shoal, which disabled her, and obliged *Pizarro* to proceed alone on his voyage. Having the summer before him, and the favourable winds, he expected a fortunate and speedy passage; but being off *Cape Horn*, a fine moderate gale astern, with a high and swelling sea, the ship, by some misconduct of the officer upon watch, rolled away her masts, and obliged the admiral to return a second time in great distress to the river of *Plate*. In this manner was this well appointed squadron, composed of the flower of the *Spanish* navy, defeated and destroyed by the inclemency of the seas, and from the same causes that had so lately proved fatal to Commodore *Anson*. Thus was *Pizarro* forced to return with only one half-manned and crazy ship to *Old Spain*; while Mr. *Anson*, surmounting all difficulties, rode victorious in the *South Seas*, and reaping the just reward of his toil and bravery, proved, in the words of his excellent historian, "that though prudence, intrepidity, and perseverance, united, are not exempted from the disappointments of adverse fortune, yet in a long series of transactions, they usually rise superior to such obstructions, and in the end rarely fail of proving successful."

The END of VOL. XI.

